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V. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION

Edited
on behalf of the Committee
by

P. K. GODE, M. A.,
CURATOR, BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.

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ANALECTA

BY

THE LATE

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M. A. (Cantab.), Ph.D. (Berlin)

General Editor, Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, Editor-in-Chief, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Honorary Member, American Oriental Society, etc.

21st January 1945

V. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION COMMITTEE

POONA 4 (India)

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PREFACE

THE First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition, containing Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata,* was published by me on behalf of the Memorial Edition Committee on 21st January, 1944, the First Anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's demise. On the occasion of this Anniversary the Committee was fortunate enough to have as President Dr. Baba Sahib (M. R.) JAYAKAR, M.A., LL.D. and Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B. as lecturer. These two great friends of the departed savant paid glowing tributes to the sacred memory of Dr. SUKTHANKAR and his epoch-making work on the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.* A full account of the Anniversary function has been published in the *New Indian Antiquary,* Vol. VI (pp. 225-234) for the information of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's friends all over the world. I have to convey the best thanks of the Committee to Dr. JAYAKAR and Shri MUNSHI for making this function a grand success.

In his Presidential remarks Dr. JAYAKAR expressed his appreciation of the work of the organizers of the Memorial Edition and observed that there should be no *hiatus* between the publication of the First Volume of the Edition and that of the Second Volume promised by the Memorial Edition Committee. In accordance with this observation of an eminent friend of the departed scholar coupled with an additional personal donation of Rs. 200/- for the Second Volume announced by Dr. Baba Sahib JAYAKAR I lost no time in commencing my work of collecting funds for this volume. The published Volume of the Edition, copies of which were distributed to donors and subscribers immediately after the Anniversary, proved my great friend and ally in my arduous work. This Volume was hailed with delight by scholars in India and outside and before any reviews of the Volume appeared in Oriental journals it put me in touch with an eminent friend of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, I mean Sir C. R. REDDY, KT., D.LITT., the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who informed me that he was a contemporary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR at Cambridge as early as 1906 and that he desired to have a copy of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition as a souvenir of his life-long friendship with the eminent Orientalist. On getting the First Volume of the Edition Sir C. R. REDDY wrote to me as follows on 11th March, 1944 :

"I have gone through the First Volume which you sent and I am wonder-struck at the deep scholarship, penetrating judgment and elegant style of SUKTHANKAR. When I looked at the photos of SUK-

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THANKAR included as illustrations, I missed his dear old Cambridge face with its fine wealth of curly hair, which he subsequently seems to have mislaid! I have a photograph* of his, taken in 1906 or a while before, with his autograph. If required I can send it to you for making a block."

The sentiments of deep devotion to his old friend Dr. SUKTHANKAR evinced by Sir C. R. REDDY in his letter referred to above emboldened me in my appeal to him to use his good offices in collecting some funds for the Second Volume of the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition. My confidence in this genuine old friend of Dr. SUKTHANKAR was more than justified as I found to my agreeable surprise that with Sir REDDY words meant acts. On 12th May, 1944 Sir REDDY forwarded to me a copy of the appeal sent by him to his personal friends for funds to complete the work of the Memorial Edition. The eminent friends of Sir REDDY were prompt and generous in their response to his appeal as will be seen from the following donations received and kindly forwarded to me by Sir REDDY between 3rd June and 30th August 1944 :—

Rs. 500—Raja Saheb of Bobbili, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

Rs. 500—Hon'ble the Maharaja of Parlakimidi, Prime Minister, Cuttack (Orissa).

Rs. 500—Raja Saheb of Munagala, Saifabad, (Hyderabad).

Rs. 250—Hon'ble Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Raja of Chettinad, Madras.

Rs. 250—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dewan of Travancore, Trivandrum.

Rs. 100—Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal, Kt., Finance Minister, Govt. of Punjab, Lahore.

Rs. 25—Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Iyer, KT., Madras.

Rs. 2,125

I cannot adequately express the sense of gratitude both of the Memorial Committee and myself to these distinguished donors for their generosity and unstinted response so promptly given to Sir REDDY's personal appeal to them. How true are the words of the Dhammapada ?—

"The scent of flowers, incense and jasmine cannot travel against

---

* Through the courtesy and kind favour of Sir REDDY this rare Cambridge photograph of Dr. SUKTHANKAR has been reproduced in the present volume. On behalf of the Memorial Edition Committee I have to convey to Sir REDDY their best thanks for bringing this photograph to their notice as also for permitting its reproduction which has greatly enriched the Edition.

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the wind, but the fragrance of good deeds travels in all directions. Sweeter than the scent of incense and jasmine is the fragrance of good deeds."

I am personally indebted to Sir REDDY for his continuous active interest in this work to such an extent that I must ever remain grateful to his obligations at a time when his help came to me almost by a Providential arrangement. It was the clarion-call to duty from Maharṣi Vyāsa with which SUKTHANKAR closed his Introduction to the Āraṇyakaparvan of the Great Epic and to which he made a prophetic and pointed reference in the following parting words :

"Across the reverberating corridors of Time we his (Vyāsa's) descendants can still hear dimly his clarion-call to Duty."

That this "luminous message of Maharṣi Vyāsa" as SUKTHANKAR put it, was heard by Sir REDDY himself will be clear from the following extracts from his personal appeal to his friends issued on 9th May, 1944 :

"Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, whose early death was the most serious loss to Sanskritic and Oriental Learning generally that India has sustained since the death of Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR, was a contemporary of mine at Cambridge. Even in those early years he had quite a reputation for original thinking. By far the greatest undertaking of modern India is the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.* .... The Editorship of such an undertaking required colossal scholarship, vast patience and a critical acumen of the highest type. Dr. SUKTHANKAR who had studied Sanskrit both in Cambridge and in Berlin was appointed Editor. How well he has done the work is proved by the remarkable reception given to it by Sanskritists of all the Universities of the world. It may be remarked that under him the American Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Yale was editing one of the Parvans. Dr. SUKTHANKAR died before the Critical Edition, as it is called, of all the Eighteen Parvans could be published. But by the publication of 5 or 6 Parvans he had set the standard and the model for all future work. It will be recalled that this Critical Edition has been under preparation for over 25 years. Imagination staggers at the volume of labour, comparative study and critical work involved.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR embodied some of the results of his studies in Sanskrit Mahābhārata in a series of astoundingly profound and brilliant Prefaces, Essays and Lectures. These are now under publication and the First Volume has been published. *I have read this First Volume and my advice to every Hindu is that he must regard the study of it as an indispensable part of his culture.*"

As a colleague of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for seventeen years prior to his lamented demise I fully endorse the foregoing estimate of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S scholarly work in the field of Indology, the beginnings of which were noticed early by his Cambridge contemporaries like Sir C. R. REDDY, Dr. M. R. JAYAKAR and others but which found a con-

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genial soil and a bracing atmosphere at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and put forth its richest blossom and fruit in the shape of his Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata and the published volumes of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic.

The *tabula gratulatoria* appearing in this Second Volume of the Memorial Edition includes the names of all donors and subscribers whose generosity has been responsible for the publication of this volume. I convey to these friends the best thanks of the Memorial Edition Committee. In particular I have to convey the special thanks of the Committee to the following contributors whose timely help as indicated below has enabled the Committee to complete the Memorial Edition in spite of all difficulties :—

Rs. 300—The Government of Bombay purchased 20 copies of the First Volume of the Edition.

Rs. 200—Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. JAYAKAR, Bombay. (This is an additional donation for the present volume in addition to Rs. 100/ received for the First Volume.)

Rs. 200—The University of Bombay (in addition to Rs. 150/- received for the First Volume).

Rs. 100—Shri Hari Narayan PUROHIT, B.A., Vidyabhushan, Jaipur (in addition to his subscription for the Edition).

Rs. 50—Raja Saheb of Aundh (in addition to Rs. 100/- received for the First Volume).

I hope I shall not be exceeding the bounds of official decorum if I record here the best thanks of the Memorial Edition Committee to Mr. S. N. MOOS, C.I.E., M.A., I.E.S., the Director of Public Instruction and Prof. R. P. PATWARDHAN, M.A., I.E.S., the Deputy Director of Public Instruction, who recommended to Government the purchase of 20 copies of the First Volume of the Edition. Similarly I must not fail to convey my personal thanks to our Vice-Chairman, Diwan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, and other friends at the University of Bombay, whose good offices have been responsible in securing from the University an additional donation of Rs. 200/- for the present volume. To my octogenerian friend Shri Hari Narayan PUROHITJI of Jaipur, whose close contact with me during the last ten years has enlivened my interest in the history of Jaipur and Rajputana, I am deeply obliged for his voluntary gift of Rs. 100/- on his receiving the First Volume. While sending me his blessings for the completion of the Edition Panditji wrote : "The present edition of Vol. I is so valuable a production that even crores of rupees would not be equal to its value". In my preface to the First Volume I observed that "the

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valuable and scholarly contents of the present volume speak for themselves and will continue to speak with greater resonance as years pass by". Judging by the correspondence from scholars received by me since the publication of the First Volume I have reason to believe that my observation has been fully vindicated.

I am personally indebted to the Raja Saheb of Aundh, the Chairman of the Memorial Edition Committee and Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, the Vice-Chairman for their continued help and guidance in my work on the present volume. They were kind enough to attend the function arranged by me on 21st January 1944 and encourage me in my efforts to push on the work projected by the Memorial Edition Committee by sending me token donations for the Second Volume in addition to the donations sent by them for the First Volume. The blessings of these two grand old friends of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, I mean the Raja Saheb now running his 77th year, and the Dewan Bahadur now in his 76th year, have been responsible for bringing the work of the Memorial Edition to a successful conclusion and while conveying to them my humble thanks for these blessings I wish them happy long lives and increasing prosperity to continue their disinterested services to the sacred cause of Indology in the widest sense of the term with which Dr. SUKTHANKAR had completely identified himself to the last moment of his conscious life.

As regards the writings of Dr. SUKTHANKAR included in the present volume I tender my most grateful thanks —

(1) To Mr. B. T. ANKLESARIA, M.A., the Hon. Secretary of the K. R. Cama Institute for securing the permission of his Institute to include Dr. SUKTHANKAR's two papers in the Memorial Edition, one of which viz. "Arjunamiśra" has been published in the First Volume while the other on "An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research" has been included in the present Volume. I shall not forget the kindness of this sincere friend of Dr. SUKTHANKAR in sending me free copies of these papers. It is unfortunate that this learned friend of ours should pass away* before Dr. SUKTHANKAR's second paper is reprinted in this Volume! May his soul rest in peace!

(2) To Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., Director-General of Archæology in India for permission to include in the Memorial Edition Dr. SUKTHANKAR's papers in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

(3) To the authorities of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for permission to include in the Memorial Edition Dr. SUKTHANKAR's papers originally published in the Society's Journal.

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* Mr. ANKLESARIA passed away in November 1944.

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(4) To Dr. R. N. SARDESAI, L.C.P.S., Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, for permission to reproduce Dr. SUKTHANKAR's English Translation of the *Vāsavadattā* in the Memorial Edition.

(5) To the Editors of the *Oriental Literary Digest*, Poona, for permission to include in the Memorial Edition some reviews of books by Dr. SUKTHANKAR.

(6) To the Editors of the *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR and Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR for permission to reproduce in the Memorial Edition Dr. SUKTHANKAR's papers originally published in this journal.

(7) To the Editors of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for permission to reproduce Dr. SUKTHANKAR's Studies in Bhāsa in the present Volume.

(8) To the Editor of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, for permission to include Dr. SUKTHANKAR's papers originally published in their Journal.

(9) To Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, Deputy Director-General of Archæology in India for sending me a complete list of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's contributions to *Epigraphia Indica* and other publications of the Archæological Department along with extracts from Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S application at the time of his joining the Archæological Department. In forwarding the extracts Dr. CHAKRAVARTI wrote to me on 12-6-1943 : "Professor LÜDERS always thought very highly of his pupil Sukthankar. Even when I met him as late as 1922 he told me that Dr. SUKTHANKAR was still the best pupil he had from India."

It was not possible for me owing to the present war to seek permission of the publishers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's thesis on "*Die Grammatik Śākaṭāyaṇa's*" and the Editors of the *Z. D. M. G.* who published Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S paper entitled "*Miscellaneous Notes on Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa.*" I offer to these publishers the apologies of the Memorial Edition Committee for including these writings of Dr. SUKTHANKAR without their formal permission owing to circumstances beyond the control of the Committee. I beg also to be excused for any infringement of the rights of any publishers that I may have overlooked in bringing out the Memorial Edition in haste solely with the object of commemorating Dr. SUKTHANKAR's services to Indology and thus redeeming at least partially the debt I owe to his inspiring scholarly contact of seventeen years at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

As in the case of the First Volume of the Memorial Edition the entire editing of the present volume has been carried out by my most

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esteemed friends Dr. S. M. KATRE and Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI. They have tried their best in editing this volume as neatly and accurately as possible in spite of the diversity of material which required lynx-eyed proof-correcting, coupled with an expert knowledge of printing and typography, not to say a close knowledge of German in which Dr. SUKTHANKAR's thesis appears in the present volume. The task of editing this thesis has been considerably lightened by the willing and disinterested co-operation of our friend Dr. V. V. GOKHALE, who as a friend and admirer of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's work joined the Memorial Edition Committee in the very first week of our enterprise and offered his ungrudging co-operation in the execution of the Committee's project. I have, therefore, to thank most cordially all these three friends for their harmonious co-operation which has crowned the Committee's efforts with success. Dr. SUKTHANKAR and Dr. KATRE were Mathematicians in their early careers though later they took to Indology. Prof. KOSAMBI, though at present a renowned Mathematician, is leaning towards Indology and let me hope that Indology is benefited before long by his rigid mathematical training and scientific outlook on life and literature.

In the preliminary appeal issued by me on behalf of the Memorial Edition Committee reference was made to the intention of the Committee to include in the present Edition a literary biography of Dr. SUKTHANKAR on the strength of materials gathered by me from the numerous friends and admirers of the great Savant. A few of these friends* have forwarded to me some letters of Dr. SUKTHANKAR received by them but they are hardly sufficient for a comprehensive literary biography of Dr. SUKTHANKAR contemplated by the Committee. Under these circumstances it was thought advisable to include in the Edition Dr. KATRE'S elaborate monograph on "Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR and his Contribution to Indology" which was published last year in the *Sukthankar Memorial Volume* of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* Poona. This monograph prepared as it is with meticulous care by my learned friend Dr. KATRE now takes the place of the contemplated literary biography and has accordingly been includ-

* Among friends who were kind enough to send me some correspondence from Dr. SUKTHANKAR received by them I may mention Rev. H. HERAS of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Dr. S. K. DE of Dacca, Dr. RUBEN of Ankara (Turkey), Mr. Y. R. GUPTE of Poona and Dr. A. N. UPADHYE of Kolhapur. Some other friends had promised to send some letters of Dr. SUKTHANKAR but they have not still been received. I have, however, to convey the best thanks of the Committee to the above mentioned friends for the material sent by them. If additional material is received by the Committee it may still be possible to use it for some memoir on Dr. SUKTHANKAR as a man and scholar with a view to supplement Dr. KATRE'S monograph published in the present volume.

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ed in the present Volume with the kind permission of the authorities of the above institute. I have to convey the best thanks of the Committee to these authorities for this permission. I have also to thank Dr. KATRE for his devoted labour of love in the preparation of this monograph which is based on the published writings of Dr. SUKTHANKAR and as such contains a literary biography of this great Orientalist as revealed by his own writings. Dr. KATRE's close personal contact with Dr. SUKTHANKAR during a decade preceding the latter's demise and his thorough understanding of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's critical philological method have enabled him successfully to trace the growth and expansion of his monumental scholarship which gave a stately stature to Indian critical scholarship by his masterly editing of the *Mahābhārata*.

In concluding this preface to the Second Volume of the Memorial Edition I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to our friend Mr. M. N. KULKARNI, who has done yeomen service to Indology by shouldering the heavy responsibilities of publishing many works on Indology on behalf of his Karnatak Publishing House in the best possible form and character. The name of Mr. KULKARNI and his Karnatak Publishing House and Karnatak Printing Press have now become proverbial as a guarantee for good printing and publishing of every work undertaken by them and the Sukthankar Memorial Edition has enjoyed the fullest benefit of this guarantee. In spite of every conceivable difficulty consequent upon war conditions such as scarcity of paper and labour, inconveniences and delays created by the recent paper control order and similar handicaps, Mr. KULKARNI has stood by me and fulfilled his guarantee to the letter in completing the work of this Edition most promptly, efficiently and zealously like my esteemed friends Dr. KATRE and Prof. KOSAMBI. But for the loyal co-operation of these sincere friends it would have been impossible for me to undertake the work of the Memorial Edition and complete it within two years.

In presenting this Second Volume to the public on the Second Anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's demise the Memorial Edition Committee has completed one of its projected tasks. The second task of the Committee which remains to be completed is the investment of the proceeds of the Edition for instituting a special medal, fellowship or lectureship in connection with Epic Studies. The execution of this task depends on the quick realization of the sale-proceeds of the entire edition. It is hoped, therefore, that friends and admirers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR all over the world will readily come forward to purchase the completed Memorial Edition and thus help the Committee to commemorate Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S signal services to the Great Epic of

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India, the *Mahābhārata*, the richest heritage of the Aryan race and the national *saga* of India.

Finally I convey my most grateful thanks to all my colleagues on the Memorial Edition Committee with whose initial blessings, good wishes and sincere co-operation I started my work on the Memorial Edition and with which alone I have been able to carry it to a successful conclusion without a *hiatus*. I fully endorse the hope expressed by one of my colleagues, Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI in the following memorable words :

"So long as the Bhandarkar Research Institute will be in existence and his colleagues and pupils will be there, the same spirit with which the Mahābhārata work was started, I am sure, will prevail."

Though Dr. SUKTHANKAR has done his part of the Mahābhārata work nobly the responsibility of completing it wholly lies not only on the shoulders of his colleagues and pupils at the Bhandarkar Institute but on those of all his countrymen and the Memorial Edition completed to-day stands as a permanent reminder to his countrymen to revere "this deathless traditional book of divine inspiration unapproachable and far removed from possibilities of human constitution."

P. K. GODE,

Hon. Secretary and Managing Editor,
Dr. V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee.

Poona 4,
21st January, 1945

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
DIE GRAMMATIK ŚĀKAṬĀYANA'S :	
Einleitung	1
I. Teil	9
II. Teil	43
STUDIES IN BHĀSA :	
I. Introduction	82
II. On the Versification of the Metrical Portions of the Dramas	92
III. On the Relationship between the Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika	113
IV. A Concordance of the Dramas	125
V. A Bibliographical Note	141
VI. On the Prakrit of the Dramas	159
VII. The Bhāsa Riddle : A Proposed Solution	170
EPIGRAPHIC STUDIES :	
I. The Porumāmiḷḷa Tank Inscription of Bhaskara Bhāvadura : Śaka 1921	184
II. Bhāndak Plates of Krishṇarāja I : Śaka 694	199
III. A New Inscription of Siri-Pulumavi	213
IV. Three Kshatrapa Inscriptions	217
V. Two Kadamba Grants from Sirsi	229
VI. A Vākāṭaka Inscription from Ganj	240
VII. Two New Grants of Dhruvasena (I) from Pālitāna ..	243
VIII. On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings	251
IX. Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros	266
X. Palæographic Notes	273
XI. Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1916-17	283
XII. Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1917-18	304

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CONTENTS

PAGE

MISCELLANEA :

An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research .. 311

Miscellaneous Notes on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa—

(i) The two Authors of the Kāvyaprakāśa 321

(ii) A Note on Mammaṭa's Samuccaya 334

(iii) Another Case of the Practice of Quoting Names merely Honoris Causa 342

The Satavahanas 345

An Assyrian Tablet found in Bombay 346

"Charudatta"—A Fragment 347

Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy 352

Book Notices and Reviews 360

Oldest Hindu Drama 368

The Art of India 369

In Memoriam 380

The Position of Linguistic Studies in India 386

VĀSAVADATTĀ 401

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY 463

TABULA GRATULATORIA 504

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EINLEITUNG

I.

Die vorliegende Arbeit gibt ein Specimen der grammatischen Sūtras Śākaṭāyana's nebst dem Kommentar Cintāmaṇi. Den ersten ausführlichen Bericht[1] über diesen Grammatiker gab Georg BÜHLER, *Orient und Occident*, 2 (1864), 691 ff. Er hielt den unter dem Namen des Śākaṭāyana überlieferten Traktat für das Werk des alten von Pāṇini erwähnten Śākaṭāyana und glaubte, dass die Grammatik Pāṇini's nur "eine verbesserte, vervollständigte und teilweis umgearbeitete Auflage der Grammatik" Śākaṭāyana's sei (a. a. O. S. 703), wobei er sich hauptsächlich darauf stützte, dass sich zwei von Pāṇini seinem Śākaṭāyana zugeschriebene Regeln auch in den ihm vorliegenden Blättern des Śabdānuśāsana fanden. Diese Ansicht spricht er wieder in einer kleinen Mitteilung aus, die kurz darauf in derselben Zeitschrift erschien, *Or. und Occ.* 3 (1864), 181 ff. Sie hat sich jedoch nicht bestätigt. In dem Aufsatz "On the Grammar of Sakatayana", *Indian Antiquary*, 16 (1887), 24 ff. wies Franz KIELHORN darauf hin, dass unser Grammatiker nicht nur im vollen Besitz alles dessen sei, was Pāṇini, Kātyāyana und Patañjali gelehrt haben,[2] sondern dass er auch die Lehren, die zum erstenmal bei Candra aufkommen, berücksichtigt habe. Dieselbe Abhandlung enthält ferner eine Übersicht des Inhalts der Grammatik und ein Verzeichnis einer Anzahl von grammatischen Werken, wie Kommentare, *prakriyās* usw., die sich an das Werk eng anschliessen.[3] Einige Jahre später (1893) gab Gustav OPPERT die grammatischen Sūtras Śākaṭāyana's mit dem Prakriyāsaṃgraha von Abhayacandra-[6]-siddhāntasūri[4] unter dem Titel Śākaṭāyana's Grammar, Vol. 1,

---

[1] Noch frühere Notizen bei: WILSON, *Mackenzie Collection*, 1, 160 und GOLDSTÜCKER, *Pāṇini: his place in Sanskrit literature* (1861), S. 163.

[2] BURNELL hatte übrigens auch schon erkannt, dass die Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik jünger als die Grammatik Pāṇini's sein müsse, meinte aber, dass das uns vorliegende Werk eine Neuredaktion der Grammatik des alten Śākaṭāyana sei. Cf. *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians* (1875), S. 97 ff.

[3] Diesen sind noch folgende hinzuzufügen: *Maṇiprakāśikā* (Kom. zum Cintāmaṇi) von Ajitasena; *Amoghavṛtti* (ein ausführlicher Kom. etwa wie die Kāśikā), Nyāsa (Kom. zu der Amoghavṛtti) von Prabhācandra; endlich noch eine Ṭīkā von Bhāvasenatrividyadeva. Diese Liste habe ich aus der Bombayer Ausgabe entnommen. Mir waren die Werke unzugänglich.

[4] Zum zweitenmal abgedruckt von den Jaina-Gelehrten Paṇḍit-Jyeṣṭhārāmamukundajīśarmā und Pannālāla unter dem Titel *śrīmadabhayacandrasūriviracitaprakriyāsaṃgrahasahitaṃ śākaṭāyanaṃ vyākaraṇam* (Bombay, 1907). Trotz der zahlreichen kleinen Druckfehler empfiehlt sich diese Ausgabe durch die gelegentlichen Auszüge aus dem Cintāmaṇi und die Erläuterungen, die in den Fussnoten enthalten sind. Die letzteren sind mir eine wesentliche Hilfe zum Verständnis der Grammatik gewesen.

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heraus. Der zweite Band sollte die Amoghavṛtti, einen ausführlichen Kommentar zu allen Regeln Śākaṭāyana's enthalten, ist aber nicht erschienen. In der kurzen Einleitung zu dem erschienenen Band vertritt OPPERT die irrtümliche, von KIELHORN endgültig zurückgewiesene Ansicht über das Alter unsers Grammatikers und übergeht stillschweigend den oben erwähnten im *Indian Antiquary* erschienenen Aufsatz KIELHORNS. Dies veranlasste KIELHORN nochmals auf die Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik zurückzukommen. In einem Aufsatze in den *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellsch. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (phil.-hist. Kl. 1895) vergleicht KIELHORN eine fortlaufende Reihe von Regeln der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik (2. 4. 128-289) mit den Regeln Pāṇini's und den Lehren seiner Nachfolger und gibt das Resultat dieser Vergleichung. Diese Untersuchung stellte in bezug auf unsere Grammatik folgendes fest. Sie enthält Regeln : 1. die dasselbe lehren wie die Regeln Pāṇini's ; 2. „ für die bei Pāṇini Aequivalente nur dann sich finden, wenn wir seine Regeln so erweitern, beschränken oder anderweitig ändern, wie dies in den einzelnen Fällen von den Verfassern der Vârttikas oder des Mahâbhâshya vorgeschrieben wird" (a. a. O. S. 10) und solche, die erst von Kātyāyana und Patañjali vorgetragen worden sind ; 3. für die man entsprechendes nur in den Gaṇas zu Pāṇini's Regeln oder in der Kāśikā nachweisen kann ; 4. die erst bei Candra aufkommen und 5. endlich auch solche, die weder bei Pāṇini und seinen Erklärern noch bei Candra nachweisbar sind. Wichtig war der Nachweis KIELHORNS, dass die Verfasser der Kāśikā auf eine Regel Śākaṭāyana's keinen Bezug nehmen, in der Śākāṭayana „ allein das richtige gelehrt hat, und wo sie [d. i. die Verfasser] ... einem sprachlichen Faktum gegenüberstehen, das durch keine Regel Pâṇini's order dessen Interpreten seine Erklärung findet" (a. a. O. S. 13). Die gänzliche Abhängigkeit Hemacandra's von Śākaṭāyana hat KIELHORN schon in dem Aufsatz im *Indian Antiquary* (Bd. 16) behauptet und nachgewiesen. Weitere Belege dafür wird man in meinen Erläuterungen finden. Damit ist die relative Chronologie der Grammatiker von Pāṇini bis Hemacandra einwandfrei festgelegt.

II.

Ich wende mich jetzt zu den Ergebnissen meiner Untersuchung des 1. *pāda* des 1. *adhyāya*. Die einleitenden Strophen in dem [7] Kommentar geben wichtige Aufschlüsse sowohl über Śākaṭāyana als über den Kommentar und dessen Verfasser, die z. T. schon von verschiedenen Gelehrter, mitgeteilt worden sind[5]. Ich füge eine wörtliche Übersetzung bei, da sie ein dem Kommentar bezügliches wichtiges Faktum zu Tage bringen wird, das von anderen übersehen zu sein scheint. Die Übersetzung lautet :

[5] Den Text der einleitenden Strophen gab zum erstenmal BÜHLER in *Or. und Occ.* 2, 691 f. OPPERT und der Herausgeber der Bombayer Ausgabe haben einige von diesen Strophen wieder abgedruckt. Eine Auswahl gibt WEBER in *Handschriften-Verzeichnis der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin* (1886), S. 205. Vgl. weiter BURNELL, *op. cit.* (passim) ; *Ind. Ant.* 16, 24 ff.

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1. Es möge das allwissende Licht der Erkenntnis, (nämlich) der das Weltall erleuchtende, alle Wünsche gewährende Cintāmaṇi Euch unvergängliches Glück bringen.

2. Verehrung der Sonne, (nämlich der Offenbarung des) Brahman als Wort, die die Welt fördert, (indem sie) die Erleuchtung der von der Macht der Finsternis überwältigten Erde bewirkt.

3. Heil Śākaṭāyana, das Oberhaupt der grossen Gemeinde der Mönche, der die Kaiserwürde (im Reiche) aller Erkenntnis erlangt hat,

4. der allein den Ozean der Worte mit dem Mandara(-berg seines) Geistes quirlte und den ganzen Nektar der Grammatik nebst der Śrī des Ruhmes herauszog,

5. von dem eine Grammatik erfunden[6] ist, die geringen Umfang hat, leicht zu erlernen, vollständig, allen Nutzen bringend und die beste ist (und daher) der Lehre der Arhats gleicht (die dieselben Vorzüge besitzt),

6. in dessen Grammatik ausserhalb der Regeln (*sūtra*) kein Desideratum (*iṣṭi*) aufzustellen ist, kein Nachtrag (*vaktavya*) zu machen, kein Zusatz (*upasaṃkhyāna*) hinzuzufügen ist,—

7. indem Yakṣavarman dessen (d. i. Śākaṭāyana's) sehr umfangreichen Kommentar zusammengezogen hat, wird er diesen kürzeren, (dennoch) in allen Bestandteilen vollständigen Kommentar[7] vortragen.

8. Dieser Versuch, (das Lehrbuch) zusammenzufassen dient dazu, denjenigen, die sich vor umfangreichen Texten scheuen (und) deren Verstandeskraft noch unentwickelt ist, Tugenden wie Gehorsam gegen kanonische Werke und andere beizubringen.

9. Die Zahl der *Ślokas* des Cintāmaṇi, des Kommentars des *śabdānuśāsana*, der den Sinn treu wiedergibt, ist als 6000 festgestellt.

[8] 10. Die von den Grammatikern Indra, Candra usw. gelehrten grammatischen Regeln stehen alle hier. Was nicht hier steht, steht nirgends.

11. Man wisse, dass die *gaṇas* und die Wurzeln in den *gaṇa-* und *dhātupāṭha*, alles was das Genus betrifft in dem *liṅgānuśāsana*, die mit *uṇ* und anderen (Suffixen) gebildeten (Nominalstämme) in den *uṇādi* (*-sūtras*), das übrige alles in diesem Kommentar zu finden sind.

12. Sicherlich werden infolge des Studiums dieses Kommentars sogar Kinder und Frauen innerhalb eines Jahres die ganze Sprache beherrschen.

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[6] Für die Bedeutung von *upakrama*, neutr. am Ende eines Tatpuruṣa vgl. P. 2. 4. 21, *upajñopakramaṃ tadādyācikhyāsāyām.*

[7] D. h. ein Kommentar, der die *anuvṛtti*, *udāharaṇa*, *pratyudāharaṇa*, die *apavādas* usw. und etwa die in Betracht kommenden *paribhāṣās* angibt.

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Aus den Worten Yakṣavarman's geht deutlich hervor, dass *der Verfasser des umfangreichen Kommentars, dessen gurze Fassung der Cintāmaṇi darstellt, Śākaṭāyana selbst ist.* Denn das *tasya* in Vers 9 muss das Korrelat der in den vorangehenden Strophen befindlichen Relativa sein. Sonst würde überhaupt den relativen Sätzen ein entsprechender unabhängiger Satz fehlen.

Diese Tatsache, welche BÜHLER und KIELHORN[8] übersehen zu haben scheinen, macht den Cintāmaṇi um so wertvoller. Der Umstand, dass Śākaṭāyana seine eigenen Sūtras kommentiert hat, bietet nichts aussergewöhnliches. Hat doch Hemacandra zwei Kommentare zu seiner Grammatik verfasst. Es ist auch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Candra ebenfalls seine Sūtras kommentiert hat[9]. Also hat Śākaṭāyana einen Kommentar zu seiner Grammatik verfasst. *Daraus erklärt sich aber die Kürze der Sūtras.* Sie ist entstanden nicht sowohl aus einem „krankhaften"[10] Streben die Sūtras möglichst kurz auszudrücken, als vielmehr daraus, dass zwischen der Zeit Pāṇini's und Śākaṭāyana's das Schwergewicht in dieser Literaturgattung verschoben war. Nun bildet der Kommentar einen integrierenden Teil des Werkes. Die Sūtraperiode war längst zu Ende. Der Sūtrastil geht dann in den Bhāṣyastil über.[11] Und unsere grammatischen Sūtras sind schwache Reflexe einer eigentlichen Sūtraliteratur, sind nur Stichworte, blosse Hilfsmittel zum Memorieren, die bis zum heutigen Tage eine grosse Rolle im Unterrichtsverfahren der Inder spielen. Denn nicht nur sind die späteren Sūtras an und für sich volkommen unverständlich ; sie sind sogar in sich nicht vollständig.[12] Es ist wohl bekannt, dass in der [9] Candra-Grammatik einige von den unentbehrlichsten Paribhāṣās fehlen und dass sie in der Regel keine Definitionen der Termini gibt. Die *paribhāṣā* : *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām* (P. *1.* 3. 10) ist in der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik nur im Kommentar erwähnt. Das Sūtra Śākaṭāyana's *Śidañidal* (S. *1.* 1. 49) das dem Sūtra Pāṇini's *anekālśit sarvasya* (*1.* 1. 55) entspricht, heisst an und für sich gar nichts. Die Beispiele kann man nach Belieben vermehren.

Dennoch hat Śākaṭāyana die technische Seite seiner Grammatik keineswegs vernachlässigt. Er hat aufs gewissenhafteste versucht sein Werk von Fehlern des *anukta* und *durukta* frei zu machen. Man vergleiche den Gebrauch des Wortes *bhāvya* in 1. 1. 4, *āśraya* in 50, das Sūtra 65, die Formulierung des Sūtra 51, usw., wie dies eben in den einzelnen Fällen in den Vārttikas

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[8] KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.* Bd. 16 : In the introductory verses .... the author states that he has compiled his work from a more extensive commentary (S. 25).

[9] Cf. LIEBICH, *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa,* Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes hrsg. von d. D. M. G. Bd. 11, No. 4, Vorwort S. VIII.

[10] So KIELHORN, *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellsch. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (phil.-hist. Kl. 1895), S. 10.

[11] Cf. Hermann JACOBI, über die Echtheit des Kauṭilīya, *Sitzungsb. d. königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* für 1912, S. 842.

[12] Nur insofern bilden die Sūtras eine Einheit, als Stichworte auch von anderen benutzt und zum Gegenstand der Kommentierung gemacht worden.

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bezw. dem Mahābhāṣya vorgeschrieben wird. Vor allem zeigt sich dies in dem Sūtra *śḷucīgenat* (*1.* 1. 52). Dies ist eine von den sehr schwierigen *paribhāṣās* P. *1.* 1. 56 ff., die zur Erklärung, Berichtigung und Erweiterung über 75 *vārttikas* hervorgerufen haben. Der Einschluss von *enad* ist notwendig zur Bildung der Form *enad* acc. neutr.; das dem Sūtra Śākaṭāyana's zugrunde liegende *vārttika* wird aber von Kātyāyana nicht unter seinen Bemerkungen zu den Sūtras P. *1.* 1. 56-59, wo es logisch hingehört, vorgetragen, sondern an einer ganz entlegenen Stelle.

Da Śākaṭāyana offenbar ein Jaina war, versteht es sich von selbst, dass er den vedischen Dialekt garnicht hat berücksichtigen wollen. Demzufolge hat er nicht nur alle Akzentregeln bei Pāṇini weggelassen, sondern auch z. B. Regeln über die Bildung zahlreicher vedischer Infinitiva, Absolutiva usw. usw. Doch ist er nicht ganz konsequent verfahren und auf Schritt und Tritt begegnen uns Regeln über Worte und Bildungselemente, die nur für die vedische Literatur gelten oder jedenfalls im klassischen Sanskrit nie zur Anwendung kommen. Man vergleiche z. B. *acchavad* (*1.* 1. 30), *upāje, anvāje*[13] (33), *viśvadryac, adadryac, amumuyac, amudryāc*[14] (*1.* 2. 45 und 2. 2. 65) usw. Lehrreich ist die Regel 1. 1. 104, die die Substitution von *ŭ* für *u* lehrt, weil diese Substitution ihre Stelle eigentlich nur im *Padapāṭha* hat.[15] Die Aufnahme dieser Regel bei Śākaṭāyana ist daraus zu erklären, dass Pāṇini diese Substitution für die "nicht-vedische" Sprache (*anārṣe*) lehrt. Und was "nicht-vedisch" ist, konnte mit gutem Gewissen nicht ausgelassen werden. Man darf also behaupten, dass *Śākaṭāyana ausser den Akzentregeln nur die Regeln Pāṇini's auslässt, die ausdrücklich mit dem Vermerk* chandasi *usw. gelehrt werden.*

[10] Wie schon oben erwähnt, begnügt Śākaṭāyana sich nicht damit, die Lehren seiner Vorgänger zusammenzufassen und sie systematisch anzuordnen, sondern er geht über sie hinaus und trägt—freilich nur sehr selten —auch neue Lehren vor. Ich konstatiere folgende Neuerungen im 1. *pāda* des 1. *adhyāya* : Der Auslaut der Partikeln *ca* usw. (ausser *ā*) darf nicht in der Pause nasaliert werden (Sūtra 68), zulässig sind im Kompositum die Formen *sukhaṛta, praṃṇa* usw. (89) ; *gavākṣa* kann nur "Fenster" bedeuten, sonst muss man *goakṣa* oder *go'kṣa* sagen (95-98) ; *die auf einen anusvāra bezw. visarjanīya folgenden Tenues können verdoppelt werden*[16] (115) ; nach einem *pluta*-Vokal am Ende eines *pada* kann *ch* verdoppelt werden (125) ; vor *śca* dürfen *ḍ* und *n* bezw. *n* die Gleitlaute *t* bezw. *j* nicht angefügt werden (146, 147) ; *saskarṭṛ* als eine Nebenform von *saṃskarṭṛ* (152) ; über den *sandhi* in Fällen wie *yajus* + *pītakam, sarpis* + *kālakam,* usw. (172).

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13 In der Literatur sind sie nicht belegt.

14 Belegt ist nur *viṣvadryac* im Ṛgveda.

15 Ähnlich ist die Ausschliessung von *iti* in *1.* 1. 99 zu beurteilen.

16 Die Verdoppelung ist in südindischen Handschriften sehr verbreitet. Nach WACKERNAGEL (*Altind. Gram.* 1. 42 § 98 a) auch inschriftlich hinter *anusvāra.*

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Hiermit ist die Wichtigkeit der Grammatik Śākaṭāyana's für die Geschichte der Entwicklung der indischen Grammatik seit Patañjali an die Hand gegeben. Auf die Rolle, die sie für das Verständnis der Grammatik Hemacandra's spielt, hat schon KIELHORN hingewissen. Ich erwähne nur, dass all die obengenannten Neuerungen ausser der Zulässigkeit der Formen *sukhaṛla*, *praṛṇa* usw., sich bei Hemacandra wiederfinden. Der Ansatz des Wortes *saskartṛ* von Hemacandra, das auf Missverständnis einer *iṣṭi* Patañjali's seitens Śākaṭāyana beruht, zeigt, dass Hemacandra seinem Vorgänger auch in Fehlern folgt. Doch zeigen die Sūtras Hemacandra's 1. 1. 25, 26 ; 2. 3. 14 und andere, die Lehren des Mahābhāṣya erneuern, auf welche Śākaṭāyana nicht Bezug nimmt, dass der grosse Jaina-Kompilator gelegentlich auch die älteren Quellen benutzt hat.

III.

Zur Herausagabe dieses Specimens der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik nebst dem Kommentar Cintāmaṇi habe ich die folgenden Manuskripte benutzt.[17]

B = London, India Office Bühler MSS. 138, 141, 142, 143. AUFRECHT, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 638 ; BÜHLER, Two lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts, *ZDMG.* 42, 544. Ein ganz junges Papiermanuskript in Devanāgarī Schrift, nämlich die von BÜHLER veranlasste " Umschrift eines alten Hala-Karnāṭa-Mscpt der Madras-E. T. H. [11] library im alphabetischen Cataloge mit nro. 1083 bezeichnet "[18]—schön und deutlich geschrieben und im grossen ganzen fehlerfrei. Leider ist es unvollständig, da es in der Mitte des 42. Sūtra des 3. Pāda des 1. Adhyāya abbricht[19]. Im 2. Pāda hat der Schreiber mehrere Lücken — häufig von beträchtlicher Ausdehnung — gelassen.

P = London, India Office, Mackenzie Coll. XII. 8. WILSON'S *Catal.* Vol. 1, S. 160 No. XXXIV.—Vorzügliches Manuskript, sorgfältig geschrieben

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[17] Ausserdem habe ich noch die von dem Herausgeber der Bombayer Ausgabe des *Prakriyāsaṃgraha* in den Anmerkungen gelegentlich zitierten Auszüge aus dem Cintāmaṇi benutzt und verglichen. Die Göttinger HSS. der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik enthalten nur den Text der Sūtras, ein alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Sūtras und eine moderne Abschrift des *Prakriyāsaṃgraha.* Die sind hier weiter nicht berücksichtigt worden.

[18] BÜHLER, Uber die Grammatik des Çākatāyana, *Or. Occ.* 2, 691.

[19] Dass das Berliner Manuskript des Cintāmaṇi (Ms. or. fol. 872, WEBER, Verzeichniss Bd. 2 [1886], S. 205) eine Abschrift des MS. B ist, ergibt sich aus folgenden Erwägungen. Es reicht gleichfalls bis zu 1. 3. 42. Die Mehrzahl seiner Fehler sind in B schon vorhanden, andere lassen sich durch die typographischen Eigentümlichkeiten von B erklären ; um nur zwei von den letzteren herauszugreifen : B zeigt Formen von *ta* und *tra*, die *na* resp. *pra* sehr ähnlich sind. Häufig gibt das Berliner MS. tatsächlich jene Buchstaben mit diesen wieder, so z. B. gleich das erste Wort des Kom. *napra* für *tatra.* In einem Falle findet sich dasselbe Zeichen झो für *jho* in beiden MSS.

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und fast fehlerfrei. Es ist eine kürzere Rezension des Kom., indem die *udāharaṇas* und die *pratyudāharaṇas* und was sonst einen vollständigen Kom.[20] zugehört, ausgelassen wird. Es enthält mit einer Ausnahme nur eine Paraphrase der Sūtras mit Angabe der Wörter, die durch *anuvṛtti* fortgelten. Est ist gut erhalten, abgesehen davon, dass der obere Rand von einigen 50 Blättern am Anfang beschädigt ist, wodurch aber in der Regel nur der Anfang der ersten bezw. der letzten Zeile gelitten hat.

H = London, Indian Office, BURNELL Sanskrit Manuscript No. 405, die von BURNELL veranlasste Umschrift in Telugu eines MS. Hala Karnāṭa-Schrift.[21] Es ist vollständig, aber voller Fehler. Die ersten Seiten sind von anderer Hand korrigierit worden. In dem Verzeichnis der variae lectiones (p. 46 ff.) sind die Verbesserungen vorausgesetzt.

Die drei Handschriften, obschon sie der Hauptsache nach von einander wenig abweichen, sind unabhängig von einander. Bei der Feststellung des Textes bin ich hauptsächlich B gefolgt. Ich habe es für unzweckmässig gehalten, jeden Fehler von H zu verzeichnen, da die Anzahl von solchen ungemein gross ist; die abweichenden Lesarten von P aber sind vollständig angegeben. Häufig verwechselt H postkonsonantisches *o* mit *ā*, *dh* mit *d*, *v* mit *d*. Hingegen schreibt B häufig *t* für *k*, *v* für *p* und stets *lu* für das sonantische *ḷ*. Betreffs der Verdoppelung von Konsonanten verhalten sich die MSS. äusserst inkonsequent. Das *avagraha*-Zeichen wird in B regelmässig ausgelassen, in P aber in der Regel eingesetzt. B gibt [12] das Zeichen (3) für die Plutierung durch *nu* wieder, was sich aus grossen Ähnlichkeit der Zeichen in Hala Karnāṭaka erklärt.

Man wird in meinem Specimen sehr oft die *sandhi*-Regeln verletzt finden. Bei der Entscheidung bin ich in der Regel dem Manuskript B gefolgt, doch habe ich mich stets durch die Deutlichkeit leiten lassen. Nach dem Vorgang KIELHORNS, und zwar aus dem MBhāṣ. Vol. 1, Einleitung S. 9 f. angegebenen Grunde, habe ich die Verdoppelung von *ṅ*, *ṇ* und *n* zwischen Vokalen durchgängig unterlassen.

VERZEICHNIS

der von mir benutzten Textausgaben.

Pâṇinīs Grammatik, herausgegeben, übersetzt, erläutert usw. von Otto BÖHTLINGK, Leipzig 1887.

Vyâkaraṇa-Mahâbhâshya of Patañjali edited by F. KIELHORN, Vol. 1. 2. 3, Bombay 1892—1902.

Mahâbhâshya by Patanjali Muni with M. M. Kaiyaṭopadhyaya's Pradipa and M. M. Nagojībhaṭṭa's uddyota [Bibarana] edited by Pandit Devi Datta PARAJULI. Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares 1908.

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20 Ich verweise auf die einleitenden Strophen 7, 10 und 11.

21 Nach der handscriftlichen Angabe BURNELLS auf dem Titelbatt des MS.

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Kāśikā, edited by Paṇḍit Bāla Śāstrî. Second Edition, Benares 1898..

Paribhâshenduśekhara of Nágojíbhaṭṭa edited and explained by KIELHORN. Part. 1, The Sanskrit Text and various readings, Bombay 1868. Part. 2, Translation and Notes, Bombay 1874.

Siddhântakaumudî with the *Tattvabodhinî* Commentary of Jnanendra Sarasvati and the *Subodhinî* Commentary of Jayakṛishṇa edited by Vâsudev Lakshmaṇ Shâstrî PAṆŚÎKAR. Fourth Edition. Nirnayasâgar Press, Bombay 1908.

Laghukaumudî ed. by James R. BALLANTYNE. Fourth edition, Benares 1891.

Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa herausgegeben von Bruno LIEBICH [= Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XI. Bd. No. 4], Leipzig 1902.

Śākaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇa mit dem *Prakriyāsaṃgraha* von Abhayacandra Sūri, Bombay 1907. [Es wird hier nach dieser und nicht nach der Oppert'schen Ausgabe zitiert.]

Siddhahem[sic !]-Śabdānuśāna by Kalikála Sarvajṇa-Śrī-Hemacandrácháryavarya .. Benares 1905.

Nur die folgenden Abkürzungen bedürfen besonderer Erwähnung:

P. = Pāṇini; C. = Candra; Ś. = Śākaṭāyana; H. = Hemacandra; Vā. = Vārttika; Bh. = Mahābhāṣya.

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[13]

1. TEIL.

Text der Sūtras nebst dem Kommentar.

|| *śrīvītarāgāya namaḥ* ||

śriyaṃ kriyād vaḥ sarvajñajñānajyotir anaśvarīm |
viśvaṃ prakāśayaṃś cintāmaṇiś cintārthasādhanaḥ || 1 ||
namas tamaḥprabhāvābhibhūtabhūdyotahetave |
lokopakāriṇe śabdabrahmaṇe dvādaśātmane || 2 ||
svasti śrīsakalajñānasāmrājyapadam āptavān |
mahāśramaṇasaṃghādhipatir yaḥ śākaṭāyanaḥ || 3 ||
ekaḥ śabdāmbudhiṃ buddhimandareṇa pramathya yaḥ |
sayaśaśśri samuddadhre viśvaṃ vyākaraṇāmṛtam || 4 ||
svalpagranthaṃ sukhopāyaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ yadupakramam |
śabdānuśāsanaṃ sārvam arhacchāsanavat param || 5 ||
iṣṭir neṣṭā na vaktavyaṃ vaktavyaṃ sūtrataḥ pṛthak |
saṃkhyātaṃ nopasaṃkhyānaṃ yasya śabdānuśāsane || 6 ||
tasyātimahatīṃ vṛttiṃ saṃhṛtyeyaṃ laghīyasī |
saṃpūrṇalakṣaṇā vṛttir vakṣyate yakṣavarmaṇā || 7 ||
granthavistārabhīrūṇāṃ sukumāradhiyām ayam |
śuśrūṣādiguṇān kartuṃ śāstre saṃharaṇodyamaḥ || 8 ||
śabdānuśāsanasyānvarthāyāś cintāmaṇer idam |
vṛtter granthapramāṇaṃ tu ṣaṭsahasraṃ nirūpitam || 9 ||
indracandrādibhiḥ śābdair yad uktaṃ śabdalakṣaṇam |
tad ihāsti samastaṃ ca yan nehāsti na tat kvacit || 10 ||
gaṇadhātupāṭhayor gaṇadhātūṁ
liṅgānuśāsane liṅgagatam |
auṇādikān uṇādau śeṣaṃ
niśśeṣam atra vṛttau vidyāt || 11 ||
[14] bālābalājano 'py asyā vṛtter abhyāsavṛttitaḥ |
samastaṃ vāṅmayaṃ vetti varṣeṇaikena niścayāt || 12 ||

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tatra sūtrasyādāv ayaṃ maṅgalaślokaḥ |
namaḥ śrīvardhamānāya prabuddhāśeṣavastave |
yena śabdārthasaṃbandhāḥ sārveṇa sunirūpitāḥ ||

śabdārthasaṃbandhā vācakavācyayogyatāḥ | athavā āgamaprayojanopāyopeyabhāvāḥ te yena sarvasattvahitena tattvataḥ prajñāpitāḥ tasmai śrīmate mahāvīrāya sākṣātkṛtasakaladravyāya namaḥ | namaskaromīty adhyāhāraḥ | iti vighnapraśamanārtham arhaddevatānamaskāraṃ paramamaṅgalam āra-

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bhya bhagavān ācāryaḥ śākaṭāyanaḥ śabdānuśāsanaṃ śāstram idaṃ prāraṛbhate ||

dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu tattvārthāvagatir yataḥ |
śabdārthajñānapūrveti vedyaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ budhaiḥ ||

a i uṇ | ṛk | e o ṅ | ai auc | ha ya va ra lañ |
ña ma ṅa ṇa nam | ja ba ga ḍa daś | jha bha gha ḍha
dhaṣ | kha pha cha ṭha thaṭ | ca ṭa tav | ka pay |
śa ṣa s aṃ aḥ × ka ≍ par | hal || 13 ||

iti varṇasamāmnāyaḥ | kramānubandhopādānaḥ pratyāhārayan śāstrasya lāghavārthaḥ | sāmānyāśrayaṇād dīrghaplutānunāsikagrahaṇaṃ |

hrasvadīrghaplutahalo hy ekadvitryardhamātrikāḥ |
nāsikām anuyātaś ca varṇaḥ syād anunāsikaḥ ||
uccair udātto nīcaiḥ syād anudāttaḥ svaras tathā |
vyāmiśraḥ svarito jñeyaḥ pratyekaṃ vibudhair iha ||

ṛ ity anena ḷvarnasyāpi grahaṇam bhavati | dūrād āmantryasya gurur vaiko lanṛt [2. 3. 27] iti ḷgrahaṇāt | tathā ca | ṛty akaḥ [1. 1. 75] iti ḷkāre 'pi siddham | hakārasya dvir upadeśo aṣādau valādau[1] ca grahaṇārthaḥ | hakārādiṣv akārādaya uccāraṇārthāḥ ||

sātmetet || 1 ||

saṃjñāsūtram etat | itā sahoccāryamāṇo varṇaḥ samudāyo vā ātmanaḥ prabhṛty ā tasmād ito vyavasthitānāṃ saṃjñā bhavaty ātmanā saha| aṇ | ak | ac | hal | sup | suṭ | tiṅ | ptasu[2] ||

saṃjñāniyamaniṣedhādhikāranityāpavādavidhiparibhāṣāḥ |
atideśavikalpāv iti gatayaḥ śabdānuśāsane sūtrāṇām ||

[15] *utā svaḥ* || 2 ||

ukāreṇetā sahopādīyamāno varṇaḥ svasya vargasya saṃjñā bhavaty ātmanā saha | ku | cu | ṭu | tu | pu ||

teyān || 3 ||

takareṇetā sahopādīyamāno varṇa iyān | yāvanmātra upāttas tāvanmātra evāsau veditavyaḥ | at | it | ut ||

bhāvyo 'g || 4 ||

bhāvyo vidheyaḥ pratyayavikārāgamarūpaḥ agakārako varṇa iyān eva veditavyaḥ | bhikṣuḥ | asyai | aṣṭābhiḥ | lavitā || ag iti kim || amum | amū[3] ||

aprayogīt || 5 ||

ihopadiśyamāno varṇaḥ samudāyo vā yo laukike śabdaprayoge na dṛśyate sa itsaṁjño bhavati | edhi | edhate | aiuṇ | aṇ | ṭuvepṛṅ | vepathuḥ | ḍukṛñ | kṛtriman ||

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[1] Cf. *1.* 1. 64. [2] *1.* 1. 39 und Cintām. dazu. [3] *1.* 2. 41.

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svaḥ sthānāsyaikye || 6 ||

sthānaṃ kaṇṭhādi | āsyaṁ mukham | oṣṭhāt prabhṛti prāk kākalakāt | tatra bhavaṃ spṛṣṭatādi prayatnapañcakam āsyam | kaṇṭoṣṭhamūrdhajihvādantorastālunāsikā varṇānāṁ sthānāny āsyaṁ spṛṣṭeṣatspṛṣṭavivṛtasaṃvṛteṣadvivṛtam | tayor abhede varṇo varṇasya svo nāma veditavyaḥ akuhavisarjanīyajihvāmūlīyāḥ kaṇṭhyāḥ | kur jihvāmūle | havisarjanīyāv urasyau | jihvāmūlīyo jihvyaḥ | sarvamukhasthānam avarṇam ity eke | ieaicuyaśās tālavyāḥ | eai kaṇṭhatālavyāv ekeṣām | uoaupūpadhmānīyā oṣṭhyāḥ | oau kaṇṭhoṣṭhyāv ekeṣāṃ | vo dantoṣṭhyaḥ | sṛk vasthānam ekeṣām | ṛṭuraṣāmūrdhanyāḥ | repho dantamūla ekeṣām | ḷtulasā dantyāḥ | nāsikyo 'nusvāraḥ | kaṇṭhanāsikya ekeṣām || āsyam || spṛṣṭaṃ karaṇaṃ sparśānām | īṣatspṛṣṭam antassthānām | vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām svarāṇāṃ ca | eo vivṛtatarau | tābhyām aiau | tābhyām avarṇaḥ | īṣadvivṛtam ūṣmaṇām | saṃvṛtam akārasya | á a à ity akāraḥ udātto 'nudāttaḥ svaritaś cānunāsiko 'nanunāsikaś ceti ṣaṭ | evaṃ dīrghaplutāv iti dvādaśāvarṇabhedāḥ parasparasya sve bhavanti | evam ivarṇādīnāṃ tv [16] aṣṭādaśa bhedāḥ | ḷvarṇasyānukaraṇād anyatra dīrgho nāstīti dvādaśa bhedāḥ | ecāṃ hrasvābhāvād dvādaśa bhedāḥ | yavalānām anunāsiko 'nanunāsikaś ceti dvau bhedau | vargyāḥ pañca pañca | rephoṣmaṇāṃ sve na santi ||

āsannaḥ || 7 ||

ihāsannānāsannaprasaṅge sthānaguṇapramāṇādibhir yathāsvam āsanna eva vidhir upātto veditavyaḥ || tatra sthānena || dīrghaḥ [*1.* 1. 77] | lokāgram | munīndraḥ || guṇena || kte 'niṭcajaḥ kur gghiti [*4.* 1. 171] | pākaḥ | tyāgaḥ | cakārasyāghoṣasyālpaprāṇasya tādṛśa eva kakāro bhavati | jakārasya ghoṣavato 'lpaprāṇasya tādṛśa eva gakāro bhavati || pramāṇena || do mo 'syādaso mād guś cāṣiny asan [*1.* 2. 44] | amuṣmai | amūbhyām | mātrikasya mātrikaḥ | dvimātrasya dvimātraḥ || arthena || mānistry ekārthayoḥ stryanyato 'nūṅ [*2.* 2. 41] | vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ | dāradavṛṇḍārikā | vataṇḍīśabdasya apatyārthasya tadartho vātaṇḍyabhāvaḥ | daracchabdasya dāradaḥ ||

saṃbandhināṃ saṃbandhe || 8 ||

saṃbandhiśabdānāṃ yat kāryam ucyate tat saṃbandhe saty eva bhavati nānyatra | śvaśurād yaḥ [*2.* 4. 94] śvaśuryaḥ | saṃjñāyāṃ śvaśurād in[4] eva | śvāśuriḥ ||

ghaḍḍati saṃkhyā || 9 ||

ghatuḍatipratyayāntaṃ[5] saṃkhyāvad bhavati | ekādikā saṃkhyā tatkāryaṃ pratipadyata ity arthaḥ | yāvatkam | yāvaddhā | yāvatkṛtvaḥ | yatidhā | yatikṛtvaḥ[6] ||

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[4] *2.* 4. 21. [5] *3.* 3. 68-71. [6] *3.* 4. 27, 32.

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bahugaṇaṃ bhede || 10 ||

bahugaṇa ity etau śabdau bhede vartamānau saṃkhyāvad bhavataḥ | bhedo nānātvam ekatvapratiyogi | bahukaḥ | bahudhā | bahukṛtvaḥ[6] | gaṇakaḥ | gaṇadhā | gaṇakṛtvaḥ[6] || bheda iti kim || vaipulye saṃghe ca mā bhūt ||

kasamāse 'dhyardhaḥ || 11 ||

adhyardhaśabdaḥ kapratyaye vidhātavye samāse ca saṃkhyāvad bhavati | adhyardhakam | adhyardhaśūrpaṃ krīte || pratyayasya dvigoḥ[7] śluk ||

[17] *ardhapūrvapado ḍat* || 12 ||

ardhapūrvapado ḍatpratyayāntaḥ śabdaḥ kasamāsayoḥ saṃkhyāvad bhavati | ḍad iti saṃkhyāpūraṇe ḍaṭ [*3. 3. 76*] ity ārabhya ā dvitres[8] tīyatas takāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ | ardhapañcamakam | ardhapañcamaśūrpam ||

pautrādi vṛddham || 13 ||

paramaprakṛter apatyavataḥ yat pautrādy apatyaṃ tad vṛddhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | gargasyāpatyaṃ pautrādi gārgyaḥ | vātsyaḥ[9] | anantarāpatyaṃ gārgiḥ | vātsir[10] ity eva bhavati ||

prapautrādy astri vaṃśyajyāyobhrātroḥ sati yuvā || 14 ||

prapautraḥ pautrāpatyaṃ paramaprakṛteś caturthaḥ | vaṃśe bhavo vaṃśyaḥ pitrādir ātmanaḥ kāraṇam | jyāyān bhrātā vayo'dhika ekapitṛka ekamātṛko vā | paramaprakṛteḥ prapautrādy apatyaṃ strīvarjitaṃ vaṃśye sati jīvati putrādi jyāyasi ca bhrātari kanīyān bhrātā yuvasaṃjño bhavati | gārgyāyaṇaḥ | vātsyāyanaḥ[11] || paramaprakṛtir gargaḥ | tasyānantarāpatyaṃ gārgiḥ[10] | tadanantarāpatyaṃ vṛddho gārgyaḥ[9] tṛtīyaḥ syāt | caturtho gārgyāyaṇo yuvā || prapautrādīti kim || pautro gārgyaḥ || astrīti kim || strī gārgī[12] ||

sat sapiṇḍe 'dhivayassthāne vā || 15 ||

yayoḥ pūrvaḥ saptamaḥ puruṣa ekas tāv anyonyasya sapiṇḍau | vayo yauvanādi | sthānaṃ pitā putra ityādi | paramaprakṛteḥ prapautrādy apatyaṃ strīvarjitaṃ vayassthānābhyāṃ dvābhyām apy adhike sapiṇḍe jīvati sati saj jīvad eva yuvasaṃjñaṃ vā bhavati | pitṛvye pitṛvyasya pitari pitāmahe putre vā vayo'dhike jīvati gārgyasyāpatyaṃ jīvad gārgyaḥ gārgyāyaṇo[11] vā | vātsyaḥ vātsyāyano[11] vā || sad ityādi kim || anyatra gārgyaḥ[9] || strī gārgī[12] ||

yuvavṛddhaṃ kutsārce || 16 ||

yuvā ca vṛddhaṃ cāpatyaṃ yathākramaṃ kutsāyām arcāyāṃ ca viṣaye yuvasaṃjñaṃ vā bhavati | gargasyāpatyaṃ yuvā kutsito gārgyaḥ | gārgyā-

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[7] *3. 3. 64.* [8] *3. 3. 86.* [9] *2. 4. 18, 38.*
[10] *2. 4. 21.* [11] *2. 4. 33.* [12] *1. 3. 15.*

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yaṇo[13] vā || jāĺmaḥ gurumān bhūtvā svatantra ucyate | anyatra gārgyāyaṇa eva || gargasyāpatyaṃ vṛddham arcitaṃ gārgyāyaṇaḥ | gārgyo vā | anyatra gārgya eva ||

[18] *nāma duḥ* || 17 ||

yan nāmadhyeyaṃ saṃvyavahārāya haṭhān niyujyate devadattādi tad dusaṃjñaṃ vā bhavati | devadattīyāḥ[14] | daivadattāḥ ||

tyadādiḥ || 18 ||

tyadādayaḥ śabdā nityam dusaṃjñā bhavanti | tyadīyam[14] | tadīyam | kimīyam | tādāyaniḥ[15] | yādāyaniḥ || tyadādiḥ sarvādyantargaṇaḥ ||

yasyākṣv ādir ādaic || 19 ||

yasya śabdasyācāṃ madhye ādir ac ākāra aij vā sa dusaṃjño bhavati | āmraguptāyaniḥ[15] | āmbaṣṭhyaḥ[16] | sauvīryaḥ[16] | aitikāyanīyaḥ[14] | aupagavīyaḥ[14] ||

deśa evaiṅ chādau || 20 ||

deśa eva vartamānasya yasya śabdasyācām ādir eṅ bhavati sa chādau pratyaye vidhātavye dusaṃjño bhavati | saipurikī | saipurikā | skaunagarikī | skaunagarikā | sepuraṃ skonagaraṃ ca bāhīkagrāmau || evakāro niyamārthaḥ | tena deśe 'nyarthatra ca vartamānasya na bhavati || chādāv iti kim || phiñādau na bhavati ||

prāgdeśe || 21 ||

prāgdeśe vartamānasya yasya śabdasyācām ādir eṅ sa chādau pratyaye dusaṃjño bhavati | śarāvatī nāma nadī | tadapekṣā prāgudagvyavasthā | eṇīpacanīyaḥ[14] | gonardīyaḥ | ekacakrakaḥ | niyamanivṛttyartham vacanam ||

kriyārtho dhātuḥ || 22 ||

kriyāpravṛttiḥ pūrvāparībhūtā sādhyamānarūpā | sā artho 'bhidheyaṃ yasya sa śabdo dhātusaṃjño bhavati | bhū | bhavati | edhi | edhate gopāya | gopāyati | pāpacya | pāpacyate | putrakāmya[17] | putrakāmyati || śiṣṭaprayogānusāritvāl lakṣaṇasya āṇapayatyādinivṛttiḥ ||

dādhā ghv ab || 23 ||

dādhārūpopalakṣito yo dhātuḥ so 'bakārānubandho ghusaṃjño bhavati | dārūpāś catvāraḥ | dhārūpau dvau || dāṇ | praṇidātā | deṅ | [19] praṇidayate | ḍudāñ | praṇidadāti | do | praṇidyati | dheṭ | praṇidhayati | ḍudhāñ | praṇidadhāti[18] || ab iti kim || dāb | dātaṃ barhiḥ | daib | avadātaṃ mukham ||

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[13] *2.* 4. 38, 33, 20. [14] *3.* 1. 26. [15] *3.* 1. 28.
[16] Cf. P. *4.* 1. 149, 171. [17] *4.* 1. 17. [18] *1.* 2. 77.

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prādir nāpratyaye || 24 ||

prādiḥ svarādyantargaṇaḥ | sa na dhātuḥ | dhātor avayavo na bhavati | taṃ vyudasya tataḥ para eva dhātusaṃjño veditavyaḥ | apratyaye | na cet tataḥ paraḥ pratyayo bhavati | abhyamanāyata[19] | abhimimanāyiṣate | abhimanāyya[20] | prāsādīyat | prāsisādīyiṣati | prāsādīyya || apratyaya iti kim || autsukāyata[21] | utsukāyiṣate | utsukāyitvā[22] || asaṃgrāmayatāsura ity atra saṃgrāma ity etāvān yuddhārtho dhātur nātra saṃ prādiḥ ||

tasyāgatārthādhiparyarcāsvatyatikramāty upasargaḥ prāk ca || 25 ||

tasya dhātoḥ saṃbandhī tadarthadyotī prādir upasargasaṃjño bhavati prāk ca tato dhātor bhavati | yau gatārthāv adhipari iti yau cārcāviṣayau suati iti yaś cātikramaviṣayaḥ ati iti tān etān varjayitvā | pralambhaḥ[23] | pariṇamati[24] | abhiṣiñcati[25] || upasargatvena mādi || tasyeti kim || vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣam abhi sicyate || agatetyādi kim || adhyāgacchati | āgacchaty adhi | paryāgacchati | āgacchati pari | adhyāgamanikaḥ | paryānītam | upari-bhāvasya sarvatobhāvasya ca prakaraṇādeḥ pratipattau gatārthatvam | apratipattau adhyāgacchati paryāgacchatīti prāktvam eva || arcāsvati || su siktaṃ bhavatā | ati stutaṃ bhavatā | atra dhātvarthaḥ praśasyate | anyatra suṣiktaṃ bhavateti kutsyate || atikramāti || ati siktam eva bhavatā | ati stutvā | yadarthaṃ kriyā tasmin kārye niṣpanne 'pi kriyāpravṛttir atikramaḥ | anyatra atiśayya || prāk cety adhikāraḥ prāg avyayasaṃjñāyāḥ ||

ḍāccvyūryādyanukaraṇaṃ ca ti || 26 ||

ḍājantaṃ cvyantam ūrityevamādy anukaraṇam upasargasaṃjñaṃ ca dhātoḥ saṃbandhi tisaṃjñaṃ bhavati || ḍāc || paṭapaṭākṛtya[20] | sapattrākṛtya || cvi || śuklīkṛtya[20] | ghaṭīkṛtya || ūryādi || ūrīkṛtya | ūrarīkṛtya[20] || anukaraṇam || khātkṛtya | phaṭkṛtya[20] || upasargaḥ || prakṛtya parihṛtya[20] | cviḍācsādharmyād ūryādīnāṃ kṛbhvastibhir eva yoge tisaṃjñā || ūryādayo gaṇapāṭhe draṣṭavyāḥ ||

[20] *kārikālamado'nṭaḥsadasat sthityādibhūṣānupadeśāparigrahādarakṣepe* || 27 ||

sthityādau bhūṣā anupadeśa-aparigraha-ādara-kṣepa ity eteṣu cārtheṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ kārikā-alam-adas-antar-sat-asat ity ete śabdā dhātos tisaṃjñā bhavanti || sthitir maryādā vṛttir vā | ādiśabdād yatnādi gṛhyate | tatra kārikakṛtya[26] || bhūṣā maṇḍanam | tatra alaṃkṛtya[26] || svayam parāmarśo 'nupadeśaḥ | tatra adaḥkṛtya[26] || parigrahaḥ svīkāraḥ | tadabhāve antarhatya[26] || ādaraḥ prītya saṃbhramaḥ | tatra satkṛtya[26] || kṣepaḥ paribhavaḥ | tatra asatkṛtya[26] || sthityādāv iti kim || kārikāṃ kṛtvā | kartrīm ity arthaḥ | alaṃ kṛtvā | mā kārīty arthaḥ | adaḥ kṛtvā gataḥ | ayaṃ parasyo-

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19 *4.* 2. 131. 20 *2.* 2. 171. 21 *3.* 3. 113.
22 *4.* 4. 144. 23 *4.* 2. 207. 24 *4.* 2. 238.
25 *4.* 2. 219. 26 *2.* 2. 171.

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padeśaḥ | antar hatvā mūṣikāṃ śyeno gataḥ | parigṛhyety arthaḥ | sat kṛtvā | vidyamānam ity arthaḥ | asat kṛtvā | avidyamānam ity arthaḥ ||

kaṇemanaḥ śraddhocchede || 28 ||

kaṇe-manas ity etau śabdau śraddhāyā abhilāṣasyocchede dhātos tisaṃjñau bhavataḥ || kaṇehatya[26] | manohatya | śraddhām ucchidyety arthaḥ | anyatra taṇḍulasya kaṇe hatvā mano hatvā gataḥ ||

astaṃpuro 'vyayam || 29 ||

astam-puras ity etāv avyayau dhātos tisaṃjñau bhavataḥ | astaṃgatya | puraskṛtya[27] | astam iti nāśe vartate || anavyaye | astaṃ kṛtvā kṣiptam ity arthaḥ | puraḥ kṛtvā nagarīr ity arthaḥ ||

gatyarthavado 'cchaḥ || 30 ||

accha ity etad avyayam abhiśabdārthe dṛḍhārthe ca vartate | tad gatyarthasya vadeś ca dhātoḥ saṃbandhi tisaṃjñaṃ bhavati | acchagatya[23] | acchavrajya | acchodya || avyayam iti kim || accham udakaṃ gatvā ||

tiro 'ntardhau || 31 ||

tiras ity etad antardhau vyavadhāne vartamānaṃ dhātoḥ saṃbandhi tisaṃjñaṃ bhavati | tirobhūya[26] | tirodhāya | anyatra tiro bhūtvā sthitaḥ | tiryag bhūtvety arthaḥ ||

kṛño vā || 32 ||

tiras ity etad antardhau vartamānaṃ kṛño dhātoḥ saṃbandhi tisaṃjñam vā bhavati | tiraskṛtya[28] | tiraḥkṛtya | tiraḥ kṛtvā || anyatra tiraḥ kṛtvā ||

[21] *manasyurasyupāje'nvājemadhyepadenivacane* || 33 ||

manasi-urasi-upāje-anvāje-madhye-pade-nivacane ity etāny avyayāni kṛño dhātoḥ saṃbandhīni tisaṃjñāni vā bhavanti | urasi manasi anatyādhānaviṣaye | atyādhānam upaśleṣa āścaryaṃ ca | manasikṛtya[29] | manasi kṛtvā | urasikṛtya | urasi kṛtvā | upājekṛtya | upāje kṛtvā | anvājekṛtya | anvājekṛtvā | madhyekṛtya | madhye kṛtvā | padekṛtya | pade kṛtvā | nivacanekṛtya | nivacane kṛtvā ||

svāmye 'dhiḥ || 34 ||

adhir ity ayam upasargaḥ svāmibhāvaviṣaye kṛño dhātoḥ saṃbandhī tisaṃjño bhavati vā | devadattaṃ grāme 'dhikṛtya[29] | adhi kṛtvā | svāminaṃ kṛtvety arthaḥ | anyatra acīty adhikṛtya[29] || prādir[30] upasarga[31] iti vartate | tenopasargasaṃjñāpi vikalpyata iti kṛtvādhīti prāktvasyāniyamaḥ ||

sākṣādādy acvi || 35 ||

sākṣādityādi śabdarūpam acvi cvyarthaṃ acvyantaṃ kṛñaḥ saṃbandhi

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[27] *1.* 1. 168. [28] *1.* 1. 167. [29] *2.* 2. 171.
[30] *1.* 1. 24. [31] *1.* 1. 25.

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tisaṃjñaṃ vā bhavati | sākṣātkṛtya[29] | sākṣāt kṛtvā | mithyākṛtya | mithyā kṛtvā || acvīti kim || lavaṇīkṛtya | uṣṇīkṛtya[29] ||

nityaṃ hastepāṇau svīkṛtau || 36 ||

haste-pāṇāv ity etāv avyayau ātmīyīkaraṇe kṛñaḥ saṃbhandhinau tisaṃjñau nityaṃ bhavataḥ | hastekṛtya | pāṇaukṛtya[29] | anyatra haste kṛtvā kārṣāpaṇaṃ gataḥ ||

jīvikopaniṣad ive || 37 ||

jīvikā-upaniṣad ity etau śabdau ivārthe gamyamāne kṛñaḥ saṃbandhinau tisaṃjñau nityaṃ bhavataḥ | jīvikām iva kṛtvā jīvikākṛtya[29] | jīvikākaroti[32] | upaniṣatkṛtya | upaniṣatkaroti | anyatra jīvikāṃ kṛtvā | upaniṣadaṃ kṛtvā ||

prādhvaṃ bandhe || 38 ||

prādhvam ity etad makārāntam avyayam ānukūlye vartate | tadānukūlye bandhahetuke vartamānaṃ kṛñaḥ saṃbandhi tisaṃjñaṃ bhavati | prādhvaṃkṛtya[29] | anyatra pragatam adhvānaṃ prādhvaṃ kṛtvā śakaṭaṃ gataḥ ||

[22] *tasvaṅñāmadhaṇtasyāṃktvāṃtumtisuṅptasvābhasvarādīny avyayam* || 39 ||

tas-vat-ṅām-ityetadantāni dhaṇvarjitatasyantāni ām-kṛtvā-am-tum ityetadantāni tisaṃjñāni suṅptasupratirūpāṇi svarādīni ca śabdarūpāṇy avyayasaṃjñāni bhavanti || tas || ekadiśitaḥ pīlumūlato[33] vidyotate || vat || munivad vṛttam || ṅām || uccaistamām || adhaṇtasi || rāmataḥ[34] | rāvaṇataḥ | sarvataḥ | sarvatra[35] | bahuśaḥ | tasīti vyāśraye tas [*3.* 4. 4] ity ārabhyā śaser[36] ikāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ || adhaṇ iti kim || pathidvaidhāni | saṃśayatraidhāni[37] || ām || dayāṃcakre | vidāṃkarotu[38] || ktvā || kṛtvā | hṛtvā || am || pūrvaṃbhojaṃ | kanyādarśaṃ[39] varayati || tum || kartum | hartum || ti || adaḥkṛtya | avyayān na siḥ || suṅābhaḥ || rātrau | velāyām | asti | syāt || ptasvābhaḥ || yathā | tathā | katham | kutaḥ | ptasu iti ptaspratyayād[40] ārabhya ā katham itthamor [*3.* 4. $_{16}$] ukāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ || svarādiḥ | svas tiṣṭhati | antas tiṣṭhati | upa karoti ||

sadṛśaṃ triṣu liṅgeṣu sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu |
vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu yan na vyeti tad avyayam ||

tasādigrahaṇaṃ kim || ekaḥ | dvau | bahavaḥ | āpaḥ | varṣāḥ || svarādayo gaṇapāṭhe draṣṭavyāḥ ||

ghy asakhyadvandvapatīdut || 40 ||

ikārāntam ukārāntaṃ ca śabdarūpaṃ ghisaṃjñaṃ bhavati sakhiśabdaṃ dvandvānavayavaṃ ca patiśabdaṃ varjayitvā | muninā | sādhunā | muni-

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[32] *2.* 2. 1. [33] *3.* 1. 179, 180. [34] *3.* 4. 4.
[35] *3.* 4. 17. [36] *3.* 4. 64. [37] *3.* 4. 31.
[38] *1.* 4. 83. [39] *4.* 4. 150. [40] *3.* 4. 12.

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sutau | sādhuguptau[41] || asakhyadvandvapatīti kim || sakhyā | sakhye | patyā | patye || advandvagrahaṇaṃ kim || patisutau | patisakhāyau || patisakhiśabdayor ayaṃ pratiṣedhaḥ | na samudāyasya | teneha bhavaty eva | atisakher āgacchati | bahupateḥ svam ||

pratyayaḥ kṛto 'ṣaṣṭhyāḥ || 41 ||

iha yaḥ kṛto vihitaḥ sa pratyayasaṃjño veditavyaḥ | aṣaṣṭhyāḥ | ṣaṣṭhyantārthaḥ ṣaṣṭhī | na cet sa ṣaṣṭhyantārthasya vihito bhavati | āgamo vikāro vety arthaḥ | ṅī | rājñī | su au jas[42] | vṛkṣaḥ vṛkṣau vṛkṣāḥ ||

[23] *ijādy āyāt taddhitaḥ* || 42 ||

ij yuddhe [2. 1. 135] ity ārabhya gupaudhūbvicchipanpaṇer āyaḥ [4. 1. 1] ity āyapratyayāt prāg yat pratyayasaṃjñaṃ tat taddhitasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | keśākeśi[43] aupagavaḥ[44] ||

ghyādy 'atiṅ kṛt || 43 ||

ghyaṇādī[45] pratyayasaṃjñaṃ tiṅvarjitaṃ kṛtsaṃjñaṃ bhavati | ghanaghātyaḥ godāyo vrajati || atiṅ iti kim || praṇiṃste ||

paraḥ || 44 ||

yaḥ pratyayaḥ sa prakṛteḥ para eva bhavati | vṛkṣaḥ | vṛkṣau | vṛkṣāḥ ||

mid aco 'ntyāt || 45 ||

makārānubandhako yasya vidhīyate tasyācām antyāt paro bhavati | vandate | vanāni[46] ||

spardhe || 46 ||

dvayor vidhyor anyatra sāvakāśayos tulyabalayor ekatra vinipātaḥ spardhas tatra yaḥ sūtrapāṭhe paraḥ sa vidhir bhavati | utvam[47] | ko hasati | ko dhāvati | luk[48] | eṣa karoti | sa saratīti ubhayaprāptau paratvāl luk | eṣa hasati | sa dhāvati ||

paraṃ syāt pūrvaparayor nityaṃ syāt paranityayoḥ |
nityāt tathāntaraṅgaṃ syāt tato 'py anavakāśakam ||

ṣaṣṭhyāḥ sthāne 'nte 'laḥ || 47 ||

ṣaṣṭhyantārthasya vidhīyamāno vidhis tasya yo 'ntyo 'l tasya sthāne prasaṅgo bhavatīti veditavyam | napo 'co hrsvaḥ [1. 2. 1] grāmaṇi kulam | senāni kulam ||

tasmād ādeḥ || 48 ||

tasmād ṣaṣṭhyāḥ pañcamīviśiṣṭasya ṣaṣṭhyantārthasya parasya vidhī-

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41 2. 1. 119. 42 1. 3. 97. 43 2. 1. 135.
44 2. 3. 82. 45 4. 3. 60. 46 1. 2. 11.
47 1. 1. 157. 48 1. 1. 158.

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yamāno vidhis tasyāder alaḥ sthāne bhavati | dvyantarupasargād īd apo 'nāt [2. 2. 138] | dvīpam | antarīpam ||

[24] *śidaṅidal* || 49 ||

śic cāṅidal cādeśaḥ ṣaṣṭhyantārthasya tasyaiva sthāne bhavati nāder antasya vālaḥ || śit || jaśśasaḥ śiḥ [1. 2. 18] vanāni | dhanāni || aṅidal || sām āmaḥ [1. 2. 176] | sarveṣām | viśveṣām || ṅidalparyudāsaḥ kim || jarāyā ṅas[49] | jarasā | jarase | jho 'ntaḥ [1. 4. 88] iti yaḥ sa nirdiśyamānasyādeśaḥ ||

sthānīvānalāśraye || 50 ||

yasya sthāne yo vidhīyate sa sthānī | itara ādeśaḥ | sthānīva bhavaty ādeśaḥ | sthānikāryaṃ pratipadyata ity arthaḥ | analāśraye | na cet tat kāryaṃ sthānyalāśrayaṃ bhavati | yuvā | rājā[50] | suval lope 'pi ny ak [1. 2. 134] iti dīrghaḥ padatvādi ca | kasmai | kasmāt | kiṃvat sarvāditvāt smāyādi[51] || analāśraya iti kim || saḥ | panthāḥ[52] | atra sthānivattvābhāvāt halaḥ paratvalakṣaṇā sor lug na bhavati[53] || āśrayagrahaṇaṃ kim || pradīvya | prasīvya | valāder iḍ na bhavati[54] ||

pare'caḥ prāco 'kvidīrghayadvyāsadasklugvidhau || 51 ||

ajādeśaḥ paranimittakas tataḥ pūrvavidhau kartavye sthānivad bhavati | kvividhiṃ dīrghasya vidhiṃ yakārasya vidhiṃ dvitvasya vidhim ā etasmād ārabhya domo 'syādaso mād yuṣ cāṣiny asan [1. 2. 44] ity asadadhikārād yo vidhiḥ saṃyogasyādiskor lug [1. 2. 91] iti lugvarjitas taṃ ca varjayitvā | kathayati | avadhīt || atrāllugupāntyavidhau kartavye sthānivad bhavati || pādikaḥ[55] || atra padbhāve kvividhyādipratiṣedhaḥ kim || devayater dyūḥ | lavam ācaṣṭe lavayater lauḥ | atra ṇilugallopau kvividhāv ūci na sthānivat || śāmaṃ śāmam | aśāmi | śaṃśāmaṃ śaṃśāmam aśaṃśāmi | atra ṇyantāt ṇiyaṅṇyantāt ca khamuñiñau ṇilugallucau dīrghavidhau || saurī balākā | brāhmaṇakaṇḍūtiḥ | atra allug yavidhau || daddhy atra | maddhv apanaya | atra yañ dhakārasya dvitvavidhau || nayanam | lavanam[56] | vaiyākaraṇaḥ | sauvaśvaḥ[57] | yāni santi | tāni santi[58] | abhiṣanti | viṣanti | apayanti | viyanti[59] | atraiṅañyalluco 'yādāv āsadvidhau || sklugvidhipratiṣedhaḥ[60] | kim || sukusmayateḥ sukuḥ | kāṣṭhaṃ takṣayatīti kāṣṭhatak | atra saṃyogasyādiskor luk [1. 2. 91] iti luci sthānivadbhāvāt padasya [1. 2. 92] iti luk || kāṣṭhataḍ ity aṇyante || asklug iti prāyiko 'yaṃ niṣedhas tena madhuścutam ācakṣāṇo [25] madhug ity atra ṇilopasyāsthānivattvāt ḍnas taṭ so 'ścaḥ [1. 1. 146] iti paryudāsasāmarthyāt śakārasyāpi saṃyogasyādiskor lug iti luk | ṣaḍika ity aṣaḍ ity ato jaś ||

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49 *1.* 2. 37.
50 *1.* 2. 95, 134, 120.
51 *1.* 2. 217, 166.
52 *1.* 2. 213, 109-111.
53 *1.* 2. 120.
54 *4.* 2. 134.
55 *3.* 2. 39.
56 *1.* 1. 71.
57 *2.* 3. 87 ; 1. 1. 71.
58 *1.* 1. 73.
59 *1.* 1. 77.
60 *1.* 2. 91.

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ślucīgenat || 52 ||

parasya pratyayasya śluci saṃjātāyāṃ ślugbhūtaparanimittakaṃ pūrvakāryam ik-enad ity etāvad eva bhavati | veveddhi | śośavīti | jarīgṛhīti | enat paśya | enacchritakaḥ[61] || sthānīvānalāśraye [*1.* 1. 50] iti siddhe niyamārthaṃ vacanam | tenānyāni na bhavanti | tat | gargāḥ ||

ṭid ādiḥ || 53 ||

ṭid yasya vidhīyate sa tasyādiḥ prathamāvayavo bhavati | ḍnas taṭ so scaḥ [*1.* 1. 146] | guḍaliṭt sāye || valāder iṭ[62] | vaditā | vaditum ||

kid antaḥ || 54 ||

kid yasya vidhīyate sa tasyānto 'vasānāvayavo bhavati || naḥ śi jak [*1.* 1. 147] bhavāñc chūrah || hrasvasya tak[63] | agnicit || yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ ||

viśeṣaṇam || 55 ||

viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyasya samudāyasyānto 'ntāvayavo bhavati || napo 'co hrasvati [*1.* 2. 1] kīlālapaṃ | grāmaṇi kulam || yvṝ ity ac[64] | jayaḥ | stavaḥ | taraḥ ||

prāk pañcamī || 56 ||

pañcamyantārthaviśeṣaṇam asamānādhikaraṇaṃ viśeṣyāt prāk pūrvaṃ bhavati || padād vākyasya vasnasau yugvibhakteḥ [*1.* 2. 191] dharmo vo vardhatām | dharmo no vardhatām || iha na bhavati || yuṣmākaṃ dharmo vardhatām ||

na saptamy aghyādiṣu || 57 ||

iha saptamīnirdiṣṭam viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyāt pūrvaṃ na bhavati ghyaṇādividher[65] anyatra || eco 'cy ayavāyāv [*1.* 1. 71] munaye | sādhavoghaḥ | anena parasyāyādi na bhavati || aghyādiṣv iti kim || smarasi vatsyāmaḥ kaliṅgeṣu[66] | mā bhūt[67] ||

tasyādiḥ || 58 ||

tasya saptamyantasya viśeṣaṇam tasyādir avayavo veditavyaḥ || jarāyā ṇas indrasyāci [*1.* 2. 37] jarasaḥ | jarasām || iha na bhavati || jarāsu tapyate 'nena || saptamīty asya strītvaṃ na parāmṛśyate ||

[26] *pratyayanyakṣyat prakṛtyādeḥ* || 59 ||

ṣyad iti gurūpottamasyānārṣe 'patye 'ṇiñaḥ syaṅ [*1.* 3. 2] ity ārabhya ā yūnas tit [*1.* 3. 76] iti titas takāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ | pratyayo nyaṅ upasaryūnas ca ṣyat viśeṣaṇam prakṛtyādeḥ samudāyasyeti veditavyam nonādhikasya || pratyayaḥ || mātṛbhogīṇaḥ | khārapāyaṇaḥ || suṅ padam [*1.* 1. 62] iti padasaṃjñā ūnasya na bhavati | tena abhinne [*1.* 2. 56] iti ṇaḥ || rājñaḥ

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61 *2.* 1. 33. 62 *4.* 2. 134. 63 *4.* 1. 42. 64 *4.* 4. 14.
65 *4.* 4. 1 ff. 66 *4.* 3. 209. 67 *4.* 4. 137.

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puruṣaḥ rājapuruṣaḥ | ṣaṣṭhy ayatnāt [2. 1. 43] iti samāsaḥ | adhikasya samudāyasya na bhavati | vṛddhasya rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ || putram icchati putrakāmyati | supaḥ kartuḥ kāmyaḥ [4. 1. 17] | adhikān na bhavati | mahāntaṃ putram icchati || nyakṣyat || atikārīṣagandhyābandhuḥ | atikaumudagandhyābandhuḥ || bandhau ṣyasyeś [2. 2. 115] na bhavati[68] | anupasarjinas tu ṣyad adhikasyāpi bhavati || paramakārīṣagandhībandhuḥ | parama kaumudagandhībandhuḥ ||

kṛt satikārakasyāpi || 60 ||

kṛtpratyayaḥ satisaṃjñikasyāpi sakārakasyāpi satikārakasyāpi prakṛtyādeḥ samudāyasya viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati | apiśabdāt kevalasyāpi | udakeviśīrṇam | avataptenakulasthitam | devadattanakhanirbhinnam | bhasmanihutaṁ | sāṃkūṭinam | vyāvakrośī ||

tiṅā vākyam || 61 ||

iha sākṣāt pāraṃparyeṇa vā tiṅantasya viśeṣaṇaṃ prayujyamānam aprayujyamānaṃ vā tena tiṅantena prayujyamānenāprayujyamānena vā saha vākyasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | dharmo vo rakṣatu[69] | dharmo no rakṣatu | sādhu vo rakṣatu | sādhu no rakṣatu | śālīnāṃ ta odanaṃ dadāti | śālīnāṃ ma odanaṃ dadāti | kaṭaṃ kurū3 grāmaṃ ca gaccha | yavān lunīhī3 saktūṃś ca piba | devadattena vo dātavyam | devadattena no dātavyam || sākāṅkṣatve 'pi tiṅantabhede vākyabhedārthaṃ vacanam | odanaṃ paca tava bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati | paca tava bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati | odanaṃ tava bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati | arthāt prakaraṇād vāvagatāv aprayogaḥ ||

suṅ padam || 62 ||

suṅ[70] iti prathamaikavacanād ārabhya ā mahiṅo[71] ṅakāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ | suṅantaṃ śabdarūpam padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | dharmaḥ | karma | pacataḥ | apacan | brūmahe | vaḥ ||

[27] *naṃ kye* || 63 ||

nakārāntaṃ śabdarūpaṃ kye pratyaye parataḥ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | kya iti kyac-pkyaṅ-kyaṣ-kyaṅāṃ[72], viśeṣakarān anubandhān utsṛjya sāmānyena grahaṇam | rājīyati[72] | rājāyate | carmāyati | uṣmāyate[73] || kya iti kim || sāmānyaḥ || suṅ ity eva | manyā ||

sidvaly adhātoḥ || 64 ||

siti valādau ca pratyaye pare pūrvaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | adhātoḥ | na cet sa pratyayo dhātor vihito bhavati || siti || bhavadīyaḥ | ūrṇāyuḥ || vali || payobhyām | payaḥsu | rājatā | vāktvam || adhātor iti kim || yajvā | vacmi ||

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[68] *1.* 3. 2. [69] *1.* 2. 191. [70] *1.* 3. 97, 100, 127, 135, 152, 165, 171.
[71] *1.* 4. 2. [72] *4.* 1. 18, 22, 27, 35. [73] *4.* 1. 36.

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na vṛttyantaḥ || 65 ||

padārthābhidhānaṃ vṛttiḥ | tadvācī śabdasamudāyaḥ samāsādiḥ | tasyāntaḥ śabdaḥ padasaṃjño na bhavati | paramagirau | paramadivau | śvalihau | goduhau | bahudaṇḍinau || antagrahaṇaṃ kim || rājavāk ||

staṃ matvarthe || 66 ||

sakārāntaṃ takārāntaṃ ca śabdarūpaṃ matvarthīye pratyaye pare padasaṃjñaṃ na bhavati | yaśasvī | yaśasvān | viduṣmān | marutvān ||

manurnabho'ṅgiro vati || 67 ||

manus-nabhas-aṅgiras ity etāni vati pratyaye pare padasaṃjñāni na bhavanti | manur iva manuṣvat | nabhasvat | aṅgirasvat ||

virāme 'gidanāṅcādy aṇ vānunāsikaḥ || 68 ||

viratir virāmaḥ | virāme vartamānasyāṇo gidanāṅcādivarjitasya tadādi sanno[74] 'nunāsika ādeśo vā bhavati | sāmā̃ | sāma | khaṭvā̃ | khaṭvā | dadhi̇̃ | dadhi | madhu̇̃ | madhu || virāma iti kim || dadhi karoti || agidanāṅcādīti kim || munī | sādhū[75] | kim u || anāṅgrahaṇaṃ kim || pāṭaliputrād ā̃ | pātaliputrād ā ||

car jaśaḥ || 69 ||

virāme vartamānasya jaśaḥ sthāne tadāsannaś[74] carādeśo vā bhavati | triṣṭup | triṣṭub[76] | vāk | vāg | ṣaṭ | ṣaḍ | tat | tad || virāma iti kim || vāg atra[76] ||

[28] *na* || 70 ||

ita ūrdhvaṃ yad vakṣyate tad virāme vartamānasya na bhavatīty adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam ā pādaparisamāpteḥ | te āhuḥ | bhavān lunāti ||

eco 'cy ayavāyāv || 71 ||

ecaḥ sthāne aci pare ay-av-āy-āv ity ete krameṇādeśā bhavanti | nayanam | lavanam | rāyau | nāvau ||

yañ evād ikaḥ || 72 ||

ecaḥ sthāne avarṇāt paro ya ig ādiṣṭas[77] tasya sthāne aci pare yañādeśa eva bhavati nānyaḥ | agamā3ḥ agnibhūtā3y[77] atrāgaccha | agamā3ḥ paṭā3v[77] atrāgaccha || evakāro dīrghabādhanārthaḥ[78] | anyathā hi pūrve 'pavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti hrasvasyaiva[79] bādhā syāt ||

asve || 73 ||

ikaḥ sthāne asve aci paratas tadāsanno yañādeśo bhavati | dīrghāpavādaḥ[78] | dadhy[80] aśāna | madhv[80] apanaya | pitrarthaḥ | lākṛtiḥ

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[74] *1.* 1. 7. [75] *1.* 2. 22 ; 1. 4. [76] *1.* 2. 75. [77] *2.* 3. 30.
[78] *1.* 1. 77. [79] *1.* 1. 74. [80] *1.* 2. 7.

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dadhy ḷtakāya dīyatām ity āha || asva iti kim || dadhīdam | madhūṣṭraḥ ḭi iko yañbhir vyavadhānam ity eke | teṣām ikaḥ pañcamī[81] || dadhiy atra | madhuv atra | tiriyaṅ | bhūvādayaḥ ||

hrasvo vāpade || 74 ||

ikaḥ sthāne asve aci pare hrasvādeśo bhavati vā yañapavādaḥ[82] | na cet tāv igacāv ekatra pade[83] bhavataḥ | nadi[84] eṣā | nady[82] eṣā | dadhi[80] atra | dadhy[82] atra | madhu[80] atra | madhv atra | ati eti | aty eti | anu eti | anv eti || hrasvasyāpi hrasvaḥ | parjanyaval lakṣaṇapravṛttiḥ || apada iti kim || nadyau[82]) | vadhvau | nadyudakam | vadhvānanam ||

ṛty akaḥ || 75 ||

akaḥ sthāne ṛti ṛkāre ḷkāre[85] cāci pare hrasvādeśo vā bhavati | maharṣiḥ | maharṣiḥ[86] | dhūliṛtaḥ | dhūlyṛtaḥ[82] | vadhuṛṇam | vadhṛṇam[82] | kartṛṛṣyaḥ | kartṝṣyaḥ[87] || ḷti || tava ḷkāraḥ | tavalkāraḥ[86] || takāraḥ kim || kanyā ṝkāraḥ | kanyarkāraḥ[86] ||

[29] *ṝś coḥ sācaḥ* || 76 ||

uḥ ṛvarṇasya ḷvarṇasya cākaḥ sthāne ṛti ṛkāre ḷkāre cāci pare pareṇācā sahitasya ṝṛ ity acsamudāyo 'jvyañjanasamudāyo varṇāntaraṃ vā īṣatspṛṣṭakaraṇam ādeśo bhavati vā | pitṛṛṣabhaḥ | pitṛṛṣabhaḥ | pitṛṣbhaḥ || ḷti || pitṛḷkāraḥ | pitṛlkāraḥ | pitṛkāraḥ || ḷvarṇasya || pitḷṛtaka ity āha | pitḷrtaka ity āha | pitṛtaka ity āha || ḷti ḷvarṇasya || pitḷḷtaka ity āha | pitḷltaka ity āha | pitṛtaka ity āha | ṛvarṇaḷvarṇayor ekatvapratijñānād ḷity ādeśe ṛphiḍādidarśanāl latvam || cakāro vety[88] asyānukarṣaṇārtham | tenottaratra nānuvartate || sāca ity adhikāraḥ padānte 'ty eṅaḥ [*1.* 1. 94] iti yāvat ||

dīrghaḥ || 77 ||

akaḥ sthāne aci pare pareṇācā sahitasya tadāsanno nityaṃ dīrgha ādeśo bhavati | daṇḍāgram | sāgatā | munīndraḥ | nadīyam | madhūdakam | vadhūdaram | pitṝṣabhaḥ || ḷvarṇasyānukaraṇād anyatra dīrgho nāstīti ḷvarṇasya ṝkāra eva dīrghaḥ ||

śasy ak || 78 ||

akaḥ śasy aci pareṇācā sahitasya yathāsaṃkhyam ag dīrgho bhavati | tāḥ[89] | śālāḥ | buddīḥ | dhenūḥ | nadīḥ | vadhūḥ mātṝḥ paśya ||

nantaḥ puṃsaḥ || 79 ||

akaḥ puṃliṅgasaṃbandhini śasy aci pare pareṇācā sahitasya yathāsaṃkhyaṃ dīrgho nakārānta ādeśo bhavati | jinān[90] | munīn | sādhūn | pitṝn ||

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[81] *1.* 1. 48. [82] *1.* 1. 73. [83] *1.* 1. 62 f. [84] *1.* 2. 120.
[85] Cf. Cintām. zu den Pratyāhārasūtras. [86] *1.* 1. 82.
[87] *1.* 1. 77. [88] *1.* 1. 74. [89] *1.* 2. 216. [90] *1.* 2. 92, 95, 49.

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ḍhralucy aṇaḥ || 80 ||

ḍhakārasya rephasya ca luci[91] pūrvasyāṇo dīrgho bhavati | līḍham | gūḍham | punā rātrau | agnī rathena[92] | paṭū rājā || ḍhraluksāhacaryād iha na bhavati || eṣa karoti | sa dadāti[93] ||

sahivaho 'syauḥ || 81 ||

sahivahor avarṇasya ḍhralucy okāro bhavati | soḍhā | voḍhā | soḍhum | voḍhum || asyety adhikāras tathāniṇedhy eṅy eṅ [*1.* 1. 93] iti yāvat ||

[30] *iky eṅaṁ* || 82 ||

asya sāca iti vartate | avarṇasya sthāne iki pare pareṇācā sahitasya yathāsaṃkhyam eṅ-ar ity eta ādeśā bhavanti | devendraḥ | māleyam | gandhodakam | māloḍhā | paramarṣiḥ maharṣih | tavalkāraḥ | salkāra[94] ityādi ||

ejūcy aic || 83 ||

avarṇasya sthāne eci ūjādeśe ca pare sācas tadāsanna aij ādeśo bhavati | tavaiṣā | khaṭvaiṣā tavaindrī tavaudanaḥ | tavaupagavaḥ || ūci || dhautaḥ | dhautavān ||

prasyoḍhoḍhyūhaiṣaiṣye || 84 ||

praśabdasya yad avarṇaṃ tasya sthāne ūḍha-ūḍhi-ūha-eṣa-eṣya ity eteṣu sāca āsanna aijādeśo bhavati | prauḍhaḥ | prauḍhiḥ | prauhaḥ | praiṣaḥ | praiṣyaḥ ||

svairasvairyakṣauhiṇyām || 85 ||

svaira-svairin-akṣauhiṇī ity eteṣv avarṇasya sāca ejādeśo bhavati | svasya īraḥ | svairaḥ | svayam īrituṃ śīlam asyeti | svairī | akṣāṇām ūho 'syām astīti | akṣauhiṇī senā ||

omāṅi parah || 86 ||

avarṇasya sthāne omśabde āṅādeśe ca sācaḥ paro 'jādeśo bhavati | tavoṃkāraḥ | kom ity avocat || āṅi || ā ṛśyāt | arśyāt[95] | adya arśyāt | adyarśyāt | khaṭvarśyāt | ā ihi | ehi[95] | upa ehi | upehi | parehi | ā ūḍhā | ōḍhā[95] | adyoḍhā | khaṭvoḍhā ||

eve 'niyoge || 87 ||

avarṇasya evaśabde sācaḥ paro 'jādeśo bhavati | na cet sa evaśabdo niyogaviṣaye 'vadhāraṇe vartate | niyogaḥ | idam eva kartavyam iti | iheva dṛśyate | adyeva tiṣṭhati | tattvānvākhyānam etat || aniyoga iti kim || atraiva[96] tvaṃ tiṣṭheti niyujyate ||

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[91] *1.* 1. 131. [92] *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 131. [93] *1.* 1. 158, 46.
[94] Cf. Cintām. zu *1.* 1. 76. [95] *1.* 1. 82. [96] *1.* 1. 83.

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vauṣṭhautau samāse || 88 ||

avarṇasya oṣṭhaśabde otuśabde ca pare sācaḥ paro 'jādeśo bhavati vā | tau cen nimittanimittināv ekatra samāse bhavataḥ | bimboṣṭhī | bimbauṣṭhī[96] | sthūlotuḥ | sthūlautuḥ || samāsa iti kim || rājaputrauṣṭham paśya | devadattautuvijṛmbhitaṃ paśya ||

[31] *ār tṛtīyāyā ṛte* || 89 ||

tṛtīyāntasaṃbandhino 'varṇasya sthāne ṛtaśabde pare sāca ārādeśo bhavati samāse | sukhārtaḥ | duḥkhārtaḥ || ṛty ār upasargasya [*1.* 1. 91] iti punar ārgrahaṇād hrasvo[97] na bādhyate | duḥkhaṛtaḥ | sukhaṛtaḥ[97] || tṛtīyāyā iti kim || paramartaḥ[98] || samāsa iti kim || duḥkhenartaḥ[98] ||

pradaśārṇavasanakambalavatsatarasyarṇe || 90 ||

pra-daśa-ṛṇa-vasana-kambala-vatsatara ity eteṣām avarṇasya ṛṇāśabde pare sāca ār bhavati samāse | pragatam ṛṇam prārṇam | daśānām ṛṇaṃ daśārṇam | daśa ṛṇāni yasyām sā daśārṇā nadī daśārṇo janapadaḥ | ṛṇāpanayanāya ṛṇam ṛṇārṇam | ṛṇasya ṛṇam ṛṇārnam | vasanam eva ṛṇam vasanārṇam || evam kambalārṇam | vatsatarārṇam || hrasvo na bādhyata iti praṛṇam[97] ityādi bhavati ||

ṛty ār upasargasya || 91 ||

upasargasya yad avarṇaṃ tasya sthāne ṛkārādau dhātau pare sāca ār bhavati | sarvāpavādaḥ | prārdhnoti | prārcchati || punar ārgrahaṇaṃ hrasvabādhanārtham[97] ||

supi vā || 92 ||

upasargasya yad avarṇam tasya sthāne supi subantāvayave ṛkārādau dhātau pare sāca ār bhavati vā | pakṣe yathā prāptam | upārṣabhīyati | uparṣabhīyati[98] | uparṣabhīyati[97] || upālkārīyati[99] | upalkārīyati | upaḷkārīyati ||

tathāniṇedhy eṅy eṅ || 93 ||

upasargasya yad avarṇam tasya sthāne iṇ gatau edhi vṛddhau ity etābhyām anyasminn eṅādau dhātau pare sāca eṅādeśo bhavati | tathā subdhātau tu vā | prelayati | preṣayati | upokhati | prokhati || subdhātau || upelakīyati | upailakīyati[100] | upodanīyati | upaudanīyati || aniṇedhy iti kim || upaiti[100] | praidhate ||

padānte 'ty eṅaḥ || 94 ||

padānte ya eṅ tasya akāre pare sāca eṅ bhavati | te 'tra | paṭo 'tra || padānta iti kim || nayanam[1] | lavanam || takaraḥ kim || paṭav āssva[1] ||

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[97] *1.* 1. 75. [98] *1.* 1. 82. [99] Cf. oben S. 14. 24 f.
[100] *1.* 1. 83. [1] *1.* 1. 71.

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[32] *gor od vā* || 95 ||

sāca[2] iti nivṛttam | gośabdasya yaḥ padānta eṅ tasya akāre pare okāro vā bhavati | or odvacanaṃ prakṛtibhāvārtham | goagram | gavāgram[3] | go-'gram [4] || he citrago 'gram ity atra citragośabdasya[5] lākṣaṇikatvān na bhavati | lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam | na tu lākṣaṇikasya ||

avo 'cy anakṣe || 96 ||

gośabdasya padānte vartamānasya eṅaḥ aci pare ava ity ādeśo vā bhavati | na cet so 'j akṣaśabdasthaḥ | gavāgram | go'gram[4] | goagram[6] | gaveśvaraḥ | gavīśvaraḥ[7] || padānta iti kim || gavi[7] || anakṣa iti kim || goakṣam[6] | go'kṣam[4] ||

indre || 97 ||

gośabdasya padānte vartamānasya eṅaḥ indraśabdasthe 'ci pare ava ity ādeśo nityaṃ bhavati | gavendraḥ ||

vātāyane 'kṣe || 98 ||

gośabdasya padānte vartamānasya eṅaḥ akṣaśabdasthe 'ci pare vātāyane vācye avety ādeśo bhavati | gavākṣaḥ | vātāyanam ity arthaḥ || anyatra || go'kṣam[4] | goakṣam[6] ||

na plutasyānitau || 99 ||

plutasyānitāv aci pare yat prāpnoti tan na bhavati | devadattā3[8] atra nv asi | jinadattā3 idam ānaya || anitāv iti kim | suślokā3 iti | suśloketi[9] ||

gitaḥ || 100 ||

ganubandhakasyāci pare tannimittaṃ yat prāpnoti tan na bhavati | munī[10] etau | sādhū etau | pacete atra | pacāvahe[11] āvām ||

cāder aco 'ñṇiaḥ || 101 ||

cādir asattvavācī āṅvarjito yo 'c tasyāci pare tannimittaṃ na bhavati | a apehi | i indraṃ paśya | u uttiṣṭha | ā evaṃ nu manyase | ā evaṃ kila tat || anāṅa iti kim || ā uṣṇam | oṣṇam[9] | īṣad uṣṇam | [33] ā ihi | ehi | ā udakāntāt odakāntāt priyam anuvrajet | ā āryebhyaḥ | āryebhyo 'sya yaśo gatam ||

īṣadarthe kriyāyoge maryādābhividhau ca yaḥ |
etam ātaṃ ñitaṃ vidyād vākyasmaraṇayor aṅit ||

otaḥ || 102 ||

cāder okārāntasyāci pare yat prāpnoti tan na bhavati | aho idam | utāho evam | atho asmai | no indriyam ||

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2 *1.* 1. 76. 3 *1.* 1. 96. 4 *1.* 1. 94. 5 *2.* 1. 123.
6 *1.* 1. 95. 7 *1.* 1. 71. 8 *2.* 3. 27. 9 *1.* 1. 82.
10 *1.* 2. 22. 11 *1.* 4. 93.

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sau vetau || 103 ||

sunimitto ya okāras tasya itiśabde pare yat prāpnoti tan na bhavati vā | paṭo iti | paṭav iti[12]) || sāv iti kim || gav ity āha ||

ŭ coñaḥ || 104 ||

uñ ity etasya itau pare ŭ̃ ity ayaṃ dīrghānunāsika ādeśo bhavati vā | caśabdād yad anyat prāpnoti tac ca vā bhavati | evaṃ trairūpyaṃ bhavati | ŭ̃ iti | u iti[13]' | v iti[14]. ||

mayo 'ci vo 'san || 105 ||

may iti pratyāhāraḥ | maya uttarasya uñaḥ sthāne aci pare vakāro bhavati vā | sa cāsan abhūtavat | kruṅṅ[15] v āste | kruṅṅ u āste[13] | kim v uṣṇam | kim u uṣṇam[13]' | tad v asya matam | tad u asya matam | kim v iti | kim ŭ̃ iti[16] | kim u iti[13] | kiṃ v iti[17] || asve [*1.* 1. 73] iti yañ || asattvād[18] dvitvam[19] anusvārānunāsikābhāvaś ca ||

halo 'nunāsike 'nunāsikaḥ svaḥ || 106 ||

padānte vartamānasya halaḥ sthāne anunāsike pare sthāninaḥ svo 'nunāsika ādeśo bhavati vā | vāṅ madhurā | vāg[20] madhurā | ṣaṇ nayāḥ | ṣaḍ nayāḥ | tan nayanam | tad[20] nayanam | kakummaṇḍalam | kakubmaṇḍalam[20] | halmātram | halmātram | tvaṅ ŭ̃[16] iti | tvag ŭ̃ iti || asan[18] ity eva | tvaṅ ŭ̃ iti | hrasvān ṅamaḥ [1. 1. 123] iti dvitvaṃ na bhavati ||

pratyaye || 107 ||

padānte vartamānasya halaḥ sthāne anunāsikādau pratyaye pare sthāninaḥ svo 'nunāsika ādeśo bhavati nityam | vāṅmayam | ṣaṇṇām || padānta iti kim || yajñaḥ | svapnaḥ ||

[34] *rīsyoḥ* || 108 ||

padānte vartamāne rephe sakāre ca īkārānubandhe pare yaḥ pūrvas tasya sthāne svo 'nunāsika ādeśo bhavati | nr̃̄ḥ pāhi[21] kr̃̄skān[22] | bhav ā̃̄ chādayati[23] ||

mnām jayy apadānte || 109 ||

makāranakārāṇām apadānte vartamānānām jayi pare nimittasvo 'nunāsiko bhavati || masya || gantā | gantum || nasya || śaṅkitā | śaṅkitum || bahuvacanaṃ nasya ṇatvabādhanārtham || visrambhaḥ | abhiṣanti || apadānta iti kim || bhavān paramaḥ ||

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[12] *1.* 1. 71. [13] *1.* 1. 101. [14] *1.* 1. 73.
[15] *1.* 1. 123. [16] *1.* 1. 104. [17] *1.* 1. 73, 111.
[18] *1.* 1. 105. [19] Cf. *1.* 1. 123. [20] *1.* 2. 75.
[21] *1.* 1. 148. [22] *1.* 1. 149. [23] *1.* 1. 150.

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śaly anusvāraḥ || 110 ||

makāranakārāṇām apadānte vartamānānām sthāne śali pare 'nusvāro bhavati || masya || puṃsi | gaṃsyate || nasya || daṃśaḥ | yaśāṃsi ||

maṃmo hali tau || 111 ||

padānta iti vartate maṃgrahaṇāt | mamāgamasya padānte vartamānasya ca makārasya sthāne hali pare tau nimittasvo 'nunāsiko 'nusvāraś ca paryāyeṇa bhavataḥ | caṅkramyate | caṃkramayate[24] | abhrallihо vāyuḥ |abhraṃlihо vāyuh | masya || tvaṅ karoṣi | tvaṃ karoṣi | saṁyantā | saṃyantā || padānta iti kim || gamyate | ramyate ||

hi lvyamni || 112 ||

padānte vartamānasya makārasya sthāne lavayamana ity etadvarṇapare hakāre pare teṣāṃ svo 'nunāsiko 'nusvāraś ca paryāyeṇa bhavataḥ | kil hlādayati | kiṃ hlādayati | kiṁ hvayate | kiṃ hvayate | kiṁ hyaḥ | kiṃ hyaḥ | kim hmalayati | kiṃ hmalayati | kin hnuṣe | kiṃ hnuṣe ||

samrāṭ || 113 ||

sam ity etasya rājatau kvibante pare anusvārābhāvo nipātyate | samrāṭsu pañcamaḥ śāntiḥ ||

khay khayaḥ śari vā || 114 ||

padānta iti nivṛttam | khayaḥ śari pare khayādeśo bhavati vā | tacch śete | tac śete | vathsaḥ | vatsaḥ | aphsarāḥ | apsarāḥ ||

[35] *śaro 'nu dve* || 115 ||

śaraḥ parasya khayaḥ sthāne anu yad anyat prāpnoti tasmin kṛte paścād dve rūpe bhavato vā | kaś cchādayati[25] | kaś chādayati | tvaṃ kkhanasi[25] | tvaṃ khanasi | stthālī | sthālī || anv ity uktatvād asan[26], iti nivṛttam iti dvitve cartvādi[25]: bhavati || punaḥ khayaḥ parasya śaraḥ sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā | tac śśete | tac śete | vatssaḥ | vatsaḥ ||

yaño mayaḥ || 116 ||

yañaḥ parasya mayaḥ sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā | vṛkṣav kkaroti | vṛkṣav karoti | valmmīkaḥ | valmīkaḥ || anv[27] ity eva || prorṇṇunāvā | urjjijayiṣati || punar mayaḥ parasya yañaḥ sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā || dadhyy atra | dadhy atra | madhvv atra | madhv atra | trapvv atra | trapv atra ||

aco hro 'hracaḥ || 117 ||

acaḥ paro yo hakāro rephaś ca tābhyāṃ parasya ahracaḥ hakārād rephād acaś cānyasya varṇasya sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā | brahmma | brahma |

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[24] *4.* 1. 88. [25] *1.* 1. 135. [26] *1.* 1. 105.
[27] *1.* 1. 11.

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sarvvaḥ | sarvaḥ | dīrgghaḥ[28] | dīrghaḥ || ahraca iti kim || barhaḥ | dahṛaḥ | aham ||

adīrghāt || 118 ||

adīrghād acaḥ parasyāhracaḥ sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā | daddhy[23] atra | dadhy atra | patthy[25] adanam | pathy adanam | tvakk | tvak | tvagg | tvag | go3ttrātaḥ | go3trātaḥ || anv[27] ity adhikārāt kutvādau[29] kṛte dvitvam || adīrghād ekahalīty anuktvā na saṃyoge [*1.* 1. 119] tv aci [*1.* 1. 121] iti yogadvayārambhād vihāme 'py ayam ādeśaḥ || ahraca iti kim | sahyam | varyaḥ | titāuḥ || adīrghād iti kim || sūtram | pātram | vāk ||

na saṃyoge || 119 ||

halo 'nantarāḥ saṃyogaḥ | saṃyoge pare ahracaḥ sthāne dve rūpe na bhavataḥ | indraḥ | kṛtsnam ||

putrasyādiputrādiny ākrośe || 120 ||

putraśabdasya adinśabde pare putrādinśabde ca pare ākrośaviṣaye dve rūpe na bhavataḥ | putrādinī tvam asi pāpe | putraputrādinī bhava || anyatra puttrādinī śiśumārī ||

[36] *aci* || 121 ||

adīrghāt parasya ahracaḥ sthāne aci pare dve rūpe na bhavataḥ | dadhi | madhu ||

śaraḥ || 122 ||

śaro 'ci pare dve rūpe na bhavataḥ | darśanam | varṣaḥ | tarsam ||

hrasvān ṅamaḥ padānte || 123 ||

hrasvāt parasya padānte vartamānasya ṅamaḥ sthāne aci pare dve rūpe bhavataḥ | kruṅṅ āste | sugaṇṇ iha | kṛṣann iha || asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge iti ṇo na bhavati ||

dīrghāc cho vā || 124 ||

padānte vartamānād dīrghāt parasya chakārasya dve rūpe bhavato vā | kanyā cchatram[30] | kanyā chatram ||

plutāt || 125 ||

padānte vartamānād dīrghasthānikāt plutāt parasya chakārasya dve rūpe bhavato vā | āgaccha bho indrabhūte3 cchatram[30] ānaya | āgaccha bho indrabhūte3 chatram ānaya || dīrghād iti kim || āgaccha bho devadattā3 chatram ānaya ||

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[28] *1.* 1. 136. [29] *1.* 2. 88. [30] *1.* 1. 135.

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ajāṅmāṅaḥ || 126 ||

acaḥ āṅo māṅaś cāvyayād uttarasya chakārasya dve rūpe nityaṃ bhavataḥ | icchati[30] | mlecchati[30] | ācchinatti | mā cchidat || anv[31] ity eva || praśnaḥ | praṣṭā ||

ḍājbhāja 'to lug itau || 127 ||

ḍācbhājaḥ[32] anekāco 'vyaktānukaraṇasya yaḥ atśabdas tasya itiśabde pare lug lopo bhavati | chamat iti | cham iti | paṭat iti | paṭ iti | asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge iti luci jaśtvaṃ[33] na prāpnoti ||

cakad iti taḍitāpi kṛtam |

iti dakārāntaṃ draṣṭavyam || ḍājbhāj iti kim || chat iti | chad iti | jagat iti | jagad iti ||

[37] *na dvyukteḥ* || 128 ||

dve uktī yasya tasya ḍājbhājo[34] yo 'tśabdas tasya itau pare lug na bhavati | paṭatpaṭad iti | ghaṭadghaṭad iti | vīpsāyāṃ dvyuktiḥ[35] | paṭatpatad iti samudāyānukaraṇam ||

taḥ || 129 ||

dvyukter ḍājbhājo[34] 'to yas takāras tasya itau pare lug bhavati | paṭatpaṭeti[36] karoti | ghaṭadghaṭeti karoti ||

ḍācy ādau || 130 ||

dvyukter ādau pūrvasyām uktau ato yas takāras tasya ḍāci parato nityaṃ lug bhavati | paṭapaṭākaroti | dhamadhamākaroti ||

ḍhro ḍhri || 131 ||

ḍhakārasya rephasya ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ḍhakāre rephe ca pare lug bhavati | līḍham[37] | gūḍham | agnī rathena | punā rauti ||

halo yami yamo vā || 132 ||

halaḥ parasya yamo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yami pare lug bhavati vā | ādityaḥ | ādityyaḥ[38] || keṣāṃ cid yamām iti pāṭhaḥ | teṣāṃ vacanabhedād yathāsaṃkhyaṃ nāstīty udāharaṇam idam || babhyate | babhryate ||

jari jaraḥ sve vā || 133 ||

halaḥ parasya jaraḥ sve jari pare lug vā bhavati | bhintaḥ | bhinttaḥ | bhintām | bhinttām || sva iti kim || taptvā ||

udaḥ sthāstambhaḥ || 134 ||

udaḥ parasya sthāstambhor dhātvor avayavasya jaro jari pare nityaṃ lug bhavati | utthātā | utthātum | uttambhitā | uttambhitum || uttthātā |

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31 *1.* 1. 115. 32 *3.* 4. 54. 33 *1.* 1. 136. 34 *1.* 1. 136.
35 *2.* 3. 8. 36 *1.* 1. 82. 37 *1.* 1. 80. 38 *1.* 1. 116.

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uttambhitā iti trisaṃyogaḥ adīrghāt [*1.* 1. 118] iti dvitvena bhavati || skander utkandako roga iti pṛṣodarādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ ||

car || 135 ||

jaraḥ sthāne jari pare carādeśo bhavati | vedacchatram | guḍaliṭ tarati | natsyate | lapsyate || jaṣi jaś [*1.* 1. 136] vacanāt khari cartvam ||

[38] *jaṣi jaś* || 136 ||

jaraḥ sthāne jaṣi pare jaś bhavati | caro 'pavādaḥ | labdhā | labdhum | dogdhā | boddhā | ṣaḍbhyaḥ | vidyud bhadrā ||

ścau ścū stvoḥ || 137 ||

sakārasya śakāre cavarge copaśliṣṭasya sthāne śakāra ādeśo bhavati | tathā tavargasya cavargaḥ | āptaś śobhate | tapaś carati | yaśaś chatram | ścyotati | bhṛjjati[39] || tavargasya || tac śete | bhavāñ śete | tac carati | tac chādayati | taj jayati | taj jhāṣayati | bhavāñ jakāreṇa | rājñā | yajñaḥ || samavacane yathāsaṃkhyam | śailīyam ācāryasya | na śāt [*1.* 1. 139] ṭoḥ padānta iti niṣedhāt pare toḥ ṣi [*1.* 1. 141] iti niṣedhāt pūrve ca ścutvaṣṭutve[40] ||

ṣṭau ṣṭū || 138 ||

sakārasya ṣakāre ṭavarge copaśliṣṭasya ṣakāro bhavati | tathā tavargasya ṭavargaḥ | kaṣ ṣaṇḍe | kaṣ ṭīkate | kaṣ ṭhakāreṇa || tavargasya || peṣṭā | taṭ ṭīkate | taṭ ṭhakāreṇa ||

na śāt || 139 ||

śakārāt parasya ścutvaṃ na bhavati | aśnāti | kliśnāti ||

ṭoḥ padānte 'nāṃnagarīnavateḥ || 140 ||

padānte vartamānāṭ ṭavargād uttarasya ṣṭutvaṃ na bhavati | nāṃnagarīnavatiśabdān varjayitvā | madhuliṭ sīdati | ṣaḍnayam[41] | ṣaṇ nayāḥ || anāṃnagarīnavater iti kim | ṣaṇṇām[42] | ṣaṇṇagarī | ṣaṇṇavatiḥ || padānta iti kim || īṭṭe || padānta ity adhikāra ā pādaparisamāpteḥ ||

toḥ ṣi || 141 ||

tavargasya padānte vartamānasya ṣakāre pare ṣṭutvaṃ na bhavati | agnicit ṣaḍikaḥ | mahān ṣaṇḍaḥ ||

li laḥ || 142 ||

padānte vartamānasya tavargasya sthāne lakāre pare lakārādeśo bhavati | tal lunāti | bhavāl likhati ||

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[39] *1.* 1. 136. [40] *1.* 1. 138. [41] *1.* 2. 152. [42] *1.* 2. 152, 34.

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[39] *jaśo ho jhaṣ vā* || 143 ||

padānte vartamānāj jaśaḥ parasya hakārasya sthāne yathāsaṃkhyaṃ jhaṣ vā bhavati | ajjhalau | aj-halau | triṣṭubbhutam | triṣṭub-hutam | vāg ghasati | vāg hasati | ṣaḍ ḍhalāni | ṣaḍ halāni | taddhitam | tad-hitam ||

śaś cho 'mi || 144 ||

padānte vartamānāj jaśa uttarasya śakārasya ami pare chakāro bhavati vā | tac chobhate | tac śobhate | triṣṭup chrūyate | triṣṭup śrūyate ||

ṅṇo gaḍḍak śari || 145 ||

padānte vartamānayor ṅakāraṇakārayoḥ śari pare yathāsaṃkhyaṃ gaḍḍak ity etāv āgamau vā bhavataḥ | kruṅk śete | kruṅ śete | sugaṇṭ śete | sugaṇ śete ||

ḍnas taṭ so 'ścaḥ || 146 ||

padānte vartamānāḍ ḍakārān nakārāc ca parasya sakārasya taḍāgamo vā bhavati | aścaḥ | ścasaṃyogasyāvayavaś cet sakāro na bhavati | madhuliṭt sīdati | bhavānt saṃsadi || aśca iti kim || ṣaṭ ścyotanti | bhavān ścyotati ||

naḥ śi jak || 147 ||

nakārasya padānte vartamānasya śakāre pare jagāgamo[43] vā bhavati | aścaḥ | ścasaṃyogasya tu śakāre na bhavati | bhavāñc śete[44] | bhavāñ[44] śete | kṛsañc śete | kṛṣañ śete | bhavāñc śūraḥ | bhavāñ śūraḥ ||

nīnaḥ pi rīrak || 148 ||

nīn ity etasya nakārasya padāntasthasya pakāre pare rī[45] iti īkārānubandha ādeśo rak[43] vāgamaḥ paryāyeṇa bhavato vā | nr̥̄ṇ[46] pāhi | ṇīṃṇ[47] pāhi | nīn pāhi ||

kāṃskān sīsak || 149 ||

kān ity etasya śasantasya dvirvacane kṛte pūrvasya sī[45] iti īkārānubandha ādeśaḥ sak[43] vāgamaḥ paryāyeṇa nipātyate | kăskān[45] | kāṃskān[48] | rīsyor īkāro rīsyoḥ [*1.* 1. 108] iti viśeṣaṇārthaḥ ||

[40] *chavy amy apraśānaḥ* || 150 ||

praśān varjitasya yo nakāras tasya padāntasya ampare chavi parataḥ sīr[49] ādeśaḥ sak[50] vāgamaḥ paryāyeṇa bhavataḥ | bhavăś[51] chādayati | bhavāṃś[52] chādayati | bhavăs[50] tarati | bhavāṃs[53] tarati || chavīti kim || bhavān phalati || amīti kim || bhavān tsarukaḥ || apraśāna iti kim || praśāñ carati ||

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43 *1.* 1. 54.
44 *1.* 1. 137.
45 *1.* 1. 108.
46 *1.* 1. 108 ; 2 67.
47 *1.* 1. 110 ; 2. 67.
48 *1.* 1. 110.
49 *1.* 1. 108.
50 *1.* 1. 54.
51 *1.* 1. 108, 137.
52 *1.* 1. 110, 137.
53 *1.* 1. 110.

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pumaḥ khayi || 151 ||

pum ity etasya yad antyaṃ tasya padāntasya ampare khayi parataḥ sīsakau bhavataḥ | pŭskokilaḥ[49] | puṃskokilaḥ | pŭskhātam | puṃskhātam | pŭścalī | puṃścalī ||

samaḥ skṛsi gluk ca || 152 ||

skṛsi sasaṭkasya kṛño 'vayave sakāre pare sam ity etasya sīsakau gluk ca bhavanti | săsskartā[49] | săsskartum | saṃsskartā | saṃsskartum | saskartā | saskartum || gitvam uttarārtham ||

vyo 'ṣy āghobhobhagoḥ || 153 ||

avarṇād agho-bho-bhago ity etebhyaś ca parasya padāntasya vakārasya yakārasya cāṣi pare glug bhavati | vṛkṣa hasati | vṛkṣavṛścam ācakṣāṇo vṛkṣav | devā[54] yanti | agho hasati[54] | bho dadāti | bhago dehi || padānta iti kim || gavyam | jayyam | bho vyoma ||

acy aspaṣṭaś ca || 154 ||

avarṇād aghobhobhagobhyaś ca parayoḥ padāntayor vyor aci pare glug aspaṣṭaḥ avyaktaśrutiś cāsanno bhavati | paṭa u | paṭav u[55] | ta u | tay u | agho u | aghoy u | agho[56] atra | aghoy atra | bho[56] atra | bhoy atra | bhago atra | bhagoy atra || gluci gitaḥ [*1.* 1. 100] iti sandhipratiṣedhārthaḥ ||

vānuñy āt || 155 ||

avarṇāt parasya padāntasya vyaḥ uñvarjite aci pare glug aspaṣṭaś cādeśau vā bhavataḥ | pakṣe tādāvasthyam | paṭa iha | paṭav iha | paṭav iha | devā āsate | devāy āsate | devāy āsate || padānta iti kim || nayanam[57] | lavanam ||

[41] *rer yaḥ* || 156 ||

avarṇād aghobhobhagobhyaś ca parasya rer ikārānubandhasya sthāne aṣi pare yakāro bhavati | devāy[58] āsāte | devā[59] hasanti | aghoy[60] atra | agho hasati | bhoy āste | bho rājā | bhagoy āssva | bhago dayase || rer iti kim || antar dayate ||

ato 'ddhaṣy uḥ || 157 ||

akārāt parasya reḥ sthāne akāre haṣi ca pare ukāra ādeśo bhavati | yatvāpavādaḥ | śramaṇo[61] 'smi | dharmo[58] jayati || takāraḥ kim || devā[62] atra | devā yānti | susrotā3 atra nv asi | susrotā3 dehi | sarvajña ā3ste || rer iti kim || antar asmi ||

haly anañsamāse luk taḥ sāt || 158 ||

'takārasthānikāt[63] sakārāt parasya rer hali pare lug bhavati | na cet sa sakāro nañsamāse bhavati | eṣa[64] karoti | sa dadāti | paramaiṣa karoti |

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54 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 156.
55 *1.* 1. 155.
56 *1.* 1. 156.
57 *4.* 3. 86.
58 *1.* 2. 72.
59 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 153.
60 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 155.
61 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 94.
62 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 156, 155.
63 *1.* 2. 15.
64 *1.* 2. 15, 72.

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paraṃasa dadāti || halīti kim || eśo 'smi[65] | so 'smi || anañsamāsa iti kim || aneṣo gacchati | aso gacchati ||

tadaḥ pādapūraṇe || 159 ||

tadādeśāt sakārād uttarasya rer aci pare anañsamāse lug bhavati | pādapūraṇaviṣaye | lope cet pādaḥ pūryate |

saiṣa dāśarathī rāmaḥ saiṣa rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ |
saiṣa karṇo mahātyāgī saiṣa pārtho dhanurdharaḥ ||

pādapūraṇa iti kim ||

sa eṣa bharato rājā yo nyāyye pathi vartate ||

ro 'hno 'ṣy asubrūparātrirathantare || 160 ||

ahan[66] ity etasya rer aṣi pare rephādeśo bhavati na subrūparātrirathantareṣu | ahar[66] eti | ahar dadāti || asubrūparātrirathantara iti kim || ahobhyām[67] | ahobhiḥ | dīrghāhāyam[68] | ahorūpam | gatam aho[69] rātrir āgatā | aho rathantaram ||

[42] *visarjanīyasya* || 161 ||

visarjanīyasyāṣi[70] pare repho bhavati | munir[71] asti | sādhur asmi | sajūr[72] jayati | pitur dayase || visarjanīyasyety adhikāra ā pādaparisamāpteḥ ||

vāharpatyādiṣu || 162 ||

aharpatīty evamādiṣu śabdeṣu visarjanīyasya sthāne repho bhavati vā | aharpatiḥ | ahaḥpatiḥ[73] | gīrpatiḥ | gīḥpatiḥ | dhūrpatiḥ dhūḥpatiḥ | pracetā[74] rājan | praceto rājan || vā rephād atra rer utvabādhayā pakṣe visarjanīyaḥ ||

saś chavy aśari || 163 ||

visarjanīyasya sthāne aśarpare chavi parataḥ sakāro bhavati | kaś chā dayati | kas[75] tarati | antas thuḍati | mātaṣ ṭakāreṇa || aśarīti kim || aseḥ tsaruḥ ||

śari vā || 164 ||

visarjanīyasya aśarpare śari pare sakāro vā bhavati | kaś śobhate[75] | kaḥ śobhate | mātaṣ ṣaṇḍhe | mātaḥ ṣaṇḍhe | antas siktaḥ | antaḥ siktaḥ ||

luk khayi pare || 165 ||

visarjanīyasya khayi pare śari parato lug vā bhavati | anta skhalati | antas skhalati | antaḥ skhalati | cakṣu spandate | cakṣus spandate | cakṣuḥ spandate ||

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65 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 157, 94. 66 *1.* 2. 72. 67 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 157.
68 *1.* 2. 95, 134. 69 *1.* 1. 157. 70 *1.* 2. 67.
71 *1.* 2. 72, 67. 72 *1.* 2. 72. 73 *1.* 2. 72 ; 1. 160 ; 2. 67.
74 *1.* 1. 130, 80. 75 *1.* 2. 72, 67.

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kupau × ka ≍ pam || 166 ||

visarjanīyasya kavargīye pavargīye cāśarpare khayi pare × ka ≍ pa ity etau jihvāmūlīyopadhmānīyau yathāsaṃkhyam ādeśau vā bhavataḥ | ka × karoti | kaḥ karoti | ka × khanati | kaḥ khanati | anta ⌒ pacati | antaḥ pacati | anta ≍ phalati | antaḥ phalati || aśarpara iti kim || vāsaḥ kṣaumam | abdhiḥ psātam || khayīti kim || antar gacchati | antar bhāṣate ||

tirasas teḥ siḥ || 167 ||

tisaṃjñakasya[76] tirasaḥ śabdasya saṃbandhino visarjanīyasya sthāne kavargīye pavargīye cāśarpare khayi pare siḥ ikārānubandha ādeśo bhavati vā | tiraskṛtya | tiraḥkṛtya | tiraskaroti | tiraḥkaroti || ter iti kim || tiraḥ kṛtvā ||

[43] *namaspurasaḥ* || 168 ||

namaspuras[77] ity etayos tisaṃjñakayoḥ saṃbandhinor visarjanīyasya kupāv aśarpare khayi pare nityaṃ sir bhavati | namaskṛtya | namaskaroti | puraskṛtya | puraskaroti || ter iti kim || namaḥ kṛtvā | puraḥ kṛtvā || yogavibhāgo nityārthaḥ ||

caturnirdurbahirāviṣprādusām || 169 ||

catur-nis-dus-bahis-āvis-prādus ity eteṣāṃ visarjanīyasya kupāv aśarpare khayi pare sir bhavati | catuṣkam[78] | catuṣpātram | niṣkaroti | niṣpacati | duṣkaroti | duṣpacati | bahiṣkaroti | bahiṣpacati | āviṣkaroti | āviṣpacati | prāduṣkaroti | prāduṣpibati | niṣkulaḥ | duṣpuruṣaḥ ||

suco vā || 170 ||

sucpratyayāntasya visarjanīyasya kupāv aśarpare khayi pare sir vā bhavati | dviṣ[79] karoti | dviḥ[79] karoti | triṣ khanati | triḥ khanati | catuṣ pacati | catuḥ[80] pacati ||

isuso 'pekṣāyām || 171 ||

isuspratyayāntasya saṃbandhino visarjanīyasya kupāv aśarpare khayi pare sir vā bhavati | sthāninimittapade cet parasparasyāpekṣāyām bhavataḥ | sarpiṣ karoti[78] | sarpiḥ karoti | sarpiṣ pibati | sarpiḥ pibati | dhanuṣ khaṇḍayati | dhanuḥ khaṇḍayati | dhanuṣ phalati | dhanuḥ phalati paramasarpiṣ karoti | paramasarpiḥ karoti | paramadhanuṣ phalati | paramadhanuḥ phalati || isā sāhacaryād uso 'tiṅo 'tra grahaṇād iha na bhavati || cakruḥ kalahāni | bhindyuḥ pāpāni || apekṣāyām iti kim || tiṣṭhatu sarpiḥ piba tvam udakam ||

nākriyaikārthe || 172 ||

isuspratyayāntasya visarjanīyasya sthāne kupāv aśarpare khayi kriyā-

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[76] *1.* 1. 31. [77] *1.* 1. 29. [78] *1.* 2. 65.
[79] *1.* 2. 72, 67, 65. [80] *1.* 2. 67.

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padavarjitasamānādhikaraṇapadasthe pare sthāninimittayor apekṣāyām sir na bhavati | sarpiḥ[81] kālakam | yajuḥ pītakam || kriyāpratiṣedhaḥ kim || sarpiṣ kriyate[82] | sarpiḥ kriyate || ekārtha iti kim || sarpiṣ kumbhe | sarpiḥ kumbhe ||

[44] *samāse 'samastasya* || 173 ||

isuspratyayāntasya pūrveṇāsamastasya saṃbandhino visarjanīyasya kupāv aśarpare khayi pare sir bhavati | te cet sthāninimittapade ekasamāse bhavataḥ | sarpiṣkuṇḍam[83] | sarpiṣpānam | dhanuṣkhaṇḍam | dhanuṣphalam || samāsa iti kim || tiṣṭhatu sarpiḥ[84] piba tvam udakam || asamastasyeti kim || paramasarpiḥkuṇḍam[84] | indradhanuḥkhaṇḍam ||

pade 'dhaśśirasaḥ || 174 ||

pūrveṇākṛtasamāsayoḥ adhas-śiras ity etayor visarjanīyasya padaśabde pare samāse sir bhavati | adhaspadam[84] | śiraspadam || samāsa iti kim || adhaḥ[84] padam | śiraḥ padam || asamastasyeti kim || paramaśiraḥpadam ||

kṛkamikaṃsakuśākarṇīkumbhapātre 'to 'navyayasya || 175 ||

anavyayasya pūrveṇāsamastasya saṃbandhino 'kārāt parasya visarjanīyasya sthāne ḍukṛñ karaṇe kamūṅ kāntau kaṃsa-kuśā-karṇī-kumbha-pātra ity eteṣu parataḥ samāse sir bhavati | ayaskṛt | ayaskāraḥ | payaskāmaḥ | yaśaskāmaḥ | ayaskaṃsaḥ | ayaskuśā | ayaskarṇī | payaskumbhaḥ | payaskumbhī | payaspātram | payaspātrī || prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇaṃ bhavati || anavyayasyeti kim || svaḥkāmaḥ || samāsa iti kim || ayaḥ karoti || asamastasyeti kim || paramayaśaḥkāmaḥ || śīlikāmīti[85] ṇavidhau kāmigrahaṇād atrāṇyantagrahaṇam | tena striyāṃ payaskāmīti bhavati ||

pratyaye || 176 ||

anavyayasya saṃbandhino visarjanīyasya kupāv aśarpare khayi pratyayasthe pare sir bhavati | kāmya-kalpa-ka-pāśāḥ pratyayāḥ | tān kavayaḥ prayojayanti | yaśaskāmyati | gīṣkalpam[86] | yaśaskam | yūṣpāśā[86] | suyūṣpāśā ||

na rahnaḥ kāmye || 177 ||

rephāntasyāhnaś ca visarjanīyasya kāmyapratyaye sir na bhavati | dhūḥkāmyati[87] | ahaḥkāmyati[84] ||

[45] *hrasvāt supas ti* || 178 ||

hrsvāt parasya visarjanīyasya subantād vihite takārādau pratyaye sir bhavati | tara-tama-tas-taya-tva-tal-tyāḥ pratyayāḥ tān kavayaḥ prayojayanti |

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81 *1.* 2. 72, 67. 82 *1.* 1. 171 ; 2. 65. 83 *1.* 2. 63.
84 *1.* 2. 72, 67. 85 *4.* 3. 110. 86 *1.* 2. 65.
87 *1.* 2. 67.

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sarpiṣṭaram[88] | sarpiṣṭamam | sarpiṣṭaḥ | catuṣṭayam | catuṣṭvam | catuṣṭā | niṣṭyaḥ ||

niso 'nāsevāyāṃ tape || 179 ||

nisaḥ saṃbandhino visarjanīyasya takārādau tapatau parataḥ sir bhavati | niṣṭapati[88] svarṇam || anāsevāyām iti kim || nistapati svarṇaṃ svarṇakāraḥ || tīti kim || niratapat || śapnirdeśād iha na bhavati || nistātapti ||

tipā śapānubandhena nirdiṣṭaṃ yad gaṇena ca |
yac caikājgrahaṇaṃ kiṃ cit pañcaitāni na yaṅśluci ||

kaskādiṣu || 180 ||

kaska iti evaṃprakāreṣu śabdeṣu visarjanīyasya sthāne kavargīye pavargīye cāśarpare khayi pare sir ādeśo bhavati | kaskaḥ | kautaskutaḥ || sarpiṣkuṇḍikādigaṇapāṭhaḥ samastārthaḥ | tena paramasarpiṣkuṇḍiketyādi[89] siddham || bahuvacanād ākṛtigaṇo 'yam | tena bhāskara ityādi siddham ||

iti śrīśrutakevalideśīyācāryaśākaṭāyanakṛte
śabdānuśāsane cintāmaṇau vṛttau
prathamasyādhyāyasya
prathamaḥ pādaḥ ||

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[88] *1. 2. 65.*

[89] Cf. *1. 1. 173.*

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[46] VARIAE LECTIONES

S. Z.

H auf dem Titelblatt : *śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇaprāraṃ - bhaḥ || śrījinendrāya namaḥ ||* P fängt mit Verehrung ausdrückenden Worten an, wovon ich nur °*namaḥ* | °*namaḥ* zu lesen vermag.

13 3 *prakāśayaściṃtā*° P, *prakāśayaccintā*° B, °*yaṃścitā* (corr. °*yacciṃtā*°) H. [St. 1]
7 °*patiyyaḥ* BP. [St. 3]
8 Die Strophen von 4 an fehlen bei P.
8 *sarvaśāstrāṃbudhiṃbudhi*° (corr. wie im Text) H.
9 *sayaśaḥśrī* B. [St. 4]
10 °*grandham* B. [St. 5]
10 *saṃpūṛṇa* H.
11 ° *marhatsyāsana*° H.
14 *tasyātī*° H. [St. 7]
17 *śāstrasaṃhahaṇo*° H. [St. 8]
21 °*dihāsthi* H. [St. 10]
22 °*dhātu* B. [St. 11]
25 *vṛttauttau* H.

14 4 B kürzt den Vers *namaḥ śrī*° usw. mit *n*° *śrīvardhamānāyetyādi* ab.
6 *yogyatā athavā* B.
8 *sākṣātsakala*° H.
8 HB om. *namaḥ*.
14 ff. Die Lesarten von H. für die *pratyāhāra*-Sūtras sind nicht angegeben, weil der Text zu sehr verderbt ist.

14 14 °*varalaṅ* B.
18 °*pādhānaḥ* H.

S. Z.

22 BH om. den Vers *uccair udātto* usw.
24 H om. *ṛ ity anena .... ṛtyakaḥ*.
24 f. B om. *ḷ* in *ḷvarṇasyāpi*.
25 *lugrahaṇād* B.
26 *lukāre*° B, *lukāram*° H.
29 *vā ya ātmanaḥ* B. [1]*
31 *at* (st. *ak*). B.
31 H add. *ktaṇ* hinter *ptasu*.

15 2 *varṇasya* B. [2]
3 *ātmanā saha bhavati* H.
6 H add. *ṛt* hinter *ut*. [3]
7 *ṛvyon* H. [4]
8 *videyaḥ* P.
9 *agakāraṇa* H.
9 *asmai* H.
13 *bhavat* B. [5]
15 Mss. *sva*. [6]
17 *kātalakāt* H.
19 *spṛṣṭeṣatspṛṣṭaṃ vivṛta*° P
20 *sthānāma* H.
22 *iṇaaicu*° B.
23 *oṣṭhyaḥ* B.
23 *kaṇṭhoṣṭhaṃ* | *ekeṣām* H.
24 °*eteṣām* BP.
24 *ṭṭhurapā* B.
25 *lutulahā* B, *lutula*° P, *itula*° H

[47] *15* 26 *kaṇṭhyanā*° P.
29 Mss. *aaa*.

16 1 *luvarṇa*° B.
8 *kteniṭjaḥ* H. [7]
9 B om. *alpaprāṇasya*.
10 *ghoṣacato* B.
11 H om. *bhavati*.
12 *amuṣyai* H.
13 *stryanyatonuḥ* B.

* [Hereafter the references in square brackets are to Sūtras.]

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S. Z.

14 *yuvati* B.
18 H fügt *tu* hinter *saṃjñāyāṃ*.
19 *śvāśurī* B.
22 *vatkāryaṃ* H. [9]
22 *yavaddhā* B.
29 °*māsedhyartthaḥ* B, °*māsedhyarddaḥ* H. [11]
30 *vidhātavye* nach *ca* PH.
32 *pśluk* B.
17 12 *bhrātā dayodhikaḥ* H. [14]
13 *ekapitṛkamātṛkaḥ | parama°* H.
14 *jīvasati* H. *jīvati sati* P.
14 *putrādiḥ* B.
14 P hat *ca* nach *bhrātari*.
15 f. *paramaprakṛtir gargaḥ syāt | gārgis tadanantaraḥ | vṛddho gārgyas tṛtīyaḥ* H.
17 *gārgyāyaṇe yuvā* B.
17 H om. *yuvā*.
24 *pitṛpye* B. [15]
24 *pitam* B.
25 *jīvādgārgyaḥ* H.
25 B om. *gārgyaḥ*.
29 °*patyaṃ kutsau yuvā* B. [16]
18 2 *harāni* H. [17]
3 *devadattāḥ* B.
8 *yasyākamvādi°* B.
9 *śabdasyācāmādiva°* B.
9 B om. *sa* hinter *vā*.
12 °*ecaiñchādau* B, *deśavyeñchādau* H. [20]
13 B om. *yasya*.
13 °*reñ bbhavati sa°* P.
14 PH om. *pratyaye*.
18 14 P om. *bhavati*.
14 *vidātavye* P.
15 H om. *skaunagarikī*.
15 *bahika°* H.
17 H add. *gonarddiyāḥ* zwischen *bhavati* und *chādā.°*
17 *phibhādau na bhavataḥ* B.

S. Z.

20 °*pekṣāṃ* H. [21]
21 *aikacakrakaḥ* BH.
26 H om. *pāpacya*. [22]
27 *nivṛtiḥ* BH.
28 *dādā°* P, *dādāghvabh* H. [23]
29 *dārūpo dhārūpaśca* B, *dādārūpopalakṣitaro* H.
29 *saḥ abakārā°* PH.
30 *dyārūpau* B, *dhāturūpā* H.
30 *praṇitā* H.
19 1 *dheṭh* B.
2 °*dadāti* H.
3 *avattādātam* B.
5 *ghana* B. [24]
7 P om. *apratyaye*.
7 *pratyayaḥ paro* B, P om. *paraḥ*.
7 *abhyamanāyataḥ* H.
8 *abhimamomanāiṣati* H.
8 *prāsādīyata* H.
8 *prāsīsādīyapati* H.
9 *utsukāitvā* H.
15 B om. *iti* nach °*pari*. [25]
16 °*tikrāma°* P.
18 *vṛkṣavṛ°* B.
20 f. °*bhāvasya cakāpraka°* H.
22 *prāktameva* B.
23 *parasyate* H.
25 *yadarthaḥ* H.
28 *ḍājanta* B. [26]
30 *sukavīkṛtya* B und H s. m.
30 *paṭekṛtya* H.
30 *uryādi* B.
32 °*ḍācsārtharmyāt* B.
20 3 °*upadeśaḥ* P. [27]
3 *parigraha* H.
5 *bhavati* B.
8 *pītyā* B.
10 *kārikā* H.
[48] 20 10 *karttram* B.
13 *viṣyamāna°* B, *vidyamana°* H.
19 °*saṃjño* B. [29]

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S. Z.

29 *vā* nach *bhavati* H. [31]
33 f. B om. *anyatra* usw.
21 4 *anatyādānamupaśeṣaḥ* H. [33]
8 *sāmye* H. [34]
10 f. H. om. *adhi kṛtvā.*
12 H om. *tena.*
12 °*kalpate* H.
12 °*tvādhiti* B.
15, 16 In P ist die Stelle abgebrochen. [35]
17 *avaṇīkṛtya* B.
18 f. H voller Fehler! [36]
20 PH om. *nityaṃ.*
21 *gatvā* B. *kṛtaḥ* B.
22 1 *tasvandāmadhaṇtasyāṃktāntvantisuptasvā°* B, °*madaṇtasyāṃ°* P, °*madaṇtasāṃktvā°* H. [39]
4 *suṇaptasu°* B.
6 H om. *nāṃ uccais°.*
6 f. *adhaṇasi* B.
7 *rāmāditaḥ* | *rāvaṇāditaḥ* B.
8 *vyāśayesityā°* B
9 *padhidvai°* B, *padi°* H.
10 *dhṛtvā* B.
10 °*mojam* B.
11 B om. *hartum.*
12 f. *ptasvābham* H.
16 *tṛṣu* B.
17 *yatna veti* B.
18 *āpo* B, *āpa* H.
21 *idudaṃtaṃ* P. [40]
22 *śabdadvandvā°* B.
28 *pratyaya kṛto ṣaṣṭhyā* H. [41]
30 *paṣṭhyāntā°* P, *paṣṭhāntā°* H.
23 5 *ghādya°* H. [43]
7 *praṇiṃsti* H.
14 *spartthe* B. [46]
21 Mss. *ṣaṣṭhyā.* [47]
21 *sthānentalaḥ* B.
22 *yontyorla tasya* B.
23 24 *senānī* B.

S. Z.

28 *dvipaṃ* B, *dvipaḥ* H. [48]
24 1 °*nidav* B. [49]
3 *jascasśi* H.
3 *śīḥ* B.
3 H om. *dhanāni.*
5 H om. *jho 'ntaḥ iti yaḥ.*
10 f. H om. *suval lope 'pi.* [50]
13 *so* H.
13 H om. *na.*
21 *tatrāllu°* B. [51]
27 B add. *yaluci* hinter *yavidhau.*
32 *takṣati kāṣṭatat* B.
33 *kāṣṭataditi* H.
34 *prāyiṇayanni°* H.
25 3 *ṣaḍik ity ato jaś* H.
7 *enacchitakaḥ* B. [52]
10 *didādiḥ* H. [53]
11 *tastadsorśca* H.
12 *śvapiṭsāye* H.
12 *veditā* B.
15 *bhavāntchūraḥ* B, *bhavāñchuraḥ* H. [54]
18 *viśeṣasya* H. [55]
18 *samudāyoyasyāntontā°* P.
18 H om. *'ntāvayavo.*
19 *yvū* B, *yvra* H.
20 *jayastava* B.
26 °*myaghā°* H. [57]
28 *ghaṇādi°* H.
30 *smarani* H.
32 *saptamyarthasya* B.. [58]
26 1 °*kṛtyādiḥ* H. [59]
2 f. P om. den ersten Satz bis *pratyāhāraḥ.*
2 *patyam* B.
2 *ṇiñ ityā* B.
3 *tid iti atitas* H. *yunaritadityatas* B.
4 P om. *viśeṣaṇaṃ.*
4 *samudāyasya* BH.
11 °*gandhyabandhuḥ* (beidesmal für °*gandhyā°*) BH.

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S. Z.

12 *ṣyasyaiś* B.
16 *sakāra-asya* B. [60]
[49] *26* 18 °*nakulam*° B.
19 *sāṃkoṭhinam* B, *sāṃkodinam* H.
19 *vyākrośī* B, *vyākroni* H.
24 H om. *sādhu no rakṣatu.* [61]
25 *kurūpi grāmaṃ gacchha* B, *kaṃru grāmaṃ ca* H.
26 Mss. om. *yavān* und lesen *lunīhi.*
26 *saktuṃśca* B.
26 f. H om. *devadattena no dātavyam.*
28 ff. *odanaṃ paṃca na bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati | paca | tava bhaviṣyati | odanaṃ | tava bhaviṣyati | arthāt* usw. H.
30 *prakaraṇādvāgatā*° B, °*dvāgatātavapraka*° H.
31 *mahiṅau* B, °*hiṅ* H. [62]
27 2 *nāntaṃ ke pare padaṃ* P. [63]
3 *kyacchāṃ* H.
5 B om. *kya iti kim || sāmānyaḥ ||*
5 H add. *suṅā vimanyaḥ* zwischen *sāmanyaḥ* und *suṅ.*
6 *vidvalya*° B. [64]
9 *urnnālayuḥ* H.
10 *yaṃcmā* H.
11 Mss. *vṛtya*°. [65]
12 *parārtthā*° B.
13 *tasyāntaśabdaḥ* H.
17 *sāṃtaṃ tāṃtaṃ* P. [66]
17 P om. *pratyaye pare.*
18 *padaṃ* P.
21 P om. *pare.* [67]
24 *varttamānasyāno* B. [68]
25 f. *sāma sāma* BH. Das *anunāsika*-Zeichen fehlt ebenfalls in den übrigen Beispielen bei B.

S. Z.

28 *pāṭaliputrādyā* B, °*trādā* H (nur einmal!).
28 3 P om. *ā pādapari*°. [70]
10 P om. *nānyaḥ.* [72]
10 f. B gibt das Zeichen für die Plutierung stets mit *nu* wieder; bei H fehlt jegliches Zeichen.
28 16 *ṛtakāya* BH. [73]
17 *iko yantabhir*° B.
20 PH om. *vā.* [74]
27 *svo vā* für *vā* PH. [75]
28 f. Die Lesarten H's sind voller Schreibfehler und daher unberücksichtigt gelassen. B liest durchweg *lu* für *ḷ.*
29 4 ff. *pitṛṛṣabhaḥ | pitṛṣabhaḥ | luti | pitṛlkāraḥ | pitṛlukāraḥ | pitṛkāraḥ | luvarṇasya | pitlurtaka*° | *pitluṛtaka*° | *pitṛtaka*° | *luti luvarṇasya pitlultaka*° | *pitlu lutaka*° | *pitṛtanaka*° B, *ṛti | pitṛṛṣabhaḥ | pitṛṛṣabhaḥ | pitṛṣabhaḥ | iti pitṛlkāraḥ | pitṛlakāraḥ | lakāvarṇasya pitarta ikā ity*° *pita ṛtaka*° | *lati | lavarṇasya pitḷ ltaka*° | *pitḷ lataka*° (zweimal!) *pitṛtaka*° H. [76]
8 *ṛpidādi*° H.
12 f. *nityana dīrggho adeśo* B. [77]
16 *śasyat* B. [78]
29 °*vahosyoḥ* B. [81]
30 1 °*ṅara* B. [82]
5 *saltaka* H.
6 *eṅucyaic* B. [83]
11 *yadavarṇasya* B. [84]
14 *svairaścai*° B. [85]
18 *omādi*° B. [86]
21 *adyarśyāt* (st. *adya ar*°) B.

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S. Z.

31 11 *ṛṇāvayavaḥ ṛṇam ṛṇārṇabh* B : H verderbt ! [90]
32 2 B om. *sāca iti nivṛttam.* [95]
5 f. *lakṣaṇapratipa°* usw. nur in P.
29 B om. *ā uṣṇam oṣṇam.* [101]
33 9 f. *tacca vā na bhavati* P. [103]
11 *ū* B. [104]
[50] *33* 12, 14. *ū* B.
19 *kimū* B. [105]
21 *ca bhavanti* H.
24 *°nāikasvaḥ* B. [106]
26 *hala mātram* B.
26 f. Das Zeichen für das *anunāsika* wird überall weggelassen.
34 3. *°nāsiko bhavati* B. [108]
3 Das *anunāsika*-Zeichen fehlt bei B.
6 *nimittasve* B, *°ttasyaso* P, *°mitrasvo* H. [109]
14 B om. *°ha°*. [111]
23 f. In B fällt das Zeichen für das *anunāsika* durchweg aus. [112]
24 *kima hmalayati* B ; beidesmal *hṛṣe* B.
28 *samrāṭ samrājau* H. [113]
35 3 B om. *kaś cchā°* und *kaś chādayati*. H hat nur *kaś cāda°*. [115]
6 *tac śete, tach śete* B, *tac śete, tacete* H.
11 *proktunāva* B. [116]
12 H om. *madhvv atra* und *madhv°*.
13 *traṣvatra* und *traṣvatra* B.
36 6 *tarsaḥ* B. [122]
11 *cā* (st. *vā*) B. [124]
16 ff. *nu* für das Zeichen der Plutierung B. [125]

S. Z.

19 *°māṅiḥ* B. [126]
37 3 *vīpsāyadvyaktiḥ* B. [128]
10 *damadamā ka°* H. [130]
16 *yamāditi* B. [132]
21 *taptā* BH. [133]
25 H om *trisaṃyogaḥ trisaṃyoga iti* B. [134]
28 *carrā* B. [135]
30 *rnatsyate* B.
38 4 *ścauḥ* B. [137]
8 *jhaṣayati* B.
10 *nnaśāt* B.
10 f. *toṣpīti* (st. *toḥ ṣi iti*) B.
38 11 *°ṣutve* B.
12 *ṣu* B. [138]
18 *ṭoṣpadā°* B. [140]
26 *ṣaṇḍhaḥ* B. [141]
39 14 *ḍnastaṭ* B. [146]
19 *jat* B. [147]
21 *ścaḥ saṃyogasya* B.
22 Durchweg *°ñch°* in *bhavāñc śete* usw. B.
26 f. *nṭ̈ḍhpāhi* und *nṛṃḍhpā* B. [148]
40 3 *bhavānschädayati* B. [150]
5 *sarukaḥ* B.
6 *praśān carati* B.
11 *samaskṛsi* BP. [152]
16 *avarṇāntād* P. [153]
18 *ācakṣaṇo* B.
18 *vṛkṣac* B.
22 ff. Die undeutlich auszusprechenden *y* und *v* werden in B durchweg mit einem *candrabindu* bezeichnet. [154]
28 f. Das *v* im ersten *paṭaviha* und das *y* im ersten *devāyāsate* sind in B mit *candrabindu* bezeichnet. [155]
41 3 *deva*$\tilde{y}$ *āsate* B. [156]
4 *bhago*$\tilde{y}$*āsva* B.
8 *śravaṇo* B. [157]

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S. Z.

9 *devā yatra* H.
13 *cetsakāro* B. [158]
23 *roṣno°* B. [160]
26 *dīgghāhāyayam* B, *dīrghāhāyayam* H.

42 3 *sajārdayate* H. [161]
3 *pitardayase* B.
7 f. B liest *gīṣpati* (st. *gīḥ°*) und om. [162]
dhūḥpatiḥ und *praceto rājon.*
7 f. *ahalpatiḥ, gīlpati* und *dhūlpati* H.
10 *saścavy°* B. [163]
13 *aseda* B.
22 *kupauṃkarpam* B. [166]
23 *khayi pare ṅkarpa* und so [51] durchweg *ṅ* für × und *r* für ≳ bei B.

42 26 B om. *antaḥ pacati.*
27 *dadbhiḥ psātam* BH.

S. Z.

29 *tirasaḥ steḥ siḥ* B, *tirasaste siḥ* P. [167]
43 3 B om. *nityaṃ.* [168]
5 *ter iti ... puraḥ kṛtvā* nur in H.
26 *pare* nach *khayi* P. [172]
44 19 *ayaskumbhaḥ* B. [175]
21 *ayakaḥ karoti* BH.
44 26 f. *tān kavayaḥ prayojayanti* nur in H; in P übrigens fällt das Ganze mit *kāmya* beginnend weg. [176]
45 3 f. *tān kavayaḥ°* nur in H. [178]
9 H add. *niṣṭaptā arātayaḥ || anyatra | nach niṣṭapati svarṇam.* [179]
13 *°kādgrahaṇaṃ* B.
13 *yad śluci* B.
20 ff. P om. *śrī.* B om. *śrī ... kṛtau. vṛtau* PH. [180]

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[52] 2. Teil.

Übersetzung der Sūtras und Erläuterungen.

Wegen der Übersetzung der einleitenden Strophen s. Einleitung S. 7 f. Das *śabdārthasaṃbandha* (S. 14, 5) ist sicherlich dem ersten Vārttika des Kātyāyana *siddhe śabdārthasaṃbandhe* entlehnt und ist daher im Sinne Patañjali's zu fassen, der das Komp. als ein dreigliedriges Dvandva auffasst. Das *yogyatā* des Kom. bedeutet wohl nicht mehr als *saṃbandha* oder vielmehr das Geeignetsein den Zusammenhang (zwischen dem Auszudrückenden und dem Ausdrückenden) herzustellen.[1]—*dharmārthakāma°* usw.: "Weil der Erkenntnis des wahren Wesens von *dharma, artha, kāma* und *mokṣa* die Kenntnis der Worte und (deren) Bedeutungen vorausgeht, soll der Weise die Grammatik kennen lernen".

Die Aṣṭādhyāyī hat 14 *pratyāhāra*-Sūtras. Śākaṭāyana hat die Zahl um eins vermindert. Einem Vārttika Kātyāyana's zufolge hat er den *anusvāra, visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya* aufgenommen.[2]—Gestützt auf das Vārttika (P. *1.* 1. 9 Vā. 5) *ṛkāraḷkārayoḥ savarṇavidhiḥ* lässt er den Vokal *ḷ* mit wenigen Ausnahmen durchweg unberücksichtigt. Die Homogenität von *ṛ* und *ḷ* wird zwar nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt, ergibt sich aber nach dem Kom. durch ein *jñāpaka*. Ś. *2*. 3. 27 schreibt die Plutierung der Vokale mit Ausnahme des *ṛ*, aber einschliesslich des *ḷ*, unter gewissen Bedingungen vor. Es wäre nicht nötig gewesen, heisst es, die Einschliessung von *ḷ* dort ausdrüklich zu erwähnen, wenn nicht *ṛ* und *ḷ* homogen wären und demzufolge die Ausschliessung von *ṛ* auch die von *ḷ* mit sich gebracht hätte. Das zweideutige *ṇ* des Pāṇini'schen *pratyāhāra laṇ* (vgl. MBhāṣ. Vol. I, S. 34 *f.*) wird hier durch ein neutrales *ñ* ersetzt; das *ṭ* des Śiva-Sūtra *hayavaraṭ* wird als zwecklos aufgegeben. Bei dieser letzten Änderung ist er Candra gefolgt. [53] Ferner weicht Śākaṭ. von seinen Vorgängern darin ab, dass er die nicht aspirierten Mediae und die aspirierten Mediae und Tenues in drei gleichen, phonetisch einheitlichen Sūtras (*jabagaḍadaś, jhabhaghadhaḍhaṣ, khaphachaṭhathat*) angibt; dagegen erscheinen sie bei Pāṇini und Candra in scheinbar willkürlich zusammengesetzten Abschnitten (*jhabhañ, ghaḍhadhaṣ, jabagaḍadaś, khaphachaṭhathacaṭatav*).—Alle drei MSS. lesen einstimmig *pratyāhārayan* (S. 14, 18); ich weiss es aber nicht recht zu deuten.

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1 APTE gibt *yogyatā* wieder: the absence of absurdity in the mutual *connection* of the things signified by the words, und verweist auf die Definition im *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (ed. KANE, Bombay 1910, S. 8 oben): *yogyatā paraspara saṃbandhe bādhābhāvaḥ*.

2 Nach KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.* Bd. 16, S. 26[b].

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1. (Ein Laut oder ein Aggregat von Lauten, das) mit einem stummen Buchstaben (versehen ist, bezeichnet alles Dazwischenliegende) bis zu dem stummen Buchstaben mit Einschluss seiner selbst.

P. *1.* 1. 71 ; C. *1.* 1. 1.

Itet ist in *itā ā it* aufzulösen. Der *sandhi* erfolgt nach Ś. *1.* 1. 82, 86. Den ersten drei Sūtras Śākaṭ's entsprechen die nämlichen in dem Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa.

2. (Ein Konsonant) mit (dem stummen Laut) *u* (bezeichnet) den homogenen ([*sva*] einschliesslich seiner selbst).

P. *1.* 1. 69 ; C. *1.* 1. 2.

Nach Ś. *1.* 1. 6 heisst *sva* ein homogener Laut und ist infolgedessen gleichbedeutend mit dem Pāṇini'schen *savarṇa.* Dem Wortlaute nach also gilt die obige Regel für alle Laute, die einen homogenen Laut aufweisen. In der Tat aber wird der stumme Laut *u* nur an *k, c, ṭ, t* und *p* angefügt ; daher im Kom. *svasya vargasya.*

3. (Ein Vokal) mit (folgendem) *t* (bezeichnet) nur einen so langen (d. h. den Vokal seiner Quantität).

P. *1.* 1. 70 ; C. *1.* 1. 3.

Diese und die folgende Regel schliessen ein, dass ein mit *t* unverbundener Vokal, ausser Suffixen, Augmenten und Substituten, zugleich die entsprechenden langen, plutierten und nasalierten Formen desselben bezeichnet.

4. Ein operativer (Vokal d. h. ein Vokal, der ein Suffix oder Augment ist, bezeichnet nur den Vokal seiner Quantität), ausser wenn er mit (dem stummen Laut) *g* versehen ist.

Cf. P. *1.* 1. 69.

Śākaṭ. hat das Pāṇini'sche Sūtra *1.* 1. 69 mit Rücksicht auf die Paribhāṣā (19), *bhāvyamānena savarṇānāṃ grahaṇaṃ na,* verändert. Da wird dem Wort *pratyaya* seine etymologische Bedeutung angewiesen. Vgl. Kaiyaṭa dazu : *pratīyate vidhīyate iti yaugikasyātra pratyayasya grahaṇam iti bhāvaḥ.* —Zu *amum, amū* des Kom. : Der stumme Laut *g* hat zwei Funktionen ; die eine wird hier erwähnt, die andere erst in *1.* 1. 100. Wird *g* einem operativen Vokal wie z. B. einem Suffix angefügt, so hat nach dieser Regel das wirkliche Substitut ebensoviel *mātrās* wie der *sthānin* ; z. B. nach Ś. *1.* 2. 44 wird für das *d* von *adas m* substituiert, [54] wobei (*g*)*u* für den unmittelbar darauf folgenden Laut antritt. Folgt also *au* des nom. oder des acc. du. auf das *aṅga ada,* so muss das Substitut ebenfalls *zwei mātrās* haben, und infolgedessen tritt *amū* (und nicht *amu*) für *adau* (aus *ada* + *au*) ein. Folgt dagegen ein kurzes *a* auf *d,* wie in *adam* (aus *ada* + *am*), so muss ein *kurzes u* für den folgenden Laut substituiert werden ; infolgedessen heisst der acc. sing. mas. *amum.*

5. (Buchstaben oder Aggregate von Buchstaben, die in der Grammatik

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angeführt, aber in der gewöhnlichen Sprache) nicht gebraucht (werden, heissen) stumme Buchstaben (*it*).

Cf. P. *1.* 3. 2-9; C. *1.* 1. 5; H. *1.* 1. 37.

In *ṭuvepṛṅ* (= Wz. *vep*) sind die Buchstaben *t*, *u*, *ṛ* und *ṅ* *it*. Dieses Sūtra vertritt die Regeln Pāṇini's *1.* 3. 2-9.

6. Wenn die Artikulationsstelle und die Tätigkeit (des Mundes) gleich sind, (heissen die Laute) homogen (*sva*).

P. *1.* 1. 9; H. *1.* 1. 17.

MS. P gibt für dieses Sūtra ausnahmsweise den ganzen, wie in Text gedruckten Kommentar.[3]—Die MSS. lassen einstimmig den *visarjanīya* hinter *sva* aus. Der Ausfall ist nach Ś. *1.* 1. 165 (= P. *8.* 3. 36 Vā. 1) *freigestellt.* Die Lesart ohne den *visarjanīya* mag wohl die ursprüngliche sein, weil dadurch das Sūtra um einen Buchstaben kürzer ist. Der Konsequenz halber habe ich die vollere Schreibung beibehalten.—Die Unterscheidung der sechs kurzen von den zwölf langen und plutierten *a* beruht darauf, dass das *āsya* der kurzen *saṃvṛta*, dagegen das der langen *vivṛta* ist.. Vgl. P. *8.* 4. 68.—Nach dem Herausgeber der Bombayer Ausgabe des Prakriyās. (S. 4, Anm. 1) heisst *sṛk* : *oṣṭhayor agrabhāgaḥ*. Es ist mir nicht bekannt, dass man *sṛkvan* (oder *sṛkkan* „Mundwinkel") als das *āsya* von *v* angegeben hat, was man sonst annehmen müsste.—Was Pāṇ. *āsya* nennt, heisst bei Śākaṭ *sthāna*, dem *prayatna* Paṇ.'s entspricht aber bei Śākaṭ. *āsya*. Vgl. Cintāmaṇi und Siddhāntak. S. 4 (unter *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*): *tālvādisthānam ābhyantara-prayatnaś ca*.—Diese Regel fehlt gänzlich bei Candra!—Zu *anukaraṇa*: Ausser in den Ableitungen von *klṗ* und in den Worten, die den Laut *ḷ* bezeichnen, kommt *ḷ* nach den indischen Grammatikern auch bei der *Nachahmung* einer Person vor, die aus Unfähigkeit *ṛ* auszusprechen an dessen Stelle *ḷ* sagt. So sagt z. B. eine alte Brahmanenfrau *pitḷ*, *ḷtaka* und *pitḷtaka* anstatt *pitṛ* bezw. *ṛtaka* und *pitṝtaka* (MBhāṣ. Bd. 1, S. 19, Z. 16 f.).

7. (Von den verschiedenen Substituten wird dasjenige vorgezogen,) das (dem ursprünglichen Laut) am nächsten (steht).

P. *1.* 1. 50; H. *7.* 4. 120.

Nach dem Kom. kann die Verwandtschaft auf der Artikulationsstelle, Qualität, Quantität und Bedeutung beruhen. In *muni* + *indra* [55] must für die beiden *i* nach *1.* 1. 77 ein langer Vokal substituiert werden; es wird in diesem Falle nach unserer Regel das lange *ī* gewählt, weil die zwei Vokale—das kurze und das lange *i*—das gleiche *sthāna* haben, und keiner von den übrigen dem *sthānin* näher steht als dieser.—Zu den Beispielen zu *pramāṇena*, vgl. Anm. zu *1.* 1. 4.—*vātaṇḍyayuvati* = ein junger weiblicher Nachkomme von V.: *dāradavṛndārikā*=die schönste unter den D.-Frauen. Das erste feminine Glied des Kompositums nimmt diejenige maskuline Form an, welche

[3] Vgl. Einleitung S. 11 unter der Beschreibung des MS.

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dem ursprünglichen Femininum, was die Bedeutung anbelangt, am nächsten steht, also wird für *vataṇḍī* nicht *vataṇḍa* substituiert, sondern *vātaṇḍya* (= ein männlicher Nachkomme des V.), das jenem noch näher steht als das *vataṇḍa* da beide den Abkömmling bezeichnen.

8. (Eine Operation, die sich auf) ein Verwandtschaft (ausdrückendes) Wort (bezieht, tritt nur dann ein), wenn die Verwandtschaft (in der Tat) vorhanden ist.

H. *7.* 4. 121.

śvaśurya = Sohn des Schwiegervaters, Schwager; aber *śvāśuri* = Sohn eines Mannes, der einem Schwiegervater ähnelt.[4] Diese Regel vermag ich weder bei Pāṇ. noch bei seinen Kom. nachzuweisen. Vgl. jedoch Ujjvaladatta's Kom. zu Uṇ 1. 45: *saṃbandhiśabdānāṃ tatsadṛśāt pratiṣedhaḥ.* H. *7.* 4. 21 gibt das Sūtra mit dem Kom. fast wörtlich wieder.—Das Sūtra dient wahrscheinlich nur dazu, den abgeleiteten Nominalstamm *svāśuri* in dem obenerwähnten Sinne zu rechtfertigen, dessen Bildung sonst gewisse Schwierigkeiten bereitet.[5]

9. Die (Wortformen) auf *ghat* (= *at*) und *ḍati* (= *ati*) (sind wie) Zahlwörter ([*saṃkhyā*] zu behandeln).

P. *1.* 1. 23; H. *1.* 1. 39.

Zum Suffix *ghatu*: Dem Suffix *ghatu* bei Śakaṭ. steht bei Pāṇ. *vatu* gegenüber (P. *1.* 1. 23). Dies sind beides Suffixe (Konsonant + *at*), die gewissen Pronomina angefügt werden, wie z B. in *yāvat, tāvat, kiyat, iyat* usw. Da bei Pāṇ. das normale Suffix *vat*(*u*) (wie in den Bildungen *yāvat, tāvat*) heisst, so wird hinter *kim* und *idam* für das *v* des Suffixes das Substitut *gh* (= *iy*)[6] [56] vorgeschrieben, um die Bildungen *kiyat, iyat* zu ermöglichen (P. *5.* 2. 40, 41). Umgekehrt heisst bei Śākaṭ. das normale Suffix in diesem Falle *ghat*(*u*) = *iyat* (wie in *kiyat, iyat*, Ś. *3.* 3. 68); infolgedessen schreibt er *3.* 3. 69, 70 die Substitution von *v* für *gh* hinter *etad* usw. (*etāvat*) vor. Das Ergebnis ist genau dasselbe. Warum Śākaṭ. die Änderung vorgenommen hat, lässt sich vorläufig nicht ermitteln.—Bei Candra wird der Terminus *saṃkhyā* nicht weiter definiert.

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[4] Vgl. Paribhāṣenduś. (Text) S. 15, Z 9: *śvaśurasadṛśasyāpatyam ity arthake śvāśuriḥ* usw. Nach Ujjvaladatta (Uṇ. 1. 45) ist *śvaśura* hier ein nom. pr.: *śvaśuro nāma kaścit tasyāpatyam.*

[5] Die Regel P. *4.* 1. 137 *rājaśvaśurād yad* wird durch die Paribhāṣā (15): *gauṇamukhyayor mukhye kāryasaṃpratyayaḥ* modifiziert und infolgedessen wird das Suffix *ya* dem *śvaśura* nur dann angefügt, wenn das Wort seine primäre Bedeutung hat; diese wiederum bedarf der in der Paribhāṣā selbst nicht ausgedrückten Ergänzung: *kiṃ cāyaṃ nyāyo na prātipadikakārye kiṃ tūpāttaṃ viśiṣyārthopasthāpakaṃ viśiṣṭarūpaṃ yatra tādṛśapadakārya eva* (Paribhāṣenduś. Text S. 15, Z. 5—6; Transl. S. 88 und Anm. 1, S. 89 und Anm. 1).

[6] Nach P. *7.* 1. 2; ebenso sicherlich auch bei Śākaṭ., obwohl ich die [56] Regel bei ihm nicht nachweisen kann; vgl. jedoch Prakriyās. S. 183 (unter Sūtra 913) *ghasya iy.*

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10. bahu und *gaṇa* (werden) in (der Bedeutung) Verschiedenheit (Mannigfaltigkeit) (wie Zahlwörter behandelt).

P. *1.* 1. 23 + Kāś. ; H. *1.* 1. 1. 40.

Der Zusatz *bhede* beruht auf der Angabe der Kāśikā (zu P. *1.* 1. 23): *bahugaṇayor vaipulye saṃghe ca vartamānayor iha grahaṇaṃ nāsti | saṃkhyāvācinor eva.* Vgl. Cintām.

11. (Die Wortform) *adhyardha* (wird) vor (dem Suffix) *ka* und in Kompositum (wie Zahlwörter behandelt).

P. *1.* 1. 23 Vā 5 ; H. *1.* 1. 41.

12. (Eine Wortform, die ein Kompositum ist, dessen) erstes Glied *ardha* (ist, und auf) *ḍat* (d. h. ein Ordnungszahlwort bildendes Suffix auslautet, wird wie Zahlwörter behandelt).

P. *1.* 1. 23 Vā 7 ; *H. 1.* 1. 42.

13. (Die Nachkommenschaft) von Enkel an (heisst) *vṛddha.*

P. *4.* 1. 162 ; H. *6.* 1. 2.

In der Grammatik des Candra sind die Termini *vṛddha* und *yuvan* nicht definiert ; *vṛddha* entspricht Pāṇ.'s *gotra.*

14. Wenn ein Glied in der aufsteigenden Linie oder ein älterer Bruder noch am Leben ist, (heisst die) nicht weibliche (Nachkommenschaft) von Urenkel an *yuvan.*

P. *4.* 1. 163 + Vā. 7 und Bh.; H. *6.* 1. 3.

vaṃśya ist jeder Vorfahr, von dem Vater aufsteigend, der die Ursache eigenen Daseins ist.—Das entsprechende Sūtra Pāṇini's (*4.* 1. 163) *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā* ist zweideutig, weil da der *saṃjñin* unspezifiziert bleibt. Der Urenkel ist es erst, der überhaupt *yuvan* genannt werden kann. Die richtige Konstruktion ist aus dem folgenden Auszug aus dem Bhāṣya zu dem Sūtra ersichtlich : *evaṃ tarhy apatyam evābhisaṃbadhyate na tu pautraprabhṛtisamānādhikaraṇam apatyam | naivaṃ vijñāyate pautraprabhṛti yad apatyam iti | kathaṃ tarhi | pautraprabhṛter yad apatyam iti* (MBhāṣ. Vol. 2, S. 265, Z. 19 f.). Dieser Erklärungsversuch ist offenkundig ein Kunstgriff Pat.'s und bezeugt noch einmal dessen Bemühung die Unfehlbarkeit Pāṇ.'s zu dokumentieren. Unser Grammatiker lehnt ihn ab und vereinfacht die Sache, indem er [57] *prapautrādi* ausdrücklich hinzufügt.—Der Singular *sati* ist auffallend, aber für den Sūtrastil bezeichnend. Er soll doch ausdrücken : wenn *einer* von den zwei genannten am Leben ist ; *satoḥ* würde bedeuten : wenn der *vaṃśya* und der *bhrātṛ beide* am Leben sind. Zu *sati* ist also *anyatarasmin* zu ergänzen. Hema. ebenfalls *jīvati* (d. h. *sati.* H. *6.* 1. 3).—*astri* des Sūtra beruht auf Vā. 7 zum oben erwähnten Pāṇini'schen Sūtra.—*vṛddha* statt Pāṇini's *gotra,* wohl gewissermassen als Gegensatz zu *yuvan.*

15. (Die im Sūtra 14 gelehrte Bezeichnung ist) friegestellt, wenn ein

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an Alter und Würde höher stehender *sapiṇḍa* des lebenden (Nachkommen vom Urenkel an noch am Leben ist).

P. *4*. 1. 165 + Bh. ; H. *6*. 1. 4.

Die Erklärung in dem Kom. von *sthāna* ist wenig klar. Der Ausdruck *vayassthāna* stammt aus dem MBhāṣ. her, wo Pat. bei Gelegenheit der Erklärung von *sthaviratara* (P. *4*. 1. 165) sich folgendermassen äussert : *athasthavirataragrahaṇam kimartham | ubhayato viśiṣṭe yathā syāt | sthānato vayastaś ca.* Dies passt auch gut zu der üblichen Bedeutung von *sthavira* : bejahrt und würdig. Man vergleiche den Gebrauch des Wortes (pā. *thera*) bei den Buddhisten. Wenn Pāṇ. nur den Altersunterschied hätte ausdrücken wollen, so hätte er einfach *jyāyasi* oder ähnliches sagen können. Sicherlich ist der Ausdruck hier auch so zu verstehen, wie bei den älteren Grammatikern. Warum der Kom. sich so ausdrückt, sei dahingestellt.

16. (Die Bezeichnungen) *yuvan* und *vṛddha* (sind freigestellt), wenn Tadel (resp.) Verehrung (auszudrücken ist).

P. *4*. 1. 166, 167 = P. *4*. 1. 162 Vā. 2, 163 Vā. 3 ; H. *6*. 1. 5.

yuvavṛddham ist nom. sing. und *kutsārce* ist lok. sing. eines Neut.-Dvandva. Śākaṭ. gebraucht das Dvandva fast durchweg als sing. neut.[7]

17. Ein Eigenname (wird beliebig) *du* (genannt).

P. *1*. 1. 73 Vā 5 ; C. *3*, 2. 26 ; H. *6*. 1. 6.

du entspricht dem *vṛddha* bei Pāṇ., das Śākaṭ. für Pāṇ.'s *gotra* verwendet (s. Sūtra 13, 14 Anm.).

18. *tyad* usw. (heissen *du*).

P. *1*. 1. 74 ; C. *3*. 2. 28 ; H. *6*. 1. 7.

Zu beachten ist, dass der Übergang von *vibhāṣā* zu *nitya* im Text des Sūtra nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt wird. Es ist mir nicht klar geworden, woraus dieselbe überhaupt zu erschliessen wäre.

19. (Eine Wortform) von dessen Vokalen der erste *ā, ai* oder *au* (ist, heisst *du*).

P. *1*, 1. 73 ; cf. C. *3*. 2. 24 ; H. *6*. 1. 8.

20. (Eine Wortform, die) nur als Ortsname (gebraucht wird [58] und von deren Vokalen das erste) *e* oder *o* (ist, heisst *du*) vor (den Suffixen) *cha* (= *īya*) usw.

P. *1*. 1. 75 + Bh. ; H. *6*. 1. 9.

Vgl. Anmerkung zum folgenden Sūtra.

21. (Eine Wortform, die) einen Ort in Osten (bezeichnet und von deren Vokalen der este *e* oder *o* ist, heisst *du* vor den Suffixen *cha* [= *īya*] usw.).

P. *1*. 1. 75 + Kāś. ; C. *3*. 2. 25 ; H. *6*. 1. 10.

Die Sūtras 20, 21 besagen folgendes : Ein östlicher Ortsname wird in

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7 Cf. *1*. 1. 11, 26-28, 33, 36 f., 59, 71, 81, usw. usw.

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gewissen Fällen als ein *du* genanntes Wort behandelt (21), aber auch solche anderen Ortsnamen, die nur als Bezeichnungen von Orten auftreten (20). In dieser Weise wird die Regel weder von Pāṇini, noch von seinen Kommentatoren, noch endlich von anderen Grammatikern *ausser Hema.* formuliert. Die Regel bei Pāṇini (*1.* 1. 75) lautet *eṅ prācāṃ deśe*, was der Verfasser der Kāśikā so erklärt : *eṅ yasyācām ādis tat prāgdeśābhidhāne vṛddhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati.* Dass Candra derselben Meinung ist, geht deutlich aus dem Wortlaut seines Sūtra (*3.* 2. 25) : *eṅādyacaḥ prāgdeśāt* hervor. *prācām* kann aber auch eine andere Bedeutung haben, nämlich, „ nach der Meinung der östlichen Grammatiker " ; so z. B. P. *3.* 1. 90 ; 4. 18 ; *4.* 1. 17, 43, 160 usw., wo es von den Kommentatoren einstimmig in diesem Sinne erklärt wird. Leider gibt uns das MBhāṣ. keinen direkten Aufschluss darüber, wie Patañjali sich zu dieser Sache verhält. Sein kurzes Bhāṣya über das Sūtra lautet : *eṅ prācāṃ deśe śaiṣikeṣv iti vaktavyam ' saipurikī saipurikā | skaunagarikī | skaunagariketi* (MBhāṣ. Vol. 1, S. 190, Z. 20 f.). Nach der Ansicht Kaiyaṭa's aber soll Pat. die zuletztgenannte Auffassung billigen. Er sagt : *kuṇinā prāggrahaṇam ācāryanirdeśārthaṃ vyākhyātaṃ .... | anyena*[8] *tu prāggrahaṇaṃ deśaviśeṣaṇaṃ vyākhyātam... | bhāṣyakāras tu kuṇidarśanam aśiśriyat.* Und Kaiyaṭa hat offenbar Recht. Denn die beispielweise gegebenen Ortsnamen Sepura und Skonagara müssen solche Namen vertreten, die *vṛddha* heissen und denen zugleich die *śaiṣika*-Suffixe *ikī, ikā* angefügt werden können. Nun aber können diese Suffixe *ikī, ikā,* technish *ñiṭh* genannt, an Ortsnamen wie Sepura und Skonagara nur dann treten, wenn diese im Gaṇa *Kāśi* enthalten (P. *4.* 2. 116) oder Dorfnamen der Bāhīka sind (117). Das erste ist nicht der Fall, also müssen sie Dorfnamen der Bāhīka sein. Da aber das Land der Bāhīka gar nicht im Osten liegt, sondern den Teil Indiens bildet, der heutzutage das Punjab heisst (s. Nāgojībhaṭṭa's Pradīpoddyota zum oben erwähnten Sūtra Pāṇini's); so können die zwei Namen bei Patañjali, welche als Beispiele der Ortschaften, auf die sich das Sūtra bezieht, dienen müssen, keine Namen von Orten im Osten sein. Folglich kann nach der Ansicht Patañjali's *prācām* nicht mit *deśe* verbunden sein. Die Sūtras [59] Śākaṭ.'s wollen nun den beiden entgegengesetzten Ansichten — der Ansicht Patañjali's und der der Candra-Kāśikākāra — gerecht werden.. Der letzten gibt er durch das 21. Sūtra Ausdruck, der ersten durch das vorangehende Sūtra. Die durch das Wort *eva* im 20. Sūtra ausgedrückte Beschränkung kann auf der Bemerkung der Kāśikā beruhen : *deśa iti kim | gomatyāṃ bhavā matsyā gaumatāḥ.* Das Sūtra 20 hat meiner Ansicht nach lediglich den Zweck, die vier im MBhāṣ. vorkommenden Bildungen *saipurikī* usw. zu rechtfertigen.

Die Vārttikas 6. 7 und 8 zu P. *1.* 1. 73, modifiziert durch das Bhāṣya *gotrāntād vāsamastavad ity eva jyāyaḥ*, bilden ein Sūtra im Abschnitt über die Taddhitasuffixe (S. *2.* 4. 2 = H. *6.* 1. 12).

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[8] Darunter ist wohl der Verfasser der Kāśikā zu verstehen.

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Das MS. H fügt als Beispiel *gonardīya* zwischen *bhuvati* und *chādau* im Kom. zu Sūtra 20 ein, was vollkommen unzulässig ist. Denn das Beispiel als *pratyudāharaṇa* müsste einen Ortsnamen aufführen : 1) der nicht ausschliesslich als Bezeichnung eines Landes verwendet wird, 2) dem das Suffix *cha* (= *īya*) eben *nicht* angefügt werden kann, 3) der kein Ortsname der östlichen Völker ist. Es ist offenbar aus dem Kom. zu 21 eingedrungen.

22. (Eine Wortform,) die eine Tätigkeit bezeichnet, (heisst) Wurzel (*dhātu*).

Cf. P. *1.* 3. 1 ; H. *3.* 3. 3.

Obwohl nach der obigen Definition jede Tätigkeit ausdrückende Wortform *dhātu* heissen könnte, werden die halbprakritischen Verba, wie *āṇapayati, vaḍḍhati* usw. aus dem Begriff *dhātu* ausgeschlossen, genau wie im Pāṇini'schen System (vgl. Vārtt. 12 zu P. *1.* 3. 1 und Bhāṣya daselbst).

23. (Die verschiedenen Wurzelformen) *dā* und *dhā,* mit Ausnahme der mit (dem stummen Laut) *b* versehenen, (heissen) *ghu.*

P. *1.* 1. 20 ; C. *1.* 1. 4 ; H. *3.* 3. 5.

dāṇ 1. Kl. (*yacchati*) „geben" ; *deṅ* 1. Kl. (*dayate*) „schützen" ; *ḍudāñ* 3. Kl. (*dadāti*) „geben" ; *do* 4. Kl. (*dyati*) „schneiden" ; *dheṭ* 1. Kl. (*dhayati*) „saugen" ; *ḍudhāñ* 3. Kl. (*dadhāti*) "setzen".

24. pra usw. (gehören) nicht (der Wurzel an), ausser wenn ein Suffix (darauf) folgt.

H. *3.* 3. 4.

utsuka wird nach der Ansicht der indischen Grammatiker von *ut* mit dem Suffix *suka* gebildet (Ś. *3.* 3 113).

25. (*pra* usw.,) die sich auf eine (Wurzel) beziehen, mit Ausschluss von *adhi* und *pari,* wenn (sie) bedeutungslos (sind), *su* und *ati,* wenn Lob (ausgedrückt wird), und *ati* wenn Überschreitung des Masses (ausgedrückt wird, heissen) Präposition (*upasarga*) und (stehen) vor (dem Verbum).

P. *1.* 4. 58, 59, 80, 93-95 ; H. *3.* 1. 1.

pralambha : Nur nach *upasargas* wird vor dem Suffix *a* in [60] *labh* *n* eingeschoben ; so *pralambha,* dagegen *īṣallabha, lābha* usw. (cf. P. *7.* 1. 67). — Wenn *adhi, pari* keine *upasargas* sind, können sie nach dem Verbum stehen, wie in *āgacchaty adhi* oder *āgacchati pari* ; hier ergibt sich der Sinn "hinauf, ringsum" auch sonst, z. B. aus dem Zusammenhang.—*su siktam* usw. : *suṣikta* drückt einen Tadel aus, wie es aus unserem Kommentar und der Bemerkung der Siddhāntak. (p. 135) : *suṣiktaṃ kiṃ tavātra*[9] | *kṣepo 'yam* hervorgeht. Es ist aber schwieriger zu sagen, was *su siktam* eigentlich bedeutet. Es könnte wohl einfach "gut begossen" heissen ; allein die Kommentatoren fügen immer *atra dhātvarthaḥ stūyate* hinzu, was nur heissen

[9] Ironisch gemeint ; vgl. im Deutschen : "das hast du *gut* getan" obwohl die Fragepartikel (*kim*) befremdend wirkt.

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kann, hier wird die *Bedeutung der Wurzel* (nicht etwa die Ausführung der Handlung, wie man erwarten würde,) „gepriesen". Leider geben die älteren Kommentatoren keinen Aufschluss darüber, inwiefern der *dhātvartha* gepriesen wird. In der Siddhāntak. (p. 135 Anm. 2) jedoch findet sich die folgende Notiz: *su siktam iti | sekagatapūjyatvadyotakaḥ suḥ, kṛiyāpūjyatvakṛte tattatkriyākartuḥ pūjyatve gamya evaiṣā saṃjñā* „*su* deutet die der Vollziehung des Begiessens zukommende Ehrwürdigkeit (oder geradezu das Verdienst) an (wie z. B. des Begiessens eines heiligen Baumes wie der *Tulasī*). Nur in dem Falle, dass wegen der Ehrwürdigkeit gewisser Handlungen die Ehrwürdigkeit des Vollziehers der betreffenden Handlungen auszudrücken ist, hat der Terminus (nämlich *karmapravacanīya*) Gültigkeit." Dieser Ansicht nach könnte *su siktam bhavatā* geradezu heissen: es ist verdienstvoll, dass du begossen hast.

Die vier Wörter *adhi, pari, su* und *ati* in der im Sūtra gegebenen Bedeutung heissen bei Pāṇini *karmapravacanīya*. Dieser Terminus hat den Zweck dieselben von den Kategorien *upasarga* und *gati* auszuschliessen; cf. Kāśikā zu P. *1*. 4. 93: *gatyupasargasaṃjñābādhanārthā karmapravacanīyasaṃjñā vidhīyate*. Śākaṭ. kennt die Kategorie *karmapravacanīya* nicht und scheidet bloss die obengenannten Wörter aus dem Begriff der *upasargas* und *ti* aus. — Bei Candra werden die *upasargas* nicht definiert. — Der *adhikāra prāk ca* gilt fort bis *1*. 1. 38 inklusiv.

26. (Wortformen, die auf) *ḍāc* (= *-ā*), *cvi* (= *-ī*) (auslauten, die Wörter) *ūrī* usw., Onomatopoetika (und die Präpositionen in Verbindung mit Verben[10]) heissen *ti*.

P. *1*. 44. 60-62; C. *2*. 2. 25, 26; H. *3*. 1. 2.

Zu *cviḍācsādharmyāt* vgl. MBhāṣ. zu P. *1*. 4. 61.—*ti* ist eine Verstümmlung von Pāṇini's *gati* und entspricht diesem ganz genau, wie schon BÜHLER richtig erkannt hat. *Or. u. Occ.* 2, 701 Anm. 1.

[61] *27*. (*ti* heissen in Verbindung mit Verben:) *kārikā*, wenn Regel usw. ausgedrückt wird, *alam* wenn Schmückung ausgedrückt wird, *aḍas*, wenn nicht Mitteilung[11], und *antar*, wenn nicht Ergreifen (Inbesitznahme) ausgedrückt wird, *sat* und *asat*, wenn Hoch- respektiv Geringachtung ausgedrückt wird.

P. *1*. 4. 63-65, 70, 60 Vā. 1; C. *2*. 2. 25, 27, 28, 32; H. *3*. 1. 3-5.

Zu *kārikā*: Amarak. gibt *kārikā* mit *yātanā* und *vṛtti* wieder. *vṛtti* ist

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10 *Orient und Occident*, 2, 697 f. hat BÜHLER in seiner "Notiz über die Grammatik des Çākaṭāyana" dieses Sūtra übersetzt. Es heisst dort: " ... Upasargas heissen Ti, wenn sie mit *Nomina* verbunden sind". Er glaubt [61] also in den *ti-upasargas* eine Vorstufe der *karmapravacanīyas* bei Pāṇini wiederzuerkennen. Das ist jedoch ein Irrtum, wie aus der Erläuterung zu dem vorangehenden Sūtra hervorgeht.

11 Oder positiv gesagt, wenn Überlegung (*parāmarśa*) ausgedrückt wird.

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" Erklärung " ; also *kārikā* „ erklärende Regel ". Darauf deutet auch *sthiti, maryādā* „ feste Regel ", „ Regel " im Kom. hin.[12] *kārikākṛ* stammt wahrscheinlich aus der Unterrichtssprache der Grammatiker und heisst „ zur *kārikā* machen ", also „ eine Regel oder eine Erläuterung in der Form einer *kārikā* fassen " ; denn wie soll es „ durch eine *kārikā* erklären " heissen, wie BÖHTLINGK in seinem Wörterbuch angibt ? Unter *ādi* versteht der Kom. *yatna* (Anstrengung). Sollte da nicht *yātanā* („ Qual, Pein ", also *kārikā* = „ Gefangenschaft " entsprechend dem *kārya* im Kauṭilīya), zu lesen sein ? Es ist indessen kaum anzunehmen, dass *kārikākṛ* je im Sinne von etwa " Gefangenschaft machen " gebraucht wird. Im Sūtra steht *ādi* und der Kom. musste eben eine zweite Bedeutung angeben.—Wegen *kartrī* vgl. Vopadeva, Grammatik 8. 21.

28. kaṇe und *manas* (heissen *ti*), wenn das Stillen des Verlangens ausgedrückt wird.

P. *1.* 4. 66 ; C. *2.* 2. 29 ; H. *3.* 1. 6.

29. Die Indeklinabilen *astam* und *puras* (heissen *ti*).

P. *1.* 4. 67, 68 ; C. *2.* 2. 30 ; H. *3.* 1. 7.

30. accha (in Verbindung mit Verben) der Bewegung und *vad* (heisst *ti*).

P. *1.* 4. 69 ; C. *2,* 2. 31 ; H. *3.* 1. 8.

acchagatya = herangekommen seiend ; *acchavrajya* = d. s. ; *acchodya* = eingeladen habend. Hier ist zu erwähnen, dass *accha vad* im Sinne von *dṛḍha* neu ist. *accha vad* heisst sonst : heranrufen, begrüssen, bewillkommen, einladen.

31. tiras (in Verbindung mit Verben heisst *ti*), wenn ein Dazwischentreten ausgedrückt wird.

P. *1.* 4. 71 ; C. *2.* 2. 33 ; H. *3.* 1. 9.

32. (Wenn *tiras*) mit *kṛ* (verbunden ist, ist die Bezeichnung *ti*) freigestellt.

P. *1.* 4. 72 ; C. *2.* 2. 34 ; H. *3.* 1. 10.

[62] *33.* (Wenn die Indeklinabilen) *manasi, urasi, upāje, anvāje, madhye, pade* und *nivacane* (mit *kṛ* verbunden sind, ist die Bezeichnung *ti* freigestellt).

P. *1.* 4. 73, 75, 76 ; C. *2.* 2. 35, 37 ; H. *3.* 1. 11, 12.

Zu bemerken ist, dass selbst das wichtige Wort *anatyādhāne* in dem Sūtra weggelassen ist ; es wird dem Kom. überlassen es zu ergänzen. Bei Hema. (*3.* 1. 11) lautet die Regel richtiger.

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[12] BÜHLER gibt zweifelnd *sthiti* mit „ Geschäft " wieder (*Or. u. Occ.* 2, 698). Der Zweifel ist berechtigt. Nach COOLEBROOKE, *Grammar* 124, soll es in diesem Zusammenhang „ determination " heissen (*Pet. W.* s. v.). Weder das MBhās. noch die Kāśikā erklärt die Ausdrücke näher.

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34. (Wenn der *upasarga*) *adhi* zum Ausdruck der Herrschaft (mit *kṛ* verbunden ist, ist die Bezeichnung *ti* nicht notwendig).

P. *1.* 4. 97, 98 ; H. *3.* 1. 13.

Die *maṇḍūkapluti*-artige *anuvṛtti* von *upasarga* wird durch den Umstand notwendig gemacht, dass *adhi* in diesem Sinne eigentlich weder *gati* noch *upasarga,* sondern ein *karmapravacanīya* (P. *1.* 4. 97) ist, welche letzte Kategorie sich bei Śākaṭ. nicht findet.

35. (Die Bezeichnung *ti* ist freigestellt für) *sākṣāt* usw., (wenn sie die Bedeutung von den auf *cvi* [= *ī*] auslautenden Wortformen haben), ohne (aber das Suffix) *cvi* ([= *ī*] selbst zu haben).

P. *1.* 4. 74 + Vā. 1 ; C. *2.* 2. 36 ; H. *3.* 1. 14.

Wenn die Worte auf *cvi* ausgehen, so heissen sie *gati* (Ś. *1.* 1. 26) und müssen als solche ein *nityasamāsa* mit *kṛ* usw. bilden.

36. haste und *pāṇau* (heissen in Verbindung mit *kṛ*) stets (*ti*), wenn das Sichaneignen gemeint ist.

P. *1.* 4. 77 ; C. *2.* 2. 38 ; H. *3.* 1. 15.

37. (Die Bezeichung *ti* ist freigestellt für) *jīvikā* und *upaniṣad,* wenn Ähnlichkeit gemeint ist.

P. *1.* 4. 79 ; C. *2.* 2. 40 ; H. *3.* 1. 17.

38. (In Verbindung mit Verben heisst) *prādhvam* (*ti*), wenn Fesselung ausgedrückt wird.

P. *1.* 4. 78 ; C. *2.* 2. 39 ; H. *3.* 1. 16.

39. avyaya (heissen die auf die Suffixe) *tas, vat* und *ṇām* (= *ām*) (ausgehenden Wortformen, auch diejenigen, welche auf die Reihe von Suffixen) *tasi* mit Ausnahme von *dhaṇ* (=*dha*) (ausgehen), *ām* (in periphrastischen Perf.), (die Absolutiva auf) *ktvā* (= *tvā*) und *am,* (die Infinitive auf) *tum,* (die) *ti* (genannten Wörter, ferner diejenigen, welche) den mit Flexionsendungen (versehenen oder den auf die Suffix-Reihe) *ptasu* (ausgehenden Wörtern) ähneln (und die Wortgruppe) *svar* usw.

P. *1.* 1. 37-40 ; H. *1.* 1. 30-36.

Der Umfang des Terminus *avyaya* bei Pāṇini und Śākaṭ ist ganz genau derselbe. Nur ist die Aufzählung und Einteilung bei diesem etwas anders als bei seinem Vorgänger. So heissen bei Pāṇ. *avyaya* die folgenden Kategorien von Worten : 1. *svar* usw. und die Partikeln (*nipāta*) (P. *1.* 1. 37) ; 2. die auf ein *taddhita* [63] Suffix ausgehenden Worte, wenn sie nicht mit allen Kasusendungen versehen werden können (P. *1.* 1. 38) ; 3. die mit einem *kṛt*-Suffix gebildeten Worte, wenn sie auf *m* oder einem Diphthong ausgehen (P. *1.* 1 39) ; 4. die Absolutiva auf *ktvā* (= *tvā*) und die Infinitive auf *tosum* (= *tos*) und *kasun* (= *as*) (P. *1.* 1. 40), und endlich 5. die *avyayībhāva* (P. *1.* 1. 41). Zunächst fallen für unsere Grammatik naturgemäss die vedischen Infinitive (P. *3.* 4. 16, 17) auf *tos* und *as* (Kategorie 2) und

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die ebenfalls vedischen Infinitiv-Dative auf Diphthonge wie *jīvase, pibadhyai* usw. (Kategorie 3) weg. Von den übrigen entsprechen der 1. Kategorie bei Śākaṭ. : *svar* usw., *ti* und *suñābha* ; der 2. Kategorie : *adhaṇtasi, ptasvābha, tas* (in *pīlumūlataḥ*), *vat* und *ām* (in *uccaistamām*) ; der 3 Kategorie : *ām* (in *dayāṃcakre*, s. MBhāṣ. Vol. 1, S. 96, Z. 19 f.), *am* (in *pūrvaṃbhojam*) und *tum* ; der 4. Kategorie : *tvā*. Dem Sūtra P. *1.* 1. 41 scheinen die Sūtras Ś. *2.* 1. 4, 6 zu entsprechen. Die in P. *1.* 1. 38 erwähnten *taddhita*-Suffixe (*taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*) ausser *vat* und *tas* hat Śākaṭ. an einer Stelle (Ś. *3.* 4. 4-64) zusammengestellt, so dass er den *pratyāhāra ptasu* bilden konnte. Der Vers *sadṛśaṃ* usw. stammt aus dem MBhāṣ. zu P. *1.* 1. 38.— Bei Candra wird *avyaya* nicht definiert.

40. ghi (heissen die Wortformen auf) *i* und *u*, mit ausnahme von *sakhi* und von *pati*, wenn dieses nicht (Glied eines) Dvandva ist.

P. *1.* 4. 7 ; C. *6.* 2. 50, 51.

In einem Dvandva geht ein *ghi*-Nominalstamm voran (S. *2.* 1. 119) ; daher *patisutau* und *patisakhāyau*, weil *pati ghi* ist, dagegen *suta* bezw. *sakhi* nicht. Der *vipratiṣedha* hat mit der Flexion des *pati* am Ende eines Kompositums oder, anders gesagt, in bezug auf die Frage, ob eine Regel, die für den Nominalstamm *pati* gilt, ebenfalls für einen auf *pati* auslautenden Nominalstamm gelten sollte, gar nichts zu tun. Darüber gibt die Paribhāṣā (31) Aufschluss : *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*, welche nach der Kielhorn'schen Übersetzung (S. 160) heisst : That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to P. *1.* 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, (but it denotes only itself), wobei allerdings die Gültigkeit der Paribhāṣā nicht nur für ein Sūtra, in dem ein Suffix gelehrt wird, (wie dort : *ata evāyaṃ pratyayavidhiviṣaya eva* Paribh. Text S. 29, Z. 16) sondern auch für *saṃjñā*-Sūtras vorausgesetzt werden muss.

41. Ein operatives (Element heisst) Suffix (*pratyaya*), (wenn es sich) nicht auf etwas (bezieht, was) im Genetiv (gelehrt wird).

P. *3.* 1. 1 ; *1.* 1. 49 ; H. *1.* 1. 38.

Das im Genetiv gelehrte bezeichnet dasjenige, an dessen Stelle Etwas treten soll, also den *sthānin*, und das operative Element heisst in diesem Falle *pratyaya*. Wenn ein *pratyaya* einem Element angefügt werden soll, so wird das Element gewöhnlich im Ablativ, aber niemals im Genetiv, angeführt. Unser Sūtra [64] besagt also im Grunde genommen dasselbe wie das Pāṇini'sche Sūtra : *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* (P. *1.* 1. 49).

42. (Die Suffixe von) *ic* (*2.* 1. 135) bis *āya* (*4.* 1. 1) (heissen) *taddhita*.

P. *4.* 1. 76 ; H.*5.* 1. 1.

43. (Die Suffixe von) *ghya* (*4.* 3. 60) (bis zum Ende des Werkes) mit Ausschluss der verbalen Flexionsendungen (heissen) *kṛt*.

P. *3.* 1. 93 ; H. *6.* 1. 1.

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44. (Ein Suffix [*pratyaya*] wird) nachgesetzt.

P. *3.* 1. 2 ; H. *7.* 4. 118.

45. Was *m* zum stummen Laut hat, folgt auf den letzten Vokal (dessen, dem das operative Element angefügt wird).

P. *1.* 1. 47 ; C. *1.* 1. 14.

Die Kommentatoren erklären *acaḥ* mit *acām*, da bei Namen von Klassen oder Arten der Singular für den Plural eintreten kann (*jātāv ekavacanam*). Cf. Prakriyās. S. 52 Anm. 1 : *mid aco 'ntyād iti sūtre aca ity ekavacanaṃ jātāv eva | nirdhāraṇe ṣaṣṭhīyam.*

46. (Wenn zwei Regeln, die gleiche Kraft haben und von denen jede auch noch anderswo eintreten könnte,) in Konflikt (geraten dadurch, dass sie sich in einem Falle beide darbieten, so tritt die in der Reihenfolge der Sūtras später gelehrte ein[13]).

P. *1.* 4. 2 ; C.*1.* 1. 16 ; H.*7.* 4.119.

Zu den Beispielen im Kom. : Nach Ś. *1.* 1. 157 muss *u* an die Stelle des *ri* (= *r*) treten, das für anlautendes *s* substituiert ist, wenn *a*, die Media oder die Nasale folgen ; nach 158 aber muss *luk* (d. i. Elision) für das auf den Pronominalstamm *sa* folgende *ri* eintreten, wenn ein Konsonant folgt. Für *eṣaḥ hasati* und *saḥ dhāvati* werden sich beide Regeln darbieten ; daher der *vipratiṣedha.—spardha* (m.) als Substantiv ist (nach dem P. W.) sonst gar nicht belegt.

47. (Wenn eine Substitution) an Stelle eines im Genitiv (ausgedrückten Elements gelehrt wird, so heisst dies, dass das Substitut an die Stelle) des letzten Lautes (desselben zu treten hat).

P. *1.* 1. 52 ; C. *1.* 1. 10 ; H. *7.* 4. 106.

Das Beispiel *napo 'co hrasvaḥ*,[14] "die Kürze (tritt ein für den Auslaut) eines auf einen Vokal (auslautenden) Neutrums", illustriert die zwei Funktionen des Genetivs, die auseinander gehalten werden müssen. Der erste Genetiv *napaḥ* fällt unter unsere Regel ; dagegen ist der zweite Genetiv *acaḥ* ein Attribut (*viśeṣaṇa*) von *napaḥ* und fällt daher unter *1.* 1. 55. Danach heisst *napo 'caḥ* [65] nicht etwa „an die Stelle eines neutralen Substantivs, welches ein Vokal ist", sondern „an die Stelle eines auf einen Vokal auslautenden neutralen Substantivs".

48. (Wenn eine Substitution für etwas gelehrt wird,) was auf ein Anderes, welches im Ablativ steht, (folgt, so heisst dies, dass das Substitut an die Stelle) des ersten (Lautes des folgenden Elements tritt).

P. *1.* 1. 54 ; C.*1.* 1. 9 ; H. *7.* 4. 104.

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[13] Für eine klare Darstellung der *vipratiṣedhaparibhāṣā* vgl. KIELHORN, Paribhāṣenduśekhara (Translation), S. 194 f.

[14] Ś. *1.* 2. 1 = P. *1.* 2. 47.

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Wenn gelehrt wird, dass *ī* an die Stelle von *ap* tritt, wenn dieses auf *dvi*, *antar* usw. im Kompositum folgt (S. *2.* 2. 138), so tritt nach unserer Regel das *ī* nicht an die Stelle des letzten Lautes (*p*) der Gruppe (wie nach *1.* 1. 47 zu erwarten), sondern an die Stelle des ersten Lautes (*a*).

49. (Ein Substitut,) das *ś* zum stummen Laut hat, (und eins, das aus mehr als einem) Laut (besteht und) kein *ṅ* zum stummen Laut hat, tritt an die Stelle des Ganzen.

P. *1.* 1. 53, 55 ; C. *1.* 1. 11, 12.

Dass der Sinn des Sūtra dies sein muss, wird niemand bezweifeln. Wie er aber aus den vier Silben des Sūtra herauskommen soll, ist mir dunkel geblieben. *al* (als Plur. gedacht) steht scheinbar für *anekāl* ! Man hätte ferner erwartet, dass eine Andeutung der Tatsache, dass das Substitut an die Stelle eben des Ganzen und nicht eines Teiles tritt, in dem Wortlaut des Sūtra kaum entbehrt werden könnte. Der Kom. versagt vollständig.

śi (= *i*) ist ein *ekāl* und hat *ś* zum stummen Laut ; es tritt infolgedessen für das Ganze, (*j*)*as* und (*ś*)*as* ein ; (*s*)*ām* ist *anekāl* und hat ferner kein *ṅ* zum stummen Laut ; es tritt daher ebenfalls für das ganze *ām* ein. (*ṅ*)*as* ist *anekāl*, hat aber *ṅ* zum stummen Laut ; es tritt infolgedessen nur für den letzten Laut in *jarā* ein ; *anta* ist ebenfalls *anekāl*, hat aber kein *ṅ* zum stummen Laut, es wird daher für das ganze *jha* substituiert.

50. (Das Substitut ist zu behandeln) wie das Ursprüngliche, wenn (die betreffende Operation) nicht von den lautlichen (Bestandteilen des Ursprünglichen) abhängig (ist)[15].

P. *1.* 1. 56 + Vā. 4 ; H. *7.* 4. 109.

Der Begriff *āśraya* in diesem Zusammenhang stammt aus einem Vārttika Kātyāyana's (P. *1.* 1. 56 Vā. 4) her : *saty āśraye vidhir iṣṭaḥ* ; vgl. auch das Bhāṣya (Vol. 1, S. 133, Z. 13 f) : *idaṃ tarhi prayojanam uttarapadalopo yathā vijñāyeta | alam āśrayate 'lāśrayaḥ | alāśrayo vidhir alvidhir iti*, und dazu Kaiyaṭa : *alāśrayo yasyeti | alāśrayo vidhir alvidhiḥ | alāśrayatvād vidhir evāl ity ucyata iti gatārthatvād aprayoga eva uttarapadasya lopaḥ.* Er gilt dann für die Folgezeit als ein unentbehrlicher Be- [66] -standteil dieser Paribhāṣā. So die Kāśika (zu P. *1.* 1. 56) : *sthānivad ādeśo bhavati sthānyāśrayeṣu kāryeṣu analāśrayeṣu | sthānyalāśrayāṇi kāryāṇi varjayitvā* ; Hem. hat es in die Regel nicht aufgenommen, aber im Kom. verwendet : *ādeśaḥ ādeśīva syāt | na cet sthānivarṇāśrayaṃ kāryam* (H. *7.* 4. 109).

51. (Das durch das) Folgende (bedingte Substitut) für einen Vokal (verhält sich in bezug auf eine Regel, die einen ihm) vorangehenden (Laut betrifft, wie der ursprüngliche Laut) ausser (in einer Regel, wo es sich handelt 1. um die Substitution von Elision durch) *kvi*, 2. (um die Substitution der)

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[15] In der Cāndra-Grammatik fehlen diese und die folgenden Paribhāṣās gänzlich.

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Länge, 3. (um den Ausfall von) *y*, 4. (um eine) Verdoppelung, und 5. (endlich ausser in allen Regeln von hier an) bis (zum *adhikāra*) *asat* (inklusiv), ausgenommen (nur die Regel über die Substitution von) Elision für *s* und *k* (nämlich *1.* 2. 91).

P. *1.* 1. 57, 58 + Vā. ; H. *7.* 4. 110, 111.

Das Wort *āsat* bietet gewisse Schwierigkeiten. *āsat* heisst an und für sich : von (dem *adhikāra*) *asat* (inklusiv bez. exklusiv) an bez. bis zu. Es muss hier offenbar „bis zu *asat*" heissen. Es fragt sich dann aber : von wo an? Das *etasmāt* des Kom. kann sich wohl nur auf eben diese selbe Regel beziehen. Gegen diese Auffassung sprechen freilich die Beispiele *daddhy atra, maddhv atra* des Kom.. Denn angenommen, dass die unter *āsat* gedachten Regeln von hier an bis zu *1.* 2. 101 sich erstrecken und dass die von Kom. unter *dvitva* angegebenen Beispiele die einzigen sind, wo unsere Regel gelten kann, so würde sich das im Sūtra dem *āsat* unmittelbar vorangehende Wort *dvi* auf eine Regel beziehen, die schon im Komplex *āsat* eingeschlossen sein würde. Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der Verfasser der Sūtras auch andere Regeln ausser *1.* 1. 115-126 unter dem Ausdruck *dvi* miteinschliessen will, nämlich wo überhaupt von Verdoppelung die Rede ist. Es sei aber erwähnt, dass die Beispiele des Kom. unter *āsat* Regeln illustrieren, die sich mit *1.* 1. 51—*1.* 2. 101 decken, also im Einklang mit meiner Auffassung stehen. —Die Verweise in den Fussnoten zum Text konnten nur soweit angegeben werden, als die zu Gebote stehenden unvollständigen Materialien es ermöglichen. Wegen *kathayati, avadhīt* vergleiche man MBhāṣ. Bd. 1, S. 146, Z. 1—3, wo KIELHORN die Verweise auf Pāṇini's Sūtras angibt.—Zu *pādikaḥ*: Nach Ś. *3.* 2. 39 tritt an *pāda* das Suffix *ṭhaṇ* (= *ika*). Der Taddhita *ṭhaṇ* bewirkt den Abfall des vorangehenden Vokals (vgl. P. *6.* 4. 148). Vor einem vokalisch anlautenden Suffix sollte für *pād pad* substituiert werden (vgl. P. *6.* 4. 130). Da aber die Substitution der Elision für den Vokal *a* von *pāda* durch etwas folgendes bedingt ist, verhält sich die Elision wie der ursprüngliche Vokal *a in bezug auf die* Regel, die die Substitution von *pad* für das dem *sthānin* vorangehende *pād* lehrt,—also ist die Wortform *in bezug auf die Regel* gar nicht als *pād,* sondern als *pāda* zu betrachten — und [67] verhindert die Substitution. Dies geht aus *atra padbhāve* des Kom. hervor.—Zu *lavam ācaṣṭe lauḥ* : An *lava* trit (*ṇ*)*i*, (*k*)*v*(*i*) und *s*(*u*). Das *saṃprasāraṇa* kann nur vor konsonantisch anlautenden Suffixen eintreten. Der *lopa* des Vokals zwischen *lava* und *kvi* verhält sich nicht wie der *sthānin*. —Zu *sukusmayateḥ* usw. : *sukuḥ* ist ein Denominativ von der Wurzel *kusma* mit dem Präverbium *su* (vgl. Siddhāntak. S. 402). — In *kāṣṭhataṭ* steckt ein Verbalnomen von dem Kausativum der Wz, in *kāṣṭhatak* dagegen vom Simplex. — *prāyiko 'yam niṣedhaḥ* = da das Verbot zwar die meisten, aber nicht alle Fälle betrifft. — *madhuk* ist wahrscheinlich eine Taddhita-Ableitung von *madhuścut,* wobei das *ut* abfallen muss. (Vgl. MBhāṣ zu *8.* 3. 17 und Kaiyaṭa ad loc.)—*ṣaḍika* usw. ist mir unklar geblieben.

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52. Wenn (ein Suffix durch) *śluc* (schwindet, so tritt die Operation an dem vorangehenden Element, die durch das geschwundene Suffix bedingt ist, nur in Bezug auf) *i, u* respectiv *ṛ* (für *y, v* respectiv *r* und in) *enad* (acc. sing. neut.) (für *etad* ein, sonst aber nicht).

P. *1.* 1. 63, *2.* 4. 34 Vā. 1 ; H. *7.* 4. 112.

Dass das *ik-kārya* dasselbe wie das *saṃprasarāṇa* ist, geht aus dem folgenden hervor : *ślucīgenad iti niyamāt parasya śluci satyāṃ yaña ik etadaḥ enad iti dvayam eva bhavatīti* usw. (Prakriyās. S. 253, Anm. 2). Demnach illustrieren die Beispiele *veveddhi, śośavīti,. jarīgṛhīti* die Substitution von *i, u* respektiv *ṛ* (in den Stämmen des Frequentativums *vevidh, śośu* respektiv *jarīgṛh*) für *y, v* und *r* (in *vyadh, śvi* und *grah*), trotzdem dass für den Intensivcharakter *ya śluc* eingetreten ist.—Die Ausnahme für *enad* beruht auf einem Vārttika (P. *2.* 4. 34 Vā. 1) *enad iti napuṃsakavacane.* Zunächst ergibt sich im acc. sing. neut. *etadam.* Nach dem Abfall des *am* durch *śluc* (Ś. *1.* 2. 5 = P. *7.* 1. 23 *svamor napuṃsakāt,* zu ergänzen *luk*) könnte das für *etad* und *idam* gelehrte *ena* (Ś. *1.* 2. 203 = P. *2.* 4. 34) gar nicht eintreten, weil mit dem Schwund durch *śluc* auch das durch das Suffix in Bezug auf den Stamm bedingte aufgehoben wird, gerade wie bei *tad* das im nom. sing. zu substituierende *sa* (P. *7.* 2. 106) nur in mask. und fem., aber nicht im neut. zur Erscheinung kommt[16].

53. Was *ṭ* zum stummen Laut hat, (wird) an den Anfang (angefügt).

P. *1.* 1. 46 ; C. *1.* 1. 13.

54. Was *k* zum stummen Laut hat, (wird) an das Ende (angefügt).

P. *1.* 1. 46 ; C. *1.* 1. 13.

[68] Hema. hat die stummen Laute *ṭ* und *k* aufgegeben. Z B. dem Śākaṭāyana'schen Sūtra *naḥ śi jak* (Ś. *1.* 1. 147 = P. *8.* 3. 31) entspricht bei Hema. (*1.* 3. 19) *naḥ śi ñc* (Comm. : *padāntasthasya nasya śe pare ñc vā syāt | bhavāñc śūraḥ* usw.), und *ḍnaḥ saḥ tso 'ścaḥ* bei diesem (H. *1.* 3. 18) entspricht *ḍnas taṭ so ' ścaḥ* (Ś. *1.* 1. 146).—Zur Trennung der Sūtras 53 und 54 s. Kom.

55. (Was als) nähere Bestimmung (eines zu spezifizierenden dient, bezeichnet den Auslaut des Aggregats).

P. *1.* 1. 72 ; H. *7.* 4. 13.

Das unserem Sūtra entsprechende Sūtra bei Pāṇini (*1.* 1. 72) ist ohne die Vārttikas 3 und 4 Kātyāyana's geradezu unmöglich. Die Vārttikas verlangen den Ausschlus der Fälle, wo es sich um Komposita und Suffix handelt mit Ausnahme derjenigen Fälle, wo ein *ugit*-Suffix erwähnt wird oder wo bei der Formulierung des Sūtra nur Buchstaben gebraucht werden. Indem Śākat.

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[16] Siddhāntak, (S. 99) : *anvādeśe napuṃsake* (sic) *enad vaktavayaḥ* ; Tattvabodhinī dazu (ebenda) : *amy evedaṃ vidhīyate na tv auṭśasādiṣu phalābhāvāt | svamor napuṃsakāt* [P. *7.* 1. 23] *ity amo lukā luptatve 'pi pratyayalakṣaṇam iha pravartate vacanasāmarthyād ity āhuḥ.*

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den Wortlaut des Sūtra in der Weise ändert, dass er das den Auslaut bildende Element und das, dessen Auslaut dieses bildet, als im Verhältnis von *viśeṣaṇa* zu *viśeṣya* stehend fasst, glaubt er die obenerwähnten Vārttikas Kātyāyana's entbehren zu können. Wie weit es ihm dies gelungen ist, ist freilich sehr fraglich. Denn in einem Sūtra wie *śritādibhiḥ* (Ś. *2*. 1. 33 = P. *2*. 1. 24) [Komm. : *dvitīyāntaṃ subantaṃ śritādibhiḥ subantaiḥ samasyate*] möchte man fragen, warum hier *śrita* eigentlich kein *viśeṣaṇa* von (dem *viśeṣyasamudāya*) *sup* (zu ergänzen aus dem *adhikāra*-Sūtra) ist und warum es als solches nicht zugleich den Ausgang eines Komplexes wie *paramaśrita* bezeichnen kann. Dasselbe gilt von dem im MBhāṣ. (Vol. 1, S. 183, Z. 20) erwähnten Falle *naḍādibhyaḥ phak* (P. *4*. 1. 99), dem bei Śākaṭ. (*2*. 4. 32) *naḍādibhyaḥ phaṇ* entspricht. Man beachte, dass diese Frage nicht durch Ś. *1*. 1. 59 berührt wird. Denn dort handelt es sich lediglich darum, was die in einem Sūtra angegebenen Suffixe (wie z. B. *suṅ padam* Ś. *1*. 1. 62 und *ṣaṣṭhy ayatnāt* Ś. *2*. 1. 34) und nicht *prātipadika* oder Teile von denselben bezeichnen.

56. (Die im) Ablativ (angegebene Bestimmung muss unmittelbar) vor (dem Spezifizierten stehen).

P. *1*. 1. 67 ; C. *1*. 1. 8 ; H. *7*. 4. 104.

57. Nicht (so darf die im) Lokativ (angegebene Bestimmung vor dem Spezifizierten stehen, sondern sie steht hinter demselben,) ausgenommen in (den Regeln) *ghya* (d. h. *ghyaṇ* [*4*. 3. 60]) usw.

P. *1*. 1. 66 ; C. *1*. 1. 7 ; H. *7*. 4. 105.

aghyādiṣu : Die Beschränkung bezieht sich auf die in *4*. 3. 60 ff. gelehrten Suffixe. So z. B. in *yamaḥ saṃnivyupe* (*4*. 4. 10) heisst *saṃnivyupe* nicht *vor* den Präpositionen *sam* usw., sondern im Gegenteil *nach* denselben. Also heisst das Sūtra : an *yam* hinter *sam, ni, vi* und *upa* (treten gewisse Suffixe); vgl. Prakriyās. [69] S. 392, Nr. 1965. — Zu *smarasi* usw. Dies ist das bekannte Beispiel für die Regel : In Verbindung mit einem Verbum in der Bedeutung „sich erinnern" steht das erste Futurum (*lṛṭ*) um die hinter dem Heute gelegene Vergangenheit zu bezeichnen ; s. Kāśikā zu P. *3*. 2. 112. Beide Handschriften B und H (P fällt natürlich aus) lesen *vartsyāmaḥ*, was ohne weiteres zu verbessern ist.

58. (Die nähere Bestimmung des im Lokativ gelehrten Spezifizierten bezeichnet das) Anfangs(-element) dessen (d. h. des Spezifizierten).

P. *1*. 1. 72 Vā. 29 ; H. *7*. 4. 114.

59. (Als Attribute bezeichnen) ein Suffix und *ṣyat* (d. i. die Feminina bildenden Suffixe, wenn die auf sie ausgehenden Wortformen dem ganzen Kompositum) untergeordnet (sind, denjenigen Lautkomplex, welcher) mit der *prakṛti* anfängt (d. i. damit anfängt, woran das Suffix angefügt wird).

P. *1*. 4. 13 Vā. 7 + *6*. 1. 13 Bh. ; H. *7*. 4. 115, 116.

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Wegen *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ* vgl Vā. 1 zu P. *8*. 4. 11 und wegen *nyakṣyat* vgl. die Paribh. (26) : *strīpratyaye cānupasarjane na* und MBhāṣ Vol. 3, S. 20, Z. 15—23.—Die Verwandlung von *n* in *ṇ* nach *r* und *ṣ* findet dann statt. wenn die betreffenden Laute in einem und demselben *Pada* stehen (P. *8*. 4. 1). Nun heisst ein *Pada* das, was auf die Kasusendungen oder die Personalendungen ausgeht (Ś. *1*. 1. 62 = P. *1*. 4. 14). Nach unserer Paribh. heisst in *suṅ padam* (Ś. *1*. 1. 62) *Pada* das, dem das Suffix angefügt wird nebst dem Suffix. In *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ* wird *s* (nom. sing.) (*mātṛ* + *bhoga*) + *īna*[17] angefügt, also heisst der *ganze Komplex* [(*mātṛ* + *bhoga*) + *īna*] + *s* Pada.

60. (Ein in einem Sūtra aufgeführtes) *kṛt*(-Suffix bezeichnet sowohl die Wortform, der das betreffende Suffix angefügt wird, als) auch diese nebst den *ti* (genannten Worten) und den in einer Kasusverbindung stehenden Nomina.

P. *1*. 4. 13 Vā. 9 ; H. *7*. 4. 117.

Dieses Sūtra ist identisch mit der Paribh. (28): *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam.* — **bhasmanihuta* (adj) = in die Asche geopfert, s. v. a. ein unnützes Werk vollbracht (Böht. Wörterb.).

61. (Eine nähere Bestimmung des verbum finitum sei es, dass sie ausgedrückt oder nur implicite verstanden ist) nebst (dem ausgedrückten oder implicite verstandenen) verbum finitum (heisst) Satz (*vākya*).

P. *2*. 1. 1. Vā. 9, 10 ; H. *1*. 1. 26.

Die Bezeichnung *vākya* wird am Gebrauch der enklitischen [70] Pronomina (*vas, nas, te* und *me* Ś. *1*. 2. 191, 193) und der Plutierung des Auslautes (Ś. *2*. 3. 17, 27) illustriert. — Obwohl die Lesart von H sehr mangelhaft ist, lässt das *ca* hinter *grāmam* die richtige Lesart mit Sicherheit erkennen. Die Beispiele für Plutierung beruhen auf Konjektur, doch macht ein Vergleich mit der Kāśikā zu P. *8*. 2. 104 die Lesung ganz sicher. Indem Hema. (*1*. 1. 26) das *vākya* als *saviśeṣaṇam ākhyātam* („ein verbum finitum nebst den dieses näher bestimmenden Worten") definiert, schliesst er sich näher sowohl an den Sinn als den Wortlaut des Bhāṣya an (Bd. 1, S. 367, Z. 15) : *apara āha ākhyātaṃ saviśeṣaṇam ity eva | sarvāṇi hy etāni* [scil. *avyaya, kāraka* und *kāraka* und *kārakaviśeṣaṇa*] *kriyāviśeṣaṇāni.*

62. (Was auf) eine Kasus- oder Personalendung (ausgeht, heisst) Wort (*pada*).

P. *1*. 4. 14 ; H. *1*. 1. 20.

Nach der Paribhāṣā (23): *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam* kann *suptiṅ* nicht die Suffixe *sup* und *tiṅ*, sondern muss eine Wortform, *die auf die Suffixe sup und tiṅ ausgeht*, bezeichnen. Auf

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[17] *īna* ist ein *samāsānta*-Suffix. Dieser Fall ist von *māṣavāpiṇī* (von *māṣavāpin*) zu unterscheiden, wo das Suffix *ṇin* ein *kṛt* ist. Dies fällt unter die Paribh. (75) : *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ.*

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unsere Regel findet aber die Paribhāṣā (27 = P. *1*. 4. 14 Vā. 1) Anwendung : *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahṇaṃ nāsti*, welche nach der Kielhorn'schen Übersetzung heisst : An affix, when employed in a rule, which teaches the meaning of a technical term does not denote a word-form ending with the affix. Śākaṭ. hat die Paribhāṣā tatsächlich aufgenommen (siehe das Bühler'sche MSS. unter den Paribhāṣās). Er macht sich hier also einer Ungenauigkeit schuldig. Das Sūtra Hema.'s (*1*. 1. 20) *tadantaṃ padam* wird der Paribhāṣā gerecht.

63. (Eine auf) *n* (auslautende Wortform[18] heisst) vor (den verschiedenen Denominativsuffixen) *kya* (= *ya*) Wort (*pada*).

P. *1*. 4. 15 ; H. *1*. 1. 22.

In *sāmānya* fällt das *n* nicht aus, weil das darauffolgende Suffix nicht *kya*, sondern *ṣyañ* (cf. P. *5*. 1. 124) heisst. — Zu *manyā* : Nach der Regel *samajaniṣadanipad manvidīṇghañśiṅaḥ* (Ś. *4*. 4. 70 = P. *3*. 3. 90) tritt das Suffix *kyap* an *man*. Doch fällt das *n* des Stammauslautes davor nicht ab, weil der Stamm nicht auf *suṅ* ausgeht.

64. (Vor einem Suffix), welches ein stummes *s* hat und vor einem mit beliebigem Konsonanten ausser *y* (anlautenden Suffix heisst das Vorausgehende *pada*, jedoch) nicht (wenn es eine) Wurzel (ist).

P. *1*. 4. 16, 18 ; H. *1*. 1. 21.

In *bhavadīya* heisst das Suffix *chas*, wobei *cha* = *īya*[19], in *ūrṇāyu yus* (Ś. *3*. 1. 24 ; 3. 148). — Zu *yajvā, vacmi* : Am Ende [71] eines *pada* wird für den Endkonsonanten von *yaj ṣ* substituiert (P. *8*. 2. 36) ; in *vacmi* würde, wenn *vac pada* wäre, natürlich *ṅ* für *c* eintreten. Dem *adhātoḥ* Śākaṭ.'s entspricht *nāma* bei Hema. : *nāma sidavyañjane* (H. *1*. 1. 21).

65. Dem Ausgang (d. i. dem letzten Glied) eines Aggregats von Wortformen, das zur Bezeichnung eines Gegenstandes verwendet wird, (kommt die Bezeichnung *pada*) nicht (zu).

P. *1*. 1. 63 *Vā*. 6 ; H. *1*. 1. 25.

In der Wiedergabe des *vṛtti* des Sūtra bin ich dem Kom. gefolgt. Viel einfacher ist aber die Erklärung des Wortes *vṛttyanta* bei Hema. (*1*. 1. 25), wo unser Sūtra mit einer kleinen Abweichung, die später zur Sprache kommen wird, wieder erscheint. Dort heisst es : *padārthābhidhāyī samāsādir vṛttis tasyā antoḥ* usw. Danach heisst *vṛtti* etwas, was einen Gegenstand bezeichnet, wie z. B. ein Kompositum[20]. Das Sūtra ist erforderlich, um für die Wortformen *gir, div* usw. in *paramagirau, paramadivau* usw. die Bezeichnung

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[18] Es handelt sich hier aber nur um Nominalstämme, da die Suffixe *kya* nur solchen angefügt werden.

[19] Cf. P. *7*. 1. 2.

[20] Die Bedeutung ist in dem Wörterbuch APTE'S angegeben (ohne Beleg), fehlt aber in P. W.

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pada aufzuheben, die ihnen nach Ś. *1.* 1. 50, 52 (= P. *1.* 1. 62, 63) zukommt, da sonst in den angeführten Beispielen der Reihe nach *visarjanīya* für *r*, fakultative Elision des *v* (der sogenannte *śākalyapratiṣedha*), *ḍ* für *h*, *g* für *h* und endlich Elision des *n* eintreten würden. Alle diese Lautveränderungen werden für das Ende des *pada* gelehrt. Es bleibt zu erklären, wie *gir* usw. in *paramagirau* usw. die Bezeichnung *pada* zukommt. Ein Kompositum ist in seiner aufgelösten Form mit Kasusendungen versehen. Bei der Komposition aber wird für diese *luk* substituiert. Eine solche Wortform wird dann zu einem *prātipadika* und es können ihr neue Endungen angefügt werden. Eine flektierte Form von *rājapuruṣa* kommt auf folgende Weise zustande: *rājñaḥ puruṣa* + (Endung) = [*rājan* + (*luk*) + *puruṣa* + (*luk*)] + (neue Endung) = *rājapuruṣa* + (Endung). Die Endung tritt stets an das ganze *prātipadika rājapuruṣa* und nicht an *puruṣa* allein an. Wenn z. B. Kaiyaṭa den Fall bespricht, ob in *paramavācā*, da ein vokalisch anlautendes Suffix folgt, das vorausgehende *vāc* ein *bha* (also kein *pada*) heissen könnte, sagt er ausdrücklich, dass die Endung *ā* an den Komplex *paramavāc* und nicht an den Teil *vāc* tritt: *paramavāceti | samāsārthā yā vibhaktiḥ kṛtā tām* [*supo dhātv* (P. *2.* 4. 71) *iti luptām*, Nāgojībhaṭṭa] *pratyayalakṣaṇenāśritya padatvanibandhanāni kutvādīni prāpnuvanti | bhasaṃjñā tu yasmād yajādividhir iti samudāyasyaiva na tv avayavasya* (Bhāṣyapradīpa zu P. *1.* 1. 63). Demnach steht in unserem Beispiel die Sache so: *parama* + (*luk*) + *gir* + (*luk*) + *au*. Die Substitution des *luk* hinter *gir* würde die Bezeichnung *pada* für *gir* ebensowenig aufheben wie für *rājan* in *rājapuruṣa*[21] denn [72] mit der Substitution des *luk* werden nur solche Operationen aufgehoben, die beim Vorhandensein des Suffixes in Bezug auf das *aṅga* vorgenommen werden müssten. — Dieses Sūtra beruht auf einem Vārttika Kātyāyana's (P. *1.* 1. 63 Vā. 6). Ich muss gestehen, dass mir das Bhāṣya dazu nicht in seinem ganzen Umfang klar geworden ist. Das Ergebnis scheint mir aber vom Verfasser der Siddhāntak. (S. 99) folgendermassen kurz zusammengefast zu sein: *antarvartinīṃ vibhaktim āśritya pūrvapadasyevottarakhaṇḍasyāpi padasaṃjñāyāṃ prāptāyām | uttarapadatve cāpadādividhau pratiṣedhaḥ* [Vā. 6 zu P. *1.* 1. 63] | *iti pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ na | .... apadādividhau kim | dadhisecau | iha ṣatvaniṣedhe kartavye padatvam asty eva | kutve tu na.*[22] Dem Zusatz *iha ṣatvaniṣedhe* usw., welcher aus dem MBhāṣ. (Vol. 1, S. 166, Z. 12—14) stammt, wird das Sūtra Hema.'s (*1.* 1. 25) *vṛttyanto 'saṣe* [Komm.: *asaṣe sasya tu ṣatve padam eva*] gerecht, was zugleich zeigt, dass

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[21] Als *pada* wirft *rājan* das auslautende *n* ab.

[22] In dem Kommentar dazu heisst es: *pūrvapadasyeveti | anyathā rājapuruṣo vāgāśīr ityādau nalopakutvādikaṃ yathāsaṃbhavaṃ na syād iti bhāvaḥ || uttarapadatve ceti || uttarapadena uttarapadam ucyate | uttarapadasya padatve padavyapadeśe kartavye pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ na bhavatīty arthaḥ | etena sudhiyau sudhiya ity atrāntarvartisupā padatvāt pakṣe śākalaprasaṅga ity āśaṅkā parāstā | uktarītyā pratyayalakṣaṇaniṣedhāt.*

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Hema. gelegentlich über die Angaben bei Śākaṭ. hinausgegangen ist, und dass er selbständig aus älteren Quellen geschöpft hat.

66. Einer auf *t* oder *s* (auslautenden Wortform kommt vor einem Suffix) in der Bedeutung von *mat* (die Bezeichnung *pada* nicht zu).

P. *1.* 4. 19 ; H. *1.* 1. 23.

67. manus, nabhas und *aṅgiras* (kommt) vor (dem Suffixe) *vat* (die Bezeichnung *pada* nicht zu).

P. *1.* 4. 18 Vā 3 ; H. *1.* 1. 24.

Śākat. hat hiermit die Pāṇini'sche Kategorie *bha* (P. *1.* 4. 18-20) abgeschafft, worin ihm Hema. gefolgt ist (H. *1.* 1. 23, 24).

68. *ă ĭ* und *ŭ* können in der Pause nasaliert werden, (jedoch) nicht die (*ă, ĭ, ŭ*), welche mit den stummen Buchstaben *g* versehen sind, sowie (der Auslaut von) *ca* usw., ausser *ā.*

P. *8.* 4. 57 ; C. *6.* 4. 150 ; H. *1.* 2. 41.

Die Beschränkung *anāṅcādi* ist weder bei Pāṇ.,. noch im Bhāṣya, noch bei Candra zu finden, wohl aber bei Hema.

69. (In der Pause kann) die tonlose nicht-aspirierte Muta für die tönende (substituiert werden).

P. *8.* 4. 56 ; C. *6.* 4. 149 ; H. *1.* 3. 51.

70. (Was bis zum Schluss des *pāda* gelehrt werden wird, ist) nicht (in der Pause vorzunehmen).

P. *6.* 1. 72 ; H. *1.* 3. 52.

[73] Zwischen *te* und *āhuḥ* bezw. *bhavān* und *lunāti* ist eine Pause hinzuzudenken.

71. Für e, o, ai und *au* (werden) vor einem Vokal (der Reihe nach) *ay, av, āy* und *āv* (substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 78 ; C. *5.* 1. 75 ; H. *1.* 2. 23, 24.

72. Für die auf *a* folgenden *i* und *u* (können) *nur y* respektiv *v* (substituiert werden, wenn die ersteren für *e* respektiv *o* eingetreten sind).

P. *8.* 2. 108 ; C. *6.* 3.133 ; H. *7.* 4. 103.

pūrve 'pavādā anantarān usw. = Paribh. 59.—Ohne dieses *eva* könnte Verlängerung vor homogenen Vokalen eintreten, weil der *apavāda* denjenigen *niyama* aufhebt, der unmittelbar auf jenen folgt.

73. (Für die Vokale *ĭ, ŭ. ḭ̆* (*ḷ*) werden) vor einem ihnen nicht homogenen (Vokal der Reihe nach *y, v, r* und *l* substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 77 ; C. *5.* 1. 74 ; H. *1.* 2. 21.

Der Komm. erwähnt, dass das Sūtra auch auf eine andere Weise erklärt wird, wonach sich die Formen *dadhiy atra, madhuv atra* usw. ergeben.[23]

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[23] Zur Verwendung von *iy, uv* statt *y, v,* vgl. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gramm.* 1. § 181.

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74. (Für die Vokale *ĭ, ŭ und ṝ̆* (*ḷ̆*) kann (vor einen nicht homogenen Vokal) die Kürze (substituiert werden, wenn die aufeinander folgenden Vokale) nicht in einem (und demselben) *pada* stehen.

P. *6.* 1. 127 + Vā. 1 + Bh.; C. *5.* 1. 132; H. *1.* 2. 22.

Diese Regel Śākaṭ.'s, ebensowie die entsprechende Regel Hema.'s (*1.* 2. 22), scheinen zu weit zu sein, denn nach dem MBhāṣ. gilt der *śākalyapratiṣedha* nur für den Fall, dass der zweite Vokal den Anlaut eines mit den stummen Buchstaben *s* versehenen Suffixes bildet, also eines *sit*-Suffixes, vor welchem das Vorangehende *pada* heisst (P. *1.* 1. 16; Śā. *1.* 1. 64).—*parjanyavat* usw. = Paribh. 111.

75. Vor *ṛ* (*ḷ*) kann für jeden einfachen Vokal (die Kürze substituiert werden).

P. *6.* 1. 128; C. *5.* 1. 133; H. *1.* 2. 2.

76. Für *ṛ* (*ḷ*) nebst dem (folgenden) Vokal (wird, wenn *ṛ* (*ḷ*) folgt, *ṝṛ* (allein substituiert, wo *ṝṛ* folgendes bezeichnet: ein Aggregat von Vokalen, wie z. B. *ṛṛ, ṛḷ* usw., oder ein Aggregat von Vokal und Konsonant, wie z. B. *ṛr, ṛl* usw., oder aber ein ganz anderer Laut, wobei die Organe sich nur leicht berühren).

Vgl. P. *6.* 1. 101 Vā. 1, 2 und H. *1.* 2. 3, 4.

Die obige Übersetzung ist nur provisorisch gegeben. Aus dem Wortlaut des Sūtra selbst ist nichts zu entnehmen. Man ist infolgedessen vollständig auf den Kom. angewiesen. Aus dem *samuccaya* in dem Kom. wird man nicht klug. Wenn der Kom. [74] nur sagen will, dass für *ṛ* + *ṛ ṛṛ* bez. *ṛr* substituiert werden, ist der Ausdruck *samuccaya* recht unglücklich gewählt. Zwei Vokale machen doch keinen *samuccaya. acau* bezw. *ajhalau* hätte genügt und wäre klarer gewesen. Die Beispiele sind hier wenig von Nutzen, weil in solchen Fällen die richtige Lesart erst aus der Aussage des Sūtra bez. des Kom. erschlossen werden kann. Die Deutung der Vārttikas zu P. *6.* 1. 101 *savarṇadīrghatva ṛti ṝvāvacanam* und *ḷti ḷvāvacanam* ist mir nicht gelungen. Die entsprechenden Sūtras Hema.'s *1.* 2. 3, 4 sind ebenfalls wenig klar. Wegen *varṇāntara* usw. verweise ich auf die Siddhāntak. (p. 21 unter dem Sūtra *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) : *ṛti ṛvā ḷti ḷvety ubhayatrāpi vidheyaṃ varṇadvayaṃ dvimātraṃ | ādyasya madhye dvau rephau tayor ekā mātrā | abhito 'jbhakter aparā | dvitīyasya tu madhye dvau lakārau | śeṣaṃ prāgvat.*. Der Laut besteht danach aus zwei *r*, deren Länge eine *mātrā* beträgt, und aus zwei die *r* umgebenden Vokalen, deren Gesamtlänge auch eine *mātrā* beträgt. Der Laut ist also doch zwei *mātrās* lang.

77. (Wenn auf einen einfachen Vokal ein zweiter Vokal folgt, wird für beide die entsprechende) Länge (allein substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 101; C. *5.* 1. 106; H. *1.* 2. 1.

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In der Tat aber wird die Länge nur dann substituiert, wenn ein homogener Vokal folgt; denn die *apavādas 1.* 1. 73, 82, 83 sind mit diesem *sūtra* zusammenzulesen. — Wegen *anukaraṇa* vgl. Anm. zu Sūtra 6.

78. Wenn (auf einen einfachen Vokal) *śas* (d. i. das *as* des acc. plu.) folgt, (wird für beide die dem vorangehenden Vokal entsprechende Länge allein substituiert).

P. *6*. 1. 102; C. *5*. 1. 109.

79. Im Maskulinum (wird für einfachen Vokal vor dem *as* des acc. plu. aber eine Länge) mit darauf folgendem *n* (substituiert).

P. *6*. 1. 102; C. *5*. 1. 109.

munīn ist aus *munīns* entstanden; das *s* ist nach Ś. *1*. 2. 92 abgefallen, welches den Abfall des letzten Konsonanten einer am Ende eines *pada* stehenden Konsonantengruppe lehrt. *n* am Ende eines *pada* sollte nach *1*. 2. 95 abfallen, fällt aber doch nicht ab wegen *1*. 2. 49. Vgl. Prakriyās. S. 25, Anm. 2 und S. 59 unter Sūtra 227.

80. Wenn *ḍh* und *r* ausfallen, wird für (ein vorangehendes) *a, i* und *u* (eine Länge substituiert)[24].

P. *6*. 3. 111; C. *5*. 2. 137; H. *1*. 3. 41, 42.

[75] *81.* In *sah* und *vah* wird (beim Ausfall des *ḍh* oder *r*), *o* für *a* substituiert.

P. *6*. 3. 112; C. *5*. 2. 138; H. *1*. 3. 43.

82. Wenn ein einfacher Vokal (auf *a* oder *ā*) folgt, (wird für beide) *e* respekt. *o, ar* (allein substituiert).

P. *6*. 1. 87, *1*. 1. 51; C. *5*. 1. 82; H. *1*. 2. 6.

83. Wenn ein Diphthong oder (das für *v* substituierte) *ū* (auf *a* oder *ā* folgt, wird für beide) *ai* respekt. *au* (allein substituiert).

P. *6*. 1. 88, 89; C. *5*. 1. 84, 86; H. *1*. 2. 12, 13.

Das *ūc* entspricht Pāṇ.'s *ūṭh*. Der Auslaut hat in beiden Fällen sonst keine Bedeutung.—*dhauta* aus *dhāv* + (*k*)*ta*.

84. Für (das *a* von) *pra* und (den Anlaut von) *ūḍha, ūḍhi, ūha, eṣa* und *eṣya* (wird *ai* respekt. *au* allein substituiert).

P. *6*. 1. 89 Vā. 4; C. *5*. 1. 89; H. *1*. 2. 14.

varṇa wird hier und im Kom. zu 91—93 als Neutrum gebraucht. In

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[24] Das Sūtra Pāṇini's lautet: *ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho 'ṇaḥ*. Das Wort *pūrvasya* ist scheinbar überflüssig; denn nach P. *1*. 1. 66 kann die Veränderung eben nur in bezug auf den vorangehenden Vokal vorgenommen werden; es wird aber dadurch notwendig gemacht, dass das Wort *uttarapade* von P. *6*. 3. 1 noch in diesem Sūtra fortgilt. Infolgedessen würde, ohne *pūrva*-[75]-*sya* in unserem Sūtra, die Verlängerung nur dann erfolgen, wenn ein *ḍh* oder *r* in einem *uttarapada* elidiert wird (vgl. MBhāṣ. zu P. *6*. 3. 111). Diese Erwägungen kommen für das Sūtra Śākaṭāyana's ebenso wie für das entsprechende Sūtra Candra's (C. *5*. 2. 137), nicht in Betracht.

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seinem Liṅgānuśāsana[25] setzt Śākaṭ. *varṇa* zuerst neut. (Vers 8) und dann mask. und neut. (Vers 53) an.

85. In *svaira, svairin* und *akṣauhiṇī* (tritt *ai* respekt. *au* für *a* + *i* respekt. *u* ein).

P. *6.* 1. 89 *Vā.* 3, 5 ; C. *5.* 1. 87, 88 ; H. *1.* 2. 15.

68. Für (*a* oder *ā* + *o* von) *om* und (ür das Substitut für die Präposition) *ā* (mit dem darauf folgenden Vokal wird) der zweite Vokal (allein substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 95 ; C. *5.* 1. 99 ; H. *1.* 2. 18.

Das Beispiel *adyarśyāt* findet sich auch im MBhāṣ. zu P. *6.* 1. 95, wo übrigens *adyārśyāt,* mit langem *ā,* ausdrücklich zurückgewiesen wird.

87. Für *a* + *e* von *eva* (wird der zweite Vokal allein substituiert, wenn das Wort) nicht zum Ausdruck der Beschränkung auf etwas Bestimmtes (gebraucht wird).

P. *6.* 1. 94 Vā. 3 ; C. *5.* 1. 96 ; H. *1.* 2. 16.

88. Im Kompositum kann (für *a* oder *ā* + *o* von) *oṣṭha* oder *otu* (der zweite Vokal allein substituiert werden).

P. *6.* 1. 94 Vā. 5 ; C. *5.* 1. 97 ; H. *1.* 2. 17.

89. (Für das auslautende *a* eines) auf das Instrumental (-suffix auslautenden Wortes+ṛ) von *ṛta* (wird im Kompositum) *ār* (allein substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 89 Vā. C. *5.* 1. 90 ; H. *1.* 2. 8.

[76] Das MBhāṣ. kennt den vom Kom. erlaubten Hiatus in *sukhaṛta, praṛṇa* (*1.* 1. 90), *upaṛṣabhīyati* (*1.* 1. 92) usw., (welche vermittelst eines *jñāpaka* zustande kommen) freilich nicht ; weil es andererseits kaum anzunehmen ist, dass der Kom. ihn erfunden hat, müssen wir ihn wohl auf den Verfasser der Sūtras zurückführen.

90. Für (das auslautende *a* in) *pra, daśa, ṛṇa, vasana, kambala* und *vatsatara* + (ṛ von) *ṛṇa* (wird im Kompositum *ār* allein substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 89 Vā. 7, 8 ; C. *5.* 1. 91 ; H. *1.* 2. 7.

Die Hss. der Cāndragrammatik lesen *daśarna* in dem entsprechenden Sūtra (C. *5.* 1. 91). Hema. hat *daśārṇa* (H. *1.* 2. 7). — Wegen *praṛṇa* usw. siehe Anmerkung zum vorangehenden Sūtra—Candra hat *vatsara* für *vatsatara* ; Hema. gibt natürlich beides an. — Die Siddhāntak. (S. 19) löst *ṛṇārṇa* so auf : *ṛṇasyāpanayanāya yad anyad ṛṇaṃ kriyate tad ṛṇārṇam* (eine zum Abtragen einer anderen Schuld gemachte Schuld).

91. (Für das *ă*) einer Präposition (nebst dem folgenden Vokal wird), wenn ṛ (eines Verbums darauf folgt,) *ār* (allein substituiert).

P. *6.* 1. 91 ; C. *5.* 1. 93 ; H. *1.* 2. 9.

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[25] Hrsgn. von R. Otto FRANKE in den „Indischen Genuslehren mit dem Text usw.", Kiel 1890.

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92. (Die Substitution von *ār* für *ă̄* einer Präposition + *ṛ* ist) nicht notwendig, wenn (das mit *ṛ* anlautende Verbum) ein Denominativ (ist).

P. *6*. 1. 92 ; C. *5*. 1. 94 ; H. *1*. 2. 10, 11.

Wegen *upaṛṣabhīyati* s. Anmerkung zu 89.

93. (Für das *ă̄* einer Präposition+) *e* oder *o* (eines Verbums) ausser *i* („gehen") und *edh* („wachsen") wird *e* respekt. *o* (substituiert ; doch ist bei Denominativen die Substitution nicht notwendig).

P. *6*. 1. 94 + Kāś. ; C. *5*. 1. 95 ; H. *1*. 2. 19, 20.

Die Freistellung bei den Denominativen finden wir zuerst in der Kāś. (zu P. *6*. 1. 94) erwähnt (vgl. *kecid vā supy āpiśaler* usw.), wenn nicht der Verf. unter *kecit* Candra im Auge hat. Die Stellung des *vā* im *unmittelbar* vorangehenden Sūṭra (C. *5*. 1. 94) spricht dafür ; doch lässt sich das bei der Abwesenheit eines Kommentars nicht mit Bestimmtheit behaupten. Hema. (*1*. 2. 20) ebenso wie Vopadeva (2. 4) stellt die *pararūpa*-Änderung frei. — Von den Vārttikas hat Śakaṭ. aufgenommen Vā. 3 (Ś = *1*. 1. 87), Vā. 5 = (Ś. *1*. 1. 88). Vā. 6 fällt aus, da es sich auf vedische Formen bezieht. Vā. 2 hebt Vā. 1 auf. Vā. 4 lässt er fort. In diesem Punkte weicht Śākaṭ. von Candra ab, der das Vā. in seine Sūtras aufgenommen hat (C. *5*. 1. 98). Śākat., ebenso wie Hema., der ihm in der Ablehnung folgt, hat offenbar diese Worte als selbständige Worte betrachtet, die keiner weiteren Zerlegung bedürfen.

94. Für das am Ende eines *pada* stehende *e* und *o* mit dem darauf folgenden *a* (wird *e* respekt. *o* allein substituiert)

P. *6*. 1. 109. ; C. *5*. 1. 115 ; H. *1*. 2. 27.

[77] *95.* Für (das am Ende des Wortes stehende *o* von) *go* kann *o* (substituiert werden, wenn darauf *a* folgt).

P. *6*. 1. 122 ; C. *5*. 1. 120; H. *1*. 2. 31.

lakṣaṇapratipadokta° = Paribh. 105.

96. (Für das *o* von *go* kann) vor einem Vokal *ava* (substituiert werden, jedoch) nicht, wenn *akṣa* folgt.

P. *6*. 1. 123 ; C. *5*. 1. 121 ; H. *1*. 2. 29.

Nach den Erklärern Pāṇini's — und übrigens auch nach Candra — sind *goakṣa* und *go'kṣa* unstatthaft. Vgl. das Sūtra Candra's (*5*. 1. 122) *akṣendre*, wonach die Substitution *ava* für *o* in *go notwendig* ist, wenn *akṣa* folgt, ebenso wie wenn *indra* folgt. Kāś. (zu. P. *6*. 1. 123): *vyavasthitavibhāṣeyaṃ tena gavākṣa ity atra nityam avaṅ bhavati.* Vgl. weiter Siddhāntak. 22 ; Mugdhabodha 2. 15 ; Kātantra 19. 43.

97. Vor *indra* (muss *ava* für das *o* von *go* substituiert werden).

P. *6*. 1. 124 ; C. *5*. 1. 122 ; H. *1*. 2. 30.

98. Vor *akṣa* (muss *ava* für das *o* von *go* substituiert werden, wenn das Kompositum) „Fenster" bedeutet.

H. *1*. 2. 28.

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So ist *gavākṣa nitya* nur in der Bedeutung Fenster. Hema. ist der einzige Grammatiker der diese Lehre in ihrem ganzen Umfang aufgenommen hat. Vgl. H. *1.* 2. 28-31.

99. Ein plutierter Vokal (ist vor einem folgenden Vokal), ausser (*i* von) *iti*, (keinen Veränderungen unterworfen, die sonst stattfinden würden).

P. *6.* 1. 125, 129 ; C. *5.* 1. 123 ; H. *1.* 2. 32.

Hier auch gibt B das Zeichen für die Plutierung mit *nu* wieder, wie in *1.* 1. 72. Śākaṭ. lässt den *cākravarmaṇa-pratiṣedha* weg (P. *6.* 1. 130 = C. *5.* 1. 124 = H. *1.* 2. 33). — In dem Beispiel ist *suśloketi* nur die „Padapāṭha"—Form.[26] S. Anm. zu 104.

100. Die mit dem stummen Buchstaben *g* versehenen (Laute sind vor einem folgenden Vokal keinen Veränderungen unterworfen, die sonst stattfinden würden).

P. *1.* 1. 11, 12 ; C. *5.* 1. 125, 126 ; H. *1.* 2. 34, 35.

Z. B. *gu* und *gī* in *1.* 2. 44, 46.

101. (Die) aus (einem einzigen) Vokal bestehenden (Partikeln) *ca* usw., mit Ausnahme des mit dem stummen Buchstaben *ṅ* versehenen *ā*, (wenn sie kein Wesen bezeichnen, sind vor einem Vokal keinen Veränderungen unterworfen, die sonst stattfinden würden).

P. *1.* 1. 14 ; C. *5.* 1. 127 ; H. *1.* 2. 36.

[78] Der Vers wird in demselben Zusammenhang im MBāṣya (Bd. 1, S. 7) und in der Kāś. (zu P. *1.* 1. 14) angeführt.

102. Eine auf *o* (auslautende Partikel ist vor einem Vokal keinen Veränderungen unterworfen, die sonst stattfinden würden).

P. *1.* 1. 15 ; C. *5.* 1. 128 ; H. *1.* 2. 37.

103. Ein aus (der Kasusendung) *s* (entstehendes *o*) kann vor *iti* (unverändert bleiben).

P. *1.* 1. 16 ; C. *5.* 1. 129 ; H. *1.* 2. 38.

104. Und (für die Partikel) *u* (kann vor *iti* auch) $\breve{\tilde{u}}$ (treten).

P. *1.* 1. 17, 18 + Vā. 2 : C. *5.* 1. 130, 131 ; H. *1.* 2. 39.

Hier beruht das *ca* auf der von Kāty. vorgeschlagenen und von Pat. gestützten Zerlegung des Pāṇini'schen Sūtra (*yogavibhāga*). Vgl. Vā. 1 und 2 zu P. *1.* 1. 17, 18 und Kaiy. ebenda. — Diese Substitution hat eigentlich ihre Stelle nur im Padapāṭha. Ihre Aufnahme durch Śākaṭ. wird darauf

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[26] Das entsprechende Sūtra Pāṇini's lautet : *aplutavad upasthite* (*6.* 1. 129). Nach dem MBhāṣya heisst *upasthita* hier *anārṣa itikaraṇaḥ* „das nicht von den Ṛṣis herrührende (also nicht dem eigentlichen vedischen Texte angehörende) Wort *iti*". Die Kāśikā fügt hinzu : *samudāyād avacchidya padaṃ yena svarūpe 'vasthāpyate* „wodurch ein Wort von dem Aggregat getrennt und in seiner eigenen Gestalt hingestellt wird",

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beruhen dass bei Pāṇ. die Substitution als *anārṣe* gelehrt wird[27].

105. Nach (einem auslautenden Konsonanten von dem *pratyāhāra*) *may* (d. h. von Muten und Nasalen ausser *ñ*, kann für die Partikel *u*,) wenn ein Vokal folgt, *v* (substituiert werden. Diese Substitution ist jedoch als) nicht eingetreten (zu betrachten).

P. *8.* 3. 33 ; C. *6.* 4. 16 ; H. *1.* 2. 40.

Im *kim u iti* kann der *anusvāra* für *m* nur dann substituiert werden, wenn das *v* nach der Regel *asve* [*1.* 1. 73] für *u* substituiert wird.

106. Ein (auslautender) Konsonant (am Ende eines *pada* kann) vor einem Nasal in den entsprechenden Klassennasal (übergehen).

P. *8.* 4. 45 ; C. *6.* 4. 140 ; H. *1.* 3. 1.

hal und nicht *yar* (wie in P. *8.* 4. 45) ist wegen des Folgenden gebraucht. Diese Änderung konnte gemacht werden, da *h* ja doch keinen entsprechenden Nasal hat.

107. (Ein auslautender Konsonant am Ende eines *pada* muss) vor einem (mit Nasal anlautenden) Suffix (in den entsprechenden Klassennasal übergehen).

P. *8.* 4. 45 Vā ; H. *1.* 3. 2.

108. (Für den Vokal, der) dem mit (dem stummen Buchstaben) versehenen *s* oder *r* vorangeht, (wird ein nasaler substituiert).

Cf. P. *8.* 3. 2, 4 ; C. *6.* 4. 6, 7 ; H. *1.* 3. 8.

109. Für ein nicht am Ende eines *pada* stehendes *m* und *n* wird vor einem folgenden Konsonanten mit Ausnahme der Nasale, Halbvokale, Sibilanten und *h* (der diesem entsprechende Nasal substituiert).

P. *8.* 3. 24, 4. 58 ; C. *6.* 4. 9, 151 ; H. *1,* 3. 39.

[79] Das Dvandva *mn-* verlangt den Dual oder eigentlich den Singular, weil die Dvandvas in den Sūtras Śākaṭ.'s sonst stets als neutr. sing. erschienen. Der Plural soll andeuten, dass die nach der *para*-Regel [*1.* 1. 46] eintretende Verwandlung von *n* in *ṇ* unterbleiben soll. Dies wird bei Pāṇ. automatisch durch die Anordnung der Sūtras erzielt. Vgl. die Kāś. zu P. *8.* 4. 58 :. *iha kurvanti vṛṣanti ity atra ṇatva-* [P. *8.* 4. 2] *syāsiddhatvāt pūrvaṃ nakārasyānusvāraḥ* [*8.* 3. 24] *kriyate | tasyāpi parasavarṇena nakāra eva bhavati | tasyāpy asiddhatvāt punar ṇatvaṃ na bhavati.* Man bemerke die Willkür der Śākaṭ.'schen Bezeichnung. Diese hat unzweifelhaft ihr Vorbild in den Erklärungsversuchen Patañjali's durch *jñāpakas.*

110. (Für inlautendes *m* und *n* wird) vor Sibilanten und *h* der *anusvāra* (substituiert).

P. *8.* 3. 24 ; C. *6.* 4. 9 ; H. *1.* 3. 40.

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[27] Vgl. Einleitung S. 9.

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111. Für das Nasalinfix *m* und für das am Ende eines *pada* stehende *m̐* kann beides (d. i. der *anusvāra* oder der *anunāsika* substituiert werden,) wenn ein Konsonant folgt.

P. *8.* 4. 59 + Vā 2, 3 zu *7.* 4. 85 ; C. *6.* 4. 152 ; H. *1.* 3. 14.

Nach dem Vārttika 2 zu P. *7.* 4. 85 soll das dem Vokal der Reduplikationssilbe des Frequentativum angefügte Augment nicht *n*, sondern ein *anusvāra* sein. Weil ferner nach dem folgenden Vārttika *padāntavac ca* dieser *anusvāra* als am Ende eines *pada* stehend angesehen wird, kann dafür der dem folgenden Konsonanten entsprechende Klassennasal eintreten (P. *8.* 4. 58). Weil Śākaṭ. die Vertretung des Klassennasals durch *anusvāra* hier direkt vorschreibt, kann er die Forderung Kātyāyana's *padāntavac ca* entbehren.

112. Vor *h* mit folgendem *l*, *v*, *y*, *m* oder *n* (werden der Reihe nach der *anusvāra* und der dem auf *h* folgenden Konsonanten entsprechende *anunāsika* für ein am Ende eines *pada* stehendes *m* substituiert).

P. *8.* 3. 26 + Vā. 1. 27 ; C. *6.* 4. 11 ; H. *1.* 3. 15.

113. (In) *samrāṭ* (bleibt das *m* unverändert).

P. *8.* 3. 25 ; C. *6.* 4. 10 ; H. *1.* 3. 16.

114. Vor den Sibilanten können für die Tenues die Tenues (substituiert werden).

P. *8.* 4. 48 Vā. 3 ; C. 6. 4. 158 ; H. *1.* 3. 59.

Weil es ein zweckloses Verfahren sein würde, für die *k*, *p* usw. dieselben Buchstaben wiederum einzusetzen, ist das Sūtra wohl so zu verstehen, dass vor den Sibilanten die aspirierten Tenues für die homogenen nichtaspirierten eintreten können (und umgekehrt). Das diesem Sūtra zugrundeliegende Vārttika lautet unzweideutig : *cayo dvitīyāḥ śari pauṣkarasādeḥ* (P. *8.* 4. 48 Vā. 3), „Vor den Sibilanten können nach der Meinung Pauṣkarasādi's die zweiten (d. h. aspirierten Tenues) für die nichtaspirierten eintreten".

[80] *115.* Die auf Sibilanten, *anusvāra*, *visarjanīya*, *jihvāmūlīya* und *upadhmānīya* folgenden (Tenues oder die auf Tenues folgenden Sibilanten usw.) können verdoppelt werden, (aber erst,) nachdem (was sonst zu vollziehen ist, vollzogen worden ist).

P. *8.* 4. 47 Vā. 2 ; C. *6.* 4. 143 ; H. *1.* 3. 35, 36.

Nach der Verdoppelung wird für den ersten Konsonanten ein nichtaspirierter nach der bekannten Regel substituiert. — Die für dieses und das nächste Sūtra zugrundeliegenden Vārttikas (P. *8.* 4. 47 Vā 1, 2) werden von Patañjali ebenfalls doppelsinnig aufgefasst. Der *anusvāra* ist frelich in den dort aufgezählten Konsonanten nicht mit einbegriffen[28]. Dieses ist als eine Neuerung Śākaṭ.'s zu betrachten. Bei Hema. (H. *1.* 3. 35) lautet die Regel ebenso.

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[28] Für die Verdoppelung hinter dem *anusvāra* cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gramm.* 1. § 98.

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116. Ein auf einen Halbvokal folgender Konsonant, ausser *h*, *ñ* und den Sibilanten, (oder umgekehrt, ein auf die Konsonanten ausser *h* usw. folgender Halbvokal, kann verdoppelt werden, aber erst, nachdem was sonst zu vollziehen ist, vollzogen worden ist).

P. *8*. 4. 47 Vā. 1 ; C. *6*. 4. 143 ; H. *1*. 3. 33.

vṛkṣav ist ein Denominativ von *vṛkṣa* „Baum" und heisst *vṛkṣavṛścam ācakṣāṇo*, nach Hema.[29] In *prorṇṇunāva* (perf. akt. 1. sing. von *ūrṇu* mit *pra*) wird die Reduplikation zuerst vorgenommen und erst dann die Verdoppelung. Denn nach P. *6*. 1. 2. 3, werden, wenn die zu reduplizierende Silbe vokalisch anlautet, für den zweiten Komplex von Lauten, der nur einen Vokal enthält (*ekāc*), zwei gesetzt d. i. es wird dieser zweite Komplex zweimal gesetzt. *n*, *d* und *r* werden aber als Anfangslaute einer Konsonantengruppe nicht wiederholt. Die Perfectform von *ūrṇnu* lautet *ūr* + [*ṇu*+ *nu*] + *a*, was nach einigen anderen Änderungen zu *ūrṇunāva* und dann endlich nach unserer Regel auch zu *ūrṇṇunāva* wird. Wird aber die Verdoppelung zuerst vorgenommen, so müsste das *abhyasta*[30] ebenfalls ein doppeltes *n* enthalten (*ūr*+ [*ṇṇu* +*nnu*] +*a*).

117. Nach *r* und *h* kann, wenn ihnen ein Vokal vorangeht, (ein Laut) mit Ausnahme von *h*, *r* oder einem Vokal (verdoppelt werden).

P. *8*. 4. 46 ; C. *6*. 4. 141 ; H. *1*. 3. 31.

118. Nach einem nichtlangen Vokal (kann ein Laut, mit Ausnahme von *h*, *r* oder einem Vokal, verdoppelt werden).

P. *8*. 4. 52 ; C. *6*. 4. 147 ; H. *1*. 3. 32.

Die notwendige Ergänzung zu diesem Sūtra folgt. in 119, 121. Dem Sinne nach umfasst dies Sūtra auch das von Pat. als unnötig zurückgewiesene Vārttika *avasāne ca* (P. *8*. 4. 47 Vā. 3.). Śākaṭ. um-[81]-geht den von Kāt. gerügten Mangel anders als Pat. Die drei folgenden Sūtras Śākaṭ.'s hätten in eins verschmolzen werden können. Eben diese Zerlegung — meint der Kom., und ohne Zweifel mit Recht—deutet darauf hin, dass die Verdoppelung auch in der Pause stattfindet. Doch unterschiedet sich die Regel Śākaṭāyana's von der Auffassung des Pāṇini'schen Sūtra, die Pat. vorträgt, dadurch, dass Śākaṭ. die Verdoppelung nach einem langen Vokal für unstatthaft erklärt. Pat. gestattet also *vākk* und *vāk*, während Śākaṭ. lediglich das letztere zulässt. Hema. verbietet ebenfalls die Verdoppelung nach einem langen Vokal ; vgl. *adīrghād virāmaikavyañjane* (H. *1*. 3. 32).

119. (Die 115 f. gelehrte Verdoppelung findet) *nicht* (statt), wenn (auf die betreffenden Laute) eine Konsonantengruppe folgt.

P. *8*. 4. 50 ; H. *1*. 3. 32.

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[29] Siehe Anm. zu 153.

[30] Warum die zweite Silbe des *abhyasta n* und nicht *ṇ* enthält, erklärt die Siddhāntak. (S. 375 unten).

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Diese Regel habe ich in der Cāndra-Grammatik nicht gefunden und bin geneigt zu glauben, dass sie dort fehlt.

120. (Das *t*) von *putra* wird vor *ādin* und *putrādin* (nicht verdoppelt), wenn mit dem Wort geschmäht wird[31].

P. *8*. 4. 48 + Vā. 1 ; C. *6*. 4. 145 ; H. *1*. 3. 38.

121. (Die Verdoppelung unterbleibt), wenn (auf die betreffenden Laute) ein Vokal folgt.

P. *8*. 4. 47 ; C. *6*. 4. 142 ; *H*. *1*. 3. 32.

122. Die Sibilanten (werden nicht verdoppelt, wenn ein Vokal folgt).

P. *8*. 4. 49 ; C. *6*. 4. 146 ; H. *1*. 3. 37.

123. *ṅ*, *ṇ* und *n* am Ende des *pada* nach kurzem Vokal (werden verdoppelt, wenn ein Vokal folgt).

P. *8*. 3. 32 ; C. *6*. 4. 126 ; H. *1*. 3. 27.

Zu *kṛṣann iha* : Die Substitution des *nn* für *n* ist *bahiraṅga* und zum Zwecke der Substitution des *ṇ* für *n* als nicht vollzogen zu betrachten ; infolgedessen bleibt das *n* im Auslaut und kann nicht in *ṇ* verwandelt werden.

124. Nach einem langen (Vokal am Ende eines *pada*) kann *ch* (verdoppelt werden).

P. *6*. 1. 75, 76 ; C. *5*. 1. 73 ; H. *1*. 3. 28.

125. Nach einem plutierten Vokal (am Ende eines *pada*, wenn ihm ein langer Vokal zugrunde liegt, kann *ch* verdoppelt werden).

H. *1*. 3. 29.

Diese Regel vermag ich bei keinem anderen Grammatiker ausser Hema. (H. *1*. 3. 29) nachzuweisen.

[82] *126.* Nach einem Vokal, (sowie nach den Partikeln) *ā* und *mā* (muss *ch* verdoppelt werden).

P. *6*. 1. 73-75 ; C. *5*. 1. 73 ; H. *1*. 3. 28, 30.

In *prach* + *na* (= *praśna*) findet keine Verdoppelung des *ch* statt, weil die Substitution des *ś* für *ch* nach *1*. 1. 115 schon vorher eingetreten ist.

127. Diejenigen (auf *at* ausgehenden mehrsilbigen Wortformen), denen das Suffix *ḍāc* [= *ā*] angefügt wird, erleiden Verlust des *at* vor *iti*.

P. *6*. 1. 98 + Vā. 1 ; C. *5*. 1. 102.

Nach Ś. *3*. 4. 54 wird *ḍāc* nur an mehrsilbige, schallnachahmende Wortformen angefügt. Das *anekācaḥ* stammt aus dem Vārttika : *itāv anekācgrahaṇaṃ śradartham* (P. *6*. 1. 98 Vā.).

128. Wird (die Wortform, der das Suffix *ḍāc* [= *ā*] angefügt wird) verdoppelt, (so wird das *at* vor *iti*) nicht (elidiert).

P. *6*. 1. 99 ; C. *5*. 1. 103.

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31 Die Verdoppelung hängt wohl mit dem Sitz des Ictus zusammen ; anders WACKERNAGEL (*Altind. Gramm.* 1 § 98 a Anm.), der dies in Zusammenhang mit dem Sprechtempo bringt.

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Zu *vīpsāyām* usw. : Das distributive Verhältnis wird durch Wiederholung des Wortes ausgedrückt ; *paṭatpaṭat* ist aber die Nachahmung des mehrfachen Schalles (und drückt kein distributives Verhältnis aus).

129. (Wird die Wortform, der das Suffix *ḍāc* [= *ā*] angefügt wird,) verdoppelt, (so wird das) *t* (von *at* vor *iti* elidiert).

P. *6*. 1. 99 ; C. *5*. 1. 104.

130. Folgt (auf die verdoppelte Wortform das Suffix) *ḍāc* ([= *ā*], so wird das auslautende *t*) in dem zuerst (ausgesprochenen Teil elidiert).

P. *6*. 1. 100 = P. *6*. 1. 99 Vā. 1 ; C. *5*. 1. 105.

Dieses Sūtra beruht auf einem Vārttika Kāt.'s (P. *6*. 1. 99 Vā. 1). Doch bemerkt er (Vārtt. 2), dass die Regel entbehrlich sei, da man auch von *paṭapaṭa* (einem auf *a* auslautenden Onomatopoetikon) ausgehen kann.

131. ḍh und *r* (fallen) vor *ḍh* respektiv *r* (ab).

P. *8*. 3. 13, 14 ; C. *6*. 4. 18, 19 ; H. *1*. 3. 41, 42.

132. Ein auf einen Konsonanten folgender Halbvokal oder Nasal kann, wenn eben derselbe Laut folgt, (ausfallen).

P. *8*. 4. 64 ; H. *1*. 3. 47.

Wenn *yamām* gelesen wird, wie es bei Pāṇ. steht, so würde infolge der Verschiedenheit des Numerus von *yamām* und *yami* das *yathāsaṃkhya* (s. P. *1*. 3. 10) nicht ohne weiteres verständlich sein. Trotzdem setzen die Erklärer Pāṇ.'s voraus, dass der Ausfall der Konsonanten nur dann stattfindet, wenn der *gleiche* Laut folgt. In der Siddhāntak. (p. 17) heisst es ausdrücklich : *yamāṃ yamīti yathāsaṃkhyavijñānān neha | māhātmyam*. Die Gleichheit der Laute wird von Hema. (*1*. 3. 47) ausdrücklich gelehrt.—Zu *ādityya* vgl. Kāś. zu P. *8*. 4. 64.

[83] *133.* Eine (auf einen Konsonanten folgende) Muta oder ein Sibilant kann vor einem homogenen Laut (ausfallen).

P. *8*. 4. 65 ; C. *6*. 4. 155 ; H. *1*. 3. 48.

Der Kom. gibt keinen Aufschluss darüber, warum das Wort *vā* hier wiederholt wird, wenn es durch die *anuvṛtti* aus dem vorangehenden Sūtra ohne weiteres ergänzt werden könnte.

134. (Die Muta oder der Sibilant) von den auf (die Präposition) *ud* folgenden *sthā* und *stambh* (werden vor einer Muta oder einem Sibilanten elidiert).

P. *8*. 4. 61 ; C. *6*. 4. 154 ; H. *1*. 3. 44.

Hier wird die Regel etwas anders formuliert als bei Pāṇini (*8*. 4. 61). Śākat. lässt das anlautende *s* der Wurzeln ausfallen — so ist die Regel sicher zu verstehen ; vgl. Prakriyās. Sūtra 51 : *dhātvoḥ sakārasya lug bhavati jari pare* — und die Verdoppelung findet nach *adīrghāt* statt (Ś. *1*. 1. 118). Anders bei Pāṇ.—Das von Patañjali erforderte *utkandaka* (aus *ut+skand*) als Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Krankheit wird in einen Gaṇa aufgenom-

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men. — Das Vārttika zu P. *8*. 4. 61 fällt natürlich weg, weil es sich auf eine vedische Form bezieht.

135. (Eine Muta oder ein Sibilant geht vor einer Muta oder einem Sibilanten in) eine tonlose nicht-aspirierte Muta (über).

P. *8*. 4. 55 ; C. *6*. 4. 148 ; H. *1*. 3. 48.

Das nächste Sūtra beschränkt das Gebiet dieses Sūtra's.

136. (Für eine Muta oder einen Sibilanten wird) eine tönende nicht-aspirierte Muta (substituiert), wenn eine tönende Muta folgt.

P. *8*. 4. 53 ; C. *6*. 2. 115 ; H. *1*. 3. 49.

137.. Wenn *s* oder ein Dental mit *ś* oder einem Palatal (zusammenstösst, werden für *s*) *ś* und (für den Dental) ein Palatal (substituiert).

P. *8*. 4. 40 ; C. *6*. 4. 136 ; H. *1*. 3. 60, 61.

138. (Wenn *s* oder ein Dental) mit *ṣ* oder einem Zerebral zusammenstösst, (werden für *s*) *ṣ* und (für den Dental) ein Zerebral (substituiert).

P. *8*. 4. 41 ; C. *6*. 4. 136 ; H. *1*. 3. 60, 61.

139. Nach *ś* (findet die in 137 gelehrte Substitution des *ś* und der Palatale) nicht (statt).

P. *8*. 4. 44 ; C. *6*. 4. 139 ; H. *1*. 3. 62.

140. Nach einen am Ende eines *pada* (stehenden) Zerebralen (gehen *s* und die Dentale nicht in *ṣ* und die Zerebrale über), mit Ausnahme (der Kasusendung) *nām* und *nagarī* und *navati*.

P. *8*. 4. 42 + Bh. ; C. *6*. 4. 137 ; H. *1*. 3. 63.

141. Vor *ṣ* (geht ein am Ende eines *pada* stehender) Dental (nicht in *ṣ* oder Zerebral *über*).

P. *8*. 4. 43 ; C. *6*. 4. 138 ; H. *1*. 3. 64.

[84] *ṣaḍika* erklärt Pat. zu P. *1*. 4. 18 Vā. 1 folgendermassen : *ṣaḷ aṅgulayo yasya sa ṣaḍaṅguliḥ | anukampitaḥ ṣaḍaṅguliḥ ṣaḍikaḥ* !

142. (Ein am Ende eines *pada* stehender Dental geht) vor *l* (in) *l* (über).

P. *8*. 4. 60 ; C. *6*. 4. 153 ; H. *1*. 3. 65.

143. Für *h* kann nach einer (am Ende eines *pada* stehenden) tönenden nicht aspirierten Muta eine tönende aspirierte Muta (substituiert werden).

P. *8*. 4. 62 ; C. *6*. 4. 156 ; H. *1*. 3. 3.

Pāṇ. braucht *jhay* statt *jhaś* wegen des Folgenden, welches die tonlosen Mutae verlangt ; *jhaś* (die tönenden Mutae) hätte aber genügt, da in Wirklichkeit die tönenden Mutae zuerst für die tonlosen substituiert werden müssen.

144. Für *ś* (kann nach einer am Ende eines *pada* stehenden tönenden nicht-aspirierten Muta) *ch* (substituiert werden,) wenn ein Vokal, Halbvokal, Nasal oder *h* folgt.

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P. *8*. 4. 63 + Vā. ; C. *6*. 4. 157 ; H. *1*. 3. 4.

In dieser und den folgenden Regeln ist zu beachten, dass nach *1*. 2. 75 für alle Muten am Ende eines *pada* eine nicht-aspirierte Media (*jaś*) substituiert wird.

145. An ein (am Ende eines *pada* stehendes) *ṅ* und *ṇ* (kann) *g* respektiv *ḍ* vor einem Sibilanten (angefügt werden).

P. *8*. 3. 28 ; C. *6*. 4. 12 ; H. *1*. 3. 17.

Der Vokal *a* vertritt bei Śākaṭ. fast, wenn nicht ganz ausnahmslos, den, um die Aussprache zu ermöglichen, eingeschobenen normalen Vokal, wie z. B. hier *gak, ḍak*.. Bei Pāṇ dagegen übernimmt der Vokal *u* sehr häufig diese Rolle z. B. *kuk, ṭuk*. Ich brauche nur an das Sūtra *ūkālo 'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* (*1*. 2. 27) zu erinnern, wo man eigentlich nicht begreift, warum der Vokal *u* vorgezogen wird, wenn *a* oder *i* ebensogut den Zweck hätte erfüllen können.

146. (An ein am Ende eines *pada* stehendes) *ḍ* oder *n* (kann) *t* vor *s* (antreten, jedoch) nicht (wenn der Sibilant den ersten Bestandteil) von *śc* (bildet).

P. *8*. 3. 29, 30 ; C. *6*. 4. 13, 14 ; H. *1*. 3. 18.

Den Zusatz *aścaḥ* vermag ich bei keinem anderen Grammatiker ausser Hema. (H. *1*. 3. 18) nachzuweisen. Er führt als Beispiel *ṣaṭ ścyotati* an.

147. Vor *ś* (kann ein am Ende eines *pada* stehendes) *n* das Augment *j* (erhalten, jedoch nicht, wenn der Sibilant den ersten Bestandteil von *śc* bildet).

P. *8*. 3. 31 ; 4. 63 ; C. *6*. 4. 15 ; H. *1*. 3. 19.

Wegen *aścaḥ* führt Hema. ausdrücklich das Beispiel *bhavāñ ścyotati* an (H. *1*. 3. 19). S. Anm. zum vorangehenden Sūtra.

148. Für (das auslautende *n* von) *nm̃n* kann *rī* [= *r*] (substituiert [85] werden) oder (es kann demselben) am Ende ein *r* (angefügt werden), wenn *p* folgt (oder *nm̃n* kann unverändert bleiben).

P. *8*. 3. 10 ; C. *6*. 4. 5 ; H. *1*. 3. 10.

149. (Für das erste *n*) in *kānkān* kann *sī* [= *s*] (substituiert werden, oder es kann demselben) am Ende ein *s* (angefügt werden).

P. *8*. 3. 12 ; C. *6*. 4. 4 ; H. *1*. 3. 11.

Ein solches *s* geht nicht in *r* über, weil man sonst eben *r* als Substitut hätte lehren können. Vgl. Prakriyās. S. 16, Anm. 1 : *atra sīsakor vidhānāt rir na syāt | yady atra padāntavartinoḥ sīsakoḥ sajūrahassaḥ* [*1*. 2. 27] *ity ādinā riḥ syāt tarhi rīrakāv eva vidhīyeyātām.*

150. (Für ein auslautendes *n*) mit Ausnahme des *n* von *praśān*, (wird *sī* [= *s*] substituiert) vor *ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ* oder *t*, mit darauf folgendem Vokal, Halbvokal, Nasal oder *h* (oder es kann demselben *s* angefügt werden).

P. *8*. 3. 7 ; C. *6*. 4. 3 ; H. *1*. 3. 8.

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Wegen *s* vgl. Anm. zu dem vorangehenden Sūtra.

151. (Für das auslautende *m*) von *pum* (kann *sī* [= *s*] substituiert werden) vor einer tonlosen Muta (mit darauffolgendem Vokal, Halbvokal, Nasal oder *h*, oder es kann demselben *s* angefügt werden).

P. *8.* 3. 6; C. *6.* 4. 2; H. *1.* 3. 8.

Wegen *s* vgl. Anm. zu *1.* 1. 149.

152. Vor dem *s*, (das) *kṛ* (angefügt wird, kann für das *m*) von *sam* (*sī* [= *s*] substituiert oder dem *m* ein *s* angefügt werden) und (es kann dafür) eine Niete ([*gluk*] substituiert werden).

P. *8.* 3. 5 + Bh.; Cf. C. *6.* 4. 1; H. *1.* 3. 12, 13.

Die Substitution von *gluk* für das *m* von *sam* beruht auf Missverständnis der *iṣṭi* Patañjali's: *samo vā lopam eka icchanti* (MBhāṣ. Bd. 3, S. 425, Z. 8), seitens Śākaṭ. Pat. lehrt die Substitution von *lopa hinter sam für den unmittelbar darauf folgenden Laut.* Fasst man aber *samaḥ* als *Genetiv* auf, wie Śākaṭ. getan zu haben scheint, so muss man den *lopa* für das *m* von *sam* eintreten lassen. Also erhalten wir die Bildungen *saskartā* usw. Hema, der Śākaṭ. auch in diesem Punkte nachfolgt, lehrt ebenfalls den Abfall von *m* in *sam* vor *skṛ* usw. Diese Verwechslung mag man auf den ersten Blick kaum für möglich halten. Es sei aber daran erinnert, dass KIELHORN's *besten* Handschriften G und A — von der einen (G) sagt er: „in settling my text, I have been chiefly guided by the MS. G, which is the *best* of all the MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya that have come under my notice"[32], und von der anderen (A) „a *carefully made* and complete copy of the Mahâbhâshya"[33]—tatsächlich als Beispiel *saskartā* [86] anführen. Es ist also gar nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Regel, wie sie von Śākaṭ. formuliert worden ist, für gewisse Grammatiker und Grammatikerschulen als feste Norm gegolten hat.

153. Für (die am Ende eines *pada* stehenden) *v* und *y* (wird) nach *agho, bhago* und *bho* oder (wenn den *v* und *y* ein) *a*, (kurz oder lang, vorangeht,) vor Vokalen und vor tönenden Konsonanten (eine Niete [*gluk*] substituiert).

P. *8.* 3. 22 + 17 Bh.; C. *6.* 4. 26; H. *1.* 3. 23.

vṛkṣav ist ein mit dem *kṛt*-Suffix *vic* gebildeter Nominal-stamm zu dem Denominativ *vṛkṣavayati.* So die Kāśikā zu P. *8.* 3. 17: *vṛkṣaṃ vṛścatīti vṛkṣavṛṭ | taṃ ācaṣṭe yaḥ sa vṛkṣavayati | vṛkṣavayater apratyayaḥ | vṛkṣav karoti.*[34]. — Für das *hali* Pāṇini's in dem entsprechenden Sūtra (P. *8.* 3. 22) hat Śākaṭ. *aṣi.* Diese Veränderung ist durch das Bhāṣya Patañjali's zu P. *8.* 3. 17 veranlasst: *uttarārthaṃ tarhy aśgrahaṇaṃ kartavyaṃ hali sarveṣām* [*8.* 3. 22] *haly aśīti yathā syāt.* Darnach tritt die Substitution des *lopa*

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32 Mahābhāṣya, Bd. 1, Einleitung S. 8.
33 Mahābhāṣya, Bd. 2, S. 7.
34 Vgl. MBhāṣ. zu *8.* 3. 17 und Kaiyaṭa dazu.

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nicht vor allen Konsonanten ein, sondern nur vor denjenigen des *pratyāhāra aś*, wobei zu bemerken ist, dass *aś* bei Pāṇini dem *aṣ* Śākaṭ.'s ganz genau entspricht. — Zu *bho vyoma* : das *v* von *vyoma* fällt nicht ab.

154. Vor einem Vokal ist es freigestellt (die in 153 spezifizierten Konsonanten *y* und *v*) undeutlich (auszusprechen).

P. *8.* 3. 18, 19, 20 ; C. *6.* 4. 27 ; H. *1.* 3. 24, 25.

Das *aspaṣṭa* Śākaṭ.'s heisst *laghuprayatnatara* bei Pāṇini (*8.* 3. 18).

155. Wenn (den in 153 spezifizierten Konsonanten *y* und *v*) *ă* vorangeht, wird (vor einem Vokal) ausser der Partikel *u* (sowohl der Ausfall als die undeutliche Aussprache als auch der Nichtausfall) freigestellt.

P. *8.* 3. 18 ; C. *6.* 4. 27 ; H. *1.* 3. 25.

156. Für das *ṛi* (= *ṛ*) (wird nach *agho, bhago, bho* und wenn ihm ein *a* oder *ā* vorangeht vor Vokalen und tönenden Konsonanten) *y* (substituiert).

P. *8.* 3. 17 ; C. *6.* 4. 24-26 ; H. *1.* 3. 26.

Die hier vorgeschriebene Substitution für das *ṛ*, dem ein *a* oder *ā* vorangeht, ist der Beschränkung durch das folgende Sūtra unterworfen.

157. (Für das *ṛi* [= *ṛ*] wird) nach einem *ă a* (substituiert), wenn ein *ă* oder ein tönender Konsonant folgt.

P. *6.* 1. 113, 114 ; C. *5.* 1. 119 ; H. *1.* 3. 20, 21.

158. Nach dem für *t* (in *tad* und *etad*) substituierten *s* fällt vor einem Konsonanten (das *ṛi* [= *ṛ*]) ab, (wenn die Worte) nicht mit der Negation komponiert sind.

P. *6.* 1. 132 ; C. *5.* 1. 134 ; H. *1.* 3. 46.

[87] Warum das *akoḥ* des entsprechenden Pāṇini'schen Sūtra (*6.* 1 132) ausgelassen wird, ist mir nicht klar geworden. Hema. schliesst sich an Pāṇ. an (H. *1.* 3. 46) !

159. (Das *ṛi* [= *ṛ*] fällt nach dem) für *t* in *tad* (substituierten *s* ab), wenn (durch diesen Abfall) der Stollen metrisch vollständig wird.

P. *6.* 1. 134 ; H. *1.* 3. 45.

Der Halbvers *saiṣa dāśarathiḥ* usw. wird in demselben Zusammenhang in der Kāś. zitiert (Kāś. zu *6.* 1. 134)[35]. Zu *aci* des Pāṇini'schen Sūtra bemerkt der Vṛttikāra (a. a. O.): *aci vispaṣṭārtham*, „*aci* der Deutlichkeit wegen". Den der Ausfall des *s* vor einem *Konsonanten* kann die Vollständigkeit des Metrums nicht beeinflussen, weil die Silbenzahl dadurch nicht verändert wird. Es liegt nahe zu vermuten, dass diese Bemerkung des Verfassers der Kāś. Śākaṭ. veranlasst hat, das *aci* fortzulassen.

160. (Für das *ṛi* [= *ṛ*]) von *ahan* (wird) ein (einfaches) *ṛ* (substituiert), wenn ein Vokal oder tönender Konsonant folgt, jedoch nicht vor

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[35] Die Pādas a und b des ersten Verses *saiṣa* usw. und der Halbvers *sa eṣa bharato* usw. finden sich auch in P, ein Beweis dafür, dass seine Vorlage *auch Beispiele* enthielt.

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einer Kasusendung und *rūpa, rātri* und *rathantara.*

P. *8.* 2. 69 + 68 Vā.; C. *6.* 3. 100.

161. Für den *visarjanīya* (wird *r* substituiert, wenn ein Vokal oder tönender Konsonant folgt).

P. *8.* 2. 66; C. *6.* 3. 98.

162. In *aharpati* usw. kann (für den *visarjanīya r* substituiert werden).

P. *8.* 2. 70 Vā. und Bh.; C. *6.* 3. 102; H. *1.* 3. 58.

B. liest *gīṣpati.* Die richtige Lesart ist sicherlich *gīḥpatiḥ,* wie es in der Kielhorn'schen Ausgabe des MBhāṣya (Vol. III, S. 412, Z. 15) und auch bei Hema. steht. Die Kāś. liest *gīṣpatiḥ,* wie es übrigens auch in einer MBhāṣya-Handschrift steht. — Das *vā rephād atra* usw. des Kom. ist mir nicht klar geworden.

163. (Für den *visarjanīya* wird) vor *ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ* und *t s* (substituiert), wenn (auf jene Konsonanten) kein Sibilant folgt.

P. *8.* 3. 34, 35; C. *6.* 4. 28; H. *1.* 3. 7.

164. Vor einem Sibilanten, (dem kein Sibilant folgt, ist die Substitution von *s* für den *visarjanīya*) freigestellt.

P. *8.* 3. 36; C. *6.* 4. 29; H. *1.* 3. 6.

aśarpare im Kom. wird wegen der *anuvṛtti* fortgeführt.

165. (Folgt dem *visarjanīya* ein Sibilant), dem eine tonlose Muta folgt, (so kann der *visarjanīya*) ausfallen.

P. *8.* 3. 36 Vā 1; C. *6.* 4. 30; H. *1.* 3. 56.

Kāt. lehrt in dem Vārttika zu. P. *8.* 3. 36 den beliebigen Abfall des *visarjanīya* vor *śar,* dem *khar* folgt.

166. Vor einem tonlosen Guttural und Labial, (auf die kein [88] Sibilant folgt, kann der Reihe nach für den *visarjanīya*) × respektiv ≍ (substituiert werden).

P. *8.* 3. 37; C. *6.* 4. 31; H. *1.* 3. 5.

Wegen der Lesung *adbhiḥ psātam* gegen die Hss. siehe MBhāṣ. und Kāśikā zu P. *8.* 3. 37.

167. Für (den *visarjanīya*) der *gati tiras* (kann vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial) *si* (= *s*) (substituiert werden).

P. *8.* 3. 42; H. *2.* 3. 2.

Auf Grund dieser Substitution kann ein solches *s* nicht wieder in *visarjanīya* übergehen; nach *1.* 2. 65 aber kann *s*(*i*) zu *ṣ* werden.

168. Für (den *visarjanīya* in den *gatis*) *namas* und *puras* (wird vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *si* [= *s*] substituiert).

P. *8.* 3. 40; C. *6.* 4. 35; H. *2.* 3. 1.

169. (Für den *visarjanīya*) von *catur, nis, dus, bahis, āvis* und *prādus* (wird vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *si* [= *s*] substituiert),

P. *8.* 3. 41; C. *6.* 4. 35; H. *2.* 3. 9.

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170. (Für den *visarjanīya*) des (Suffixes) *suc* (= *s*) kann (vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *si* [= *s*] substituiert werden).

P. *8*. 3. 43 ; C. *6*. 4. 36 ; H. *2*. 3. 10.

Indem Śākaṭ. in der Formulierung der Regeln über die Verwandlung in *ṣ* von *s* der Präpositionen *nis, dus* usw. und der Zahladverbien *dvis* usw. (Sūtras 169, 170) von Pāṇ. abweicht, schliesst er sich an Candra an. Die Sūtras Candras lauten : *nirdurbahirāviścatuṣprāduṣpurasām* (*6*. 4. 35) und *suco vā* (36). Abgesehen davon, dass in dem Sūtra Candra's *puras* zusammen mit den anderen Adverbien, die auf *is* bez. *us* auslauten, aufgeführt wird, stimmen die Sūtras der zwei Grammatiker ganz genau überein. Die Bemerkung Patañjali's, dass der Ausdruck *dvistriścatur* in dem Sūtra *dvistriścatur iti kṛtvo'rthe* (P. *8*. 3. 43) entbehrlich sei (MBhāṣ. Bd. 3, S. 435, Z. 3 f.), dürfte wohl die veränderte Formulierung von Candra veranlasst haben.

171. (Für den *visarjanīya*) eines auf *is* oder *us* (auslautenden Wortes kann vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *si* [= *s*] substituiert werden), wenn (die zusammenstossenden Worte miteinander) in *Korrelation* (stehen).

P. *8*. 3. 44 ; C. *6*. 4. 37 ; H. *2*. 3. 11.

Bei Pāṇini lautet das entsprechende Sūtra *isusoḥ sāmarthye* (*8*. 3. 44). Wegen *apekṣā* vgl. die Kāsikā : *sāmarthyam iha vyapekṣā | na punar ekārthībhāvaḥ | ubhayaṃ vā.* Candra hat *saṃbandhe* (*6*. 4. 37).

172. (Die in 171 gelehrte Substitution findet) nicht (statt, wenn die mit Guttural oder Labial anlautenden Worte) mit Ausnahme von Zeitwörtern (mit denem auf *is* und *us* auslautenden) im *Kongruenzverhältnis* (stehen).

[89] H. *2*. 3. 12.

ekārtha ist hier nach dem Kom. im Sinne von *samānādhikaraṇa* gebraucht ; ebenso bei Hema. (*2*. 3. 12). Ein Verbum und ein Nomen können scheinbar *samānādhikaraṇapada* sein. Merke aber, dass hier das Verbum (*kriyate*) *passivisch* gebraucht ist. Dagegen in den Beispielen zu 171 ist es *aktivisch* (*karoti*) gebraucht.

173. In der Komposition (ist die in 171 gelehrte Substitution notwendig), vorausgesetzt (dass das Wort auf *is* oder *us*) kein (zweites Glied) eines Kompositums (bildet).

P. *8*. 3. 45 ; C. *6*. 4. 39 ; H. *2*. 3. 13.

Nach den Regeln *1*. 1. 171, 172, 173 ist die Substitution von *s* für den *visarjanīya*.

1. *fakultativ* :

α) Wenn die Worte in *Korrelation* stehen, e.g. *sarpiṣ karoti, sarpiḥ karoti* (171), selbst wenn das erste Wort das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet, z. B. *paramasarpiṣ karoti, paramasarpiḥ karoti* (171).

β) Wenn die zwei Worte miteinander *nicht* im Kongruenzverhältnis stehen, z. B. *sarpiṣ kumbhe, sarpiḥ kumbhe* (172).

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γ) Wenn das zweite Wort ein Verbum ist, mit dem das erste Wort im Kongruenzverhältnis steht, z. B. *sarpiṣ kriyate, sarpiḥ kṛipate* (172).

2. *notwendig* :

Im Kompositum, vorausgesetzt dass das erste Wort nicht das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet, z. B. *sarpiṣkuṇḍam* (173).

3. *unstatthaft* :

α) Im Kompositum, wenn das erste Wort das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet, z. B. *paramasarpiḥkuṇḍam* (173).

β) Wenn die zwei Worte miteinander *nicht* in Korrelation stehen, z. B. *tiṣṭhatu sarpiḥ piba tvam udakam* (171).

γ) Wenn die zwei Worte sowohl in Korrelation als im Kongruenzverhältnis stehen, z. B. *sarpiḥ kālakam* (172).

Die Regeln 1γ und 3γ sind wohl Neuerungen von Śākaṭ. Ich habe bei den älteren Grammatiken nichts entsprechendes finden können. Die Freistellung *paramasarpiṣ karoti, paramasarpiḥ karoti* beruht auf der Lehre des MBhāṣ. (Bd. 3, S. 436, Z. 6, 7).

174. (Im Kompositum wird für den *visarjanīya*) von *adhas* und *śiras* (*si* [= *s*]) vor *pada* (substituiert, wenn diese Worte nicht das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bilden).

P. *8*. 3. 47 ; C. *6*. 4. 41 ; H. *2*. 3. 4.

175. (Für den) auf *a* (folgenden *visarjanīya* eines *pada*), mit Ausnahme eines Indeklinabile, (wenn es nicht das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet, wird im Kompositum *si* [= *s*] substituiert), wenn (eine Bildung von) *kṛ* und *kam* oder (die Wörter) *kaṃsa, kuśā, karṇi, kumbha, pātra* folgen.

[90] P. *8*. 3. 46 ; C. *6*. 4. 40 ; H. *2*. 3. 5.

prātipadikagrahaṇe usw. = Paribh. 71. Cf. auch MBhāṣ. Vol. II, S. 193, Z. 6 f.

176. Vor einem (mit einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial anlautenden) Suffix (tritt *si* [= *s*] an die Stelle des *visarjanīya* ; jedoch nicht nach einem Indeklinabile).

P. *8*. 3. 38 + Vā. 1 ; C. *6*. 4. 32 ; H. *2*. 3. 6.

177. (Für den *visarjanīya* von) auf *r* (auslautenden Worten) und von *ahan* (tritt) vor *kāmya* (*si* [= *s*]) *nicht* (ein).

P. *8*. 3. 38 Vā. 2 ; C. *6*. 4. 33 ; H. *2*. 3. 7.

178. Vor (einem mit) *t* (anlautenden), einem Nomen angefügten (Suffix wird für den) auf kurzen Vokal folgenden (*visarjanīya si* [= *s*] substituiert).

P. *8*. 3. 101 + Vā. ; C. *6*. 4. 87 ; H. *2*. 3. 34.

Vgl. Prakriyās. S. 22, Anm. 2.

179. (Für den *visarjanīya*) von *nis* vor *tap* (wird *si* [= *s*] substituiert), wenn nicht von Wiederholung (d. i. von wiederholten Glühen die Rede ist).

P. *8*. 3. 102 ; C. *6*. 4. 88 ; H. *2*. 3. 35.

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tipā śapā usw. = Paribh. 120, 3 (a. *ṣtipā* v. 1. für *tipā*, c. *yatrai°* für *yaccai°*, *caiva* für *kiṃ cit*, d. *°luki* für *°ṣluci*), vgl. Prakriyās. S. 253; nicht im MBhāṣ. Der Verfasser des Paribhāṣenduś. lehnt sie auch ab; vgl. KIELHORN, Paribhāṣenduś. Transl. S. 519 (unten).

180. In *kaska* usw. (wird für den *visarjanīya si* [= *s*] substituiert). P. *8*. 3. 48; C. *6*. 4. 85; H. *2*. 3. 14.

Das *paramasarpiṣkuṇḍikā* des Kom. ist bemerkenswert. Pat. erkennt keine solche Form an (s. Anmerkung zu 173). Nach der Ansicht einiger Grammatiker enthält der Gaṇa *kaskādi* eine Anzahl Komposita wie *sarpiṣkuṇḍikā, dhanuṣkapālam, yajuṣpātram* usw., deren *ṣ* sich sonst nach der allgemeinen Regel *nityaṃ samāse 'nuttarapadasthasya* (P. *8*. 3. 45 = Ś. *1*. 1. 173) ergibt. Die Aufnahme dieser Komposita in dem Gaṇa soll nun andeuten, dass in denselben der *visarjanīya* in *s*, respectiv *ṣ*, auch dann übergeht, wenn die mit dem *visarjanīya* auslautenden Worte das zweite Glied eines Kompositum bilden. Dies ist die Ansicht der *Pārāyaṇikas*. Vgl. die Kāśikā zu P. *8*. 3. 48: *sarpiṣkuṇḍikā | dhanuṣkapālam | barhiṣpūtam | yajuṣpātram ity eṣāṃ pāṭha uttarapadasthasyāpi ṣatvaṃ yathā syād iti | paramasarpiḥphalam* (so zu lesen!) *ity evamādipratyudāharaṇād* (d. i. in P. *8*. 3. 45) *iti pārāyaṇikā āhuḥ*. — Demzufolge hat Hema. das Beispiel *paramayajuṣpātram* (H. *2*. 3. 14). Zu *bhrātuṣputram* bei Hema. im selben Sūtra, vgl. P. *8*. 3. 41 Vā. 4: *bhrātuṣputragrahaṇaṃ jñāpakam ekadeśanimittāt ṣatvapratiṣedhasya* und das Bhāṣya dazu: *yadayaṃ kaskādiṣu bhrātuṣputraśabdaṃ paṭhati* usw.

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[91] Lebenslauf.

Ich, Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, brahmanischer Konfession, wurde am 4. Mai 1887 zu Bombay (Indien) geboren als Sohn des Ingenieurs Sitaram Vishnu Sukthankar und seiner Frau Dhaklibai, bezog nach dem Elementarunterricht in den Hochschulen zu Bombay die Universität zu *Cambridge* (England), wo ich mich vor allem dem Studium der Mathematik widmete. Als meine Reifeprüfung gilt das *Bakkalaureatsexamen* an der dortigen Universität, das ich im Juni 1906 bestand. Sommer 1911 kam ich nach Berlin und gab mich von da an hauptsächlich dem Studium der *indischen Philologie* hin. Ich besuchte die Vorlesungen der Herren Beckh, Erdmann, Immelmann, Ed. Lehmann, Loeschke, Lüders, Marquart, Mittwoch, Riehl, E. Schmidt, W. Schulze, Thomas, v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf und Wölfflin. Zu der vorliegenden Arbeit wurde ich von Herrn Prof. Lüders angeregt, dem ich für sein Interesse an dem Entstehen der Arbeit und darüber hinaus für meine wissenschaftliche Bildung zu grössten Dank verpflichtet bleibe. Die Promotionsprüfung bestand ich am 18. Juni 1914.

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STUDIES IN BHĀSA

I. Introduction*

No methodical study[1] has yet been made of the thirteen anonymous dramas issued as Nos. XV-XVII, XX-XXII, XXVI, XXXIX, and XLII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and ascribed by their editor, Pandit T. Gaṇapati SĀSTRI, to the celebrated play-wright Bhāsa. The first attempt at a comprehensive review of the plays—and the only one that has contributed substantially to our knowledge of them—is found in the editor's own introductions to the editio princeps of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* and that of *Pratimānāṭaka* respectively. Opinion may be divided as to whether the learned editor has fully vindicated his claims regarding the age of the dramas or the authorship of Bhāsa, but it seems unquestionable that the arguments brought forward by him in support of his case deserve serious consideration. Another approach to a study of these dramas is found in the introduction to a subsequent edition[2] of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof. H. B. Bhide. This author replies to the arguments of a scholar who had in the meanwhile published an article in a vernacular journal calling into question the conclusion of Gaṇapati SĀSTRI regarding the authorship of Bhāsa, and attempts to re-establish it by adducing fresh proofs in support of it. Mr. BHIDE then turns his attention to the question of Bhāsa's age, which he endeavours to fix by what may be termed a process of successive elimination. Incidentally it may be remarked that his arguments lead him to assign the dramas to an epoch even earlier than that claimed for them by Gaṇapati SĀSTRI.[3] While it would be invid-[249]-ious to belittle the work of these pioneers in the field and deny them their meed of praise, it must nevertheless be confessed that their investigations are characterised by a narrowness of scope and a certain perfunctoriness of treatment which unfortunately deprive them of all claims to finality. Vast fields of enquiry have been left practically untouched; and, it need not be pointed out, a study of these neglected questions might seriously modify the views on the plays and the playwright based on the facts now available.

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*[*JAOS* 40. 248-59.]

[1] A complete bibliography of the literature, Indian (including the works in vernaculars, of which there is a considerable number already) and European, bearing on the subject, will be the theme of a separate article.

[2] The Svapna Vasavadatta of Bhasa edited with Introduction, Notes etc. etc. by H. B. BHIDE .....with Sanskrit Commentary (Bhavanagar, 1916).

[3] According to GAṆAPATI SĀSTRĪ the author of these dramas, Bhāsa, 'must necessarily be placed not later than the third or second century B.C.; according to Mr. BHIDE, 475 B.C. to 417 B.C. would be the period of Bhāsa.

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Nor have the critics[4] of Gaṇapati SĀSTRI, who challenge his ascription of the plays to Bhāsa, attempted—perhaps they have not deemed it worth their while to attempt—to get below the surface; their investigations confine themselves to a very restricted field, upon the results of which their conclusions are based. Corresponding to the different isolated features of these plays selected by them for emphasis, different values are obtained by them for the epoch of these dramas; and having shown that these dates are incompatible with the probable age of Bhāsa, these writers have considered their responsibility ended.

Now whatever opinion may be held regarding the age of these plays it seems undeniable that they are worthy of very close study. Their discovery has given rise to some complicated literary problems, which demand elucidation. Their Prakrit, which contains some noteworthy peculiarities, requires analysis; their technique, which differs in a marked manner from that of hitherto known dramas, requires careful study; their metre, with its preponderance of the śloka, and their Alaṁkāra of restricted scope, both call for minute investigation. The fragment[5] *Cārudatta* alone, of which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* looks almost like an enlarged version, suggests a whole host of problems. Some verses (or parts of verses) from these dramas are met with again in different literary works; we find others referred to in critical works of different epochs: have they been borrowed or quoted (as the case may be) from *our* dramas? If so, what chronologi-[250]-cal conclusions follow from these references? Some of these questions have never been dealt with at all before; there are others whose treatment by previous writers must be called superficial and unsatisfactory; but all of them merit exhaustive investigation. In these Studies I shall try to discuss various problems connected with these plays with all the breadth of treatment they require. I hope that they will in some measure answer the demand.

At first I shall devote myself to collation of material; subsequently, when I have a sufficient number of facts at my disposal, duly tabulated and indexed, I shall turn my attention to the question of the age and the authorship of these dramas, and consider whether, from the material available it is possible to deduce any definite conclusions regarding these topics. From the nature of the case it may not be possible to find for the question of the authorship an answer free from all elements of uncertainty; but it is hoped that the cumulative evidence of facts gleaned from a review of the plays

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[4] Prof. PANDEYA in the Vernacular periodical Sāraḍā (Vol. 1, No. 1), who assigns the plays to the 10th century A.D.; and Dr. L. D. BARNETT in *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 233 f., who ascribes them to an anonymous poet of about the 7th century A.D.

[5] Thereon see my articles '"Charudatta"—A Fragment' in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), 1919.

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from widely different angles will yield some positive result at least regarding their age.

In conclusion it should be made clear that nothing is taken for granted regarding the author or the age of these plays. It follows, therefore, that the choice of the title 'Studies in Bhāsa,' or the expression 'dramas of Bhāsa' if used in the sequel with reference to them, does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the authorship of Bhāsa ; the use of Bhāsa's name should be regarded merely as a matter of convenience, unless the evidence adduced be subsequently found to justify or necessitate the assumption involved.

I. *On certain archaisms in the Prakrit of these dramas.*

The scope of this article, the first of the series, is restricted to a consideration of certain selected words and grammatical forms, occurring in the Prakrit of the dramas before us, which arrest our attention by their archaic character. There are many other questions relative to the Prakrit of these plays which await investigation, such as, for example, its general sound-system, its varieties, its distribution, etc. : they will be dealt with in subsequent articles. 'Archaic' and 'modern' are of course relative terms. The words noticed below are called 'archaic' in reference to what may be said to be the standard dialect-stage of the Prakrit of the [251] dramas of the classical period, such as those of Kālidāsa. No comparative study has yet been made of the Prakrit of Kālidāsa and his successors with a view to ascertaining the developmental differences (if any) obtaining between them ; marked differences there are none ; and we are constrained, in the absence of detailed study, to regard the Prakrits of the post-Kālidāsa dramas as static dialect-varieties showing only minute differences of vocabulary and style.

Methodologically the question whether all these thirteen anonymous plays are the works of one and the same author should have been taken up first for investigation. But even a cursory examination of these plays is enough to set at rest all doubts regarding the common authorship ; moreover the point has already been dealt with in a fairly satisfactory manner by the editor of the plays, whose conclusions have not hitherto evoked adverse comment. The question will, however, in due course receive all the attention and scrutiny necessary.

Meanwhile we will turn to the discussion of what I regard as archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SELECTED ARCHAISMS.

1. *amhāṁ* (= Skt. *asmākam*).

Svapna. 27 (twice ; Ceṭī), 28 (Ceṭī) ; Pañca. 21 (Vṛddhagopālaka) ; Avi. 25 (Dhātrī), 29 (Vidūṣaka).

Amhāaṁ is used in the passages just quoted ; but in other places the very same characters use the later form *amhāṇaṁ*, which is formed on the

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analogy of the thematic nominal bases : cf. Ceṭī in Svapna. 24, 32 ; Vṛddhagopālaka in Pañca. 20.21 ; and Dhātrī in Avi. 23. The latter form occurs, moreover, in Cāru. 1. (Sūtradhāra), 34 (Ceṭī). The form *amhā(k)aṁ*, it may be remarked, is neither mentioned by grammarians[6] nor found in the dramas hitherto known. But Pālī, it will be recalled, has still *amhākaṁ* and Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (LÜDERS[6a] 58) have preserved the corresponding *tum(h)āk(aṁ)*. Owing to the simul-[252]-taneous occurrence in our dramas of both the forms in the speech of one and the same character, we are not in a position to decide at this stage whether the *amhāaṁ* of our manuscripts is a genuinely archaic use of the word or whether there is a contamination here with the Skt. *asmākam*. It may again be that the promiscuous use of the doublets points to a period of transition.

2. Root √*arh-*.

Svapna. 7 (Tāpasī) ; Abhi. 5 (Tārā).

Twice the root appears in Prakrit passages in these dramas with unassimilated conjunct. Once as a nominal base *arhā* (Svapna. 7) and again as a verbum finitum *arhadi*[7] (Abhi. 5). In the latter case the editor conjecturally amends the reading of the manuscripts to *arihadi*. A priori the conjunct *rh* seems hardly admissible in a Prakrit dialect,[8] and one is tempted to follow the editor of the dramas in regarding it as a mistake of the scribe. In the Śaurasenī of later dramas an epenthetic *i* divides the conjunct : *arih-* (PISCHEL § 140). Of this form we have two instances in our dramas : *arihadi* in Pratimā. 6 (Avadātikā) and *aṇarihāṇi* in Abhi. 15 (Sītā). In another place, however, the word appears with an epenthetic *u*[9] ; Abhi. 60 (Sītā) we have *aṇaruhāṇi* (instead of *aṇarihāṇi*) in a passage which is otherwise identical with Abhi. 15 quoted above. Thus, an emendation would have seemed inevitable in the two isolated instances containing the conjunct, had not the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, with which our manuscripts will be shown to have a number of points in common, testified to the correctness of the reading, by furnishing a probable instance of the identical orthographic peculiarity. In a passage from a

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[6] Thus, for instance, Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* (ed. Granthapradarsani, Vizagapatam, 1912), IX. 95, lays down specifically that the gen. plu. of the pers. pron. in Śaurasenī is *amhaṁ* or *amhāṇaṁ*.

[6a] Here and in similar references 'LÜDERS' stands for LÜDERS, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I, Berlin 1911).

[7] The actual reading of the text is *a(rha? riha)di*, meaning apparently that the MS. reading is *arhadi* and that the editor would amend to *arihadi*.

[8] See PISCHEL, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen* (Abbreviated in the sequel as 'PISCHEL'), §. 332.

[9] PISCHEL (§ 140) remarks that the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā, and the Priyadarśikā, have *aruhadi* in Śaurasenī ; according to him it is an incorrect use.

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speech placed in the mouth either of the Courtesan or the Vidūṣaka (and therefore Śaurasenī) occurs a word that is read by Prof. LÜDERS as *arhessi* (LÜDERS 49). Unfortunately the portion of the palm-leaf which contains the conjunct *rh* is chipped, and the reading, therefore, [253] cannot claim for itself absolute certainty. However, that may be, Prof. LÜDERS appears to have in his mind no doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted by him. Should this restoration be correct, we should have a precedent for our seemingly improbable reading. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the origin of this anomaly. We can only conjecture, as Prof. LÜDERS does, that the conjunct *rh* was still pronounced without the svarabhakti, or was at any rate written[10] in that manner. Assuming that our reading of the word *arh-* in both sets of manuscripts is correct, this coincidence, which is a proof as positive as it is fortuitous of the affinity between our dramas and those of Aśvaghoṣa, has an importance which cannot be overrated.

3. *ahake* (= Skt. *aham*).

Cāru. 23 (Śakāra).

Occurs in these dramas only once in the (Māgadhī) passage just quoted. Śakāra uses only in two other places the nominative case of the pronoun of the first person namely Cāru. 12 (which is a verse), and 15 ; in both these instances, however, as elsewhere in our dramas, occurs the ordinary Tatsama *ahaṁ*. The derivation of *ahake* is sufficiently clear, and since in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī the *svārthe-* suffix *-ka* may be retained unaltered (PISCHEL § 598), the form is theoretically, at any rate, perfectly regular. It has moreover the sanction of the grammarians, being specifically noticed in a Prakrit grammar, namely the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* (11·9) of Vararuci, which is the oldest Prakrit grammar preserved (PISCHEL § 32). In his paradigma of the 1st pers. pron. PISCHEL encloses this form in square brackets, indicating therewith that there are no instances of its use in the available manuscripts. Probably this view represents the actual state of things in PISCHEL's time. It would be wrong on that account to regard its occurrence here as a pedantic use of a speculative form which is nothing more than a grammarian's abstraction. For we now have in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas an authentic instance of the use of a still older form, *ahakaṁ*, in the 'dramatic' Māgadhī of the Duṣṭ [254] (Bösewicht) ; LÜDERS 36. The *ahake* of these dramas and of Vararuci stands midway and supplies the necessary connecting link between the *ahakaṁ* of Aśvaghoṣa and the *hake*, *hag(g)e* of later grammarians and dramatists. The legitimacy and archaism of *ahake* may, therefore, be regarded as sufficiently established. Incidentally the correspondence with Vararuci is worthy of note. The occasion for the use, in this

[10] It would be worth while examining the Prakrit inscriptions to ascertain whether they contain any instances of this usage, and if so to determine its epochal and topographical limits.

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instance, of the stronger form *ahake*,[11] instead of the usual *ahaṁ*, appears to be that the context requires an emphasis to be laid on the subject of the sentence : *ahake dāva vañcide* ..... 'Even *I*[11] have been duped .....' The later forms *hake, ha(g)ge* occur neither in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas nor in our dramas, a fact which is worthy of remark.

4. *āma*.

Svapna. 45 (Vidūṣaka), 80 (Padmāvatī) etc. ; Cāru. 4 (Naṭī), 20 (Śakāra) ; etc. etc.

An affirmative particle occurring very frequently in these dramas and used in all dialects alike. This word, which is met with also in the modern Dravidian dialects, where it has precisely the same sense, seems to have dropped out of the later Prakrit. It need not on that account be set down as a late Dravidianism introduced into the manuscripts of our dramas by South Indian scribes, for its authenticity is sufficiently established by its occurrence in Pāli on the one hand and in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas on the other (LŪDERS 46).

5. *karia* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*).

Svapna. 52 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), 70 (Pratīhārī); Pratijñā 10, 11, and 15 (Haṁsaka), 41, 45, and 50 (Vidūṣaka) ; etc. etc.

The regular Śaurasenī form is *kadua* (PISCHEL 581, 590). But Hemacandra (4·272) allows also *karia*. While this rule of the grammarian is confirmed by the sporadic occurrence of *kari-(y)a* in manuscripts, it is interesting to remark that it is met with also in a Śaurasenī passage in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (LÜDERS 46). [255] According to PISCHEL (*KB* 8. 140, quoted by LÜDERS in *Brucshtücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 48, footnote 3) the use of *karia* is confined exclusively to the Nāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā. But its occurrence in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas shows that it is a genuinely archaic form and not a vagary of South Indian or Nāgarī manuscripts. *-Kadua* does not occur in our dramas, nor in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. Incidentally we may note our plays also furnish instances of the use of the parallel form *gacchia* (Skt. *gatvā*) of which the regular (later) Śaurasenī form is *gadua*, see Cāru. 1, etc. etc.

6. *kissa, kiśśa* (= Skt. *kasya*).

Avi. 16 (Vidūṣaka), 20 (Nalinikā), 71 and 73 (Vidūṣaka) ; Pratimā. 6 (Sītā) ; Cāru. 24 (Śakāra).

The dialects are Śaurasenī (*kissa*) and Māgadhī (*kiśśa*). Formally these words represent the genitive singular of the interrogative pronoun, but here as elsewhere they are used exclusively in the sense of the ablative *kas-*

[11] [Editorial note : The suffix *ka* cannot, in my opinion, have this meaning. Here it is very likely pitying (" poor unlucky I ") ; or it may be *svārthe*.—F.E.]

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māt- 'why ?', 'wherefore ?'. Neither of these words—in this stage of phonetic development—occurs in the Prakrit of the grammarians and other dramatists (with but one exception), which have *kīsa* (*kīśa*) instead (PISCHEL § 428). *kissa* occurs frequently in Pāli, *kiśśa* is used by the Duṣṭa ('Bösewhicht') in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (LÜDERS 36) ; in both these instances the words have precisely the same sense as here. Like *ahake* (above no. 3), *kissa* (*kiśśa*) corresponds exactly to the theoretical predecessors of forms in use in the Prakrit of later dramas. *kīsa* occurs once in these plays also : Svapna. 29 (Ceṭī).

Unless a period of transition be assumed, *kissa* would appear to be the right form to use here. For, *kīsa* may represent the spurious correction of a learned transcriber ; but were *kīsa* (*kīśa*) the original reading in all these places, it would be difficult to explain the deliberate substitution of an archaic *kissa* (*kiśśa*) in its place. In other words I assume the principle of progressive correction, that is the tendency of successive generations of scribes to modernise the Prakrit of older works so as to bring it in line with the development of the Prakrit of their own times. Unless, therefore, as already remarked, it is assumed that the simultaneous use of the two forms be regarded as indicating a period of transition, *kissa* (*kiśśa*) would appear to be the form proper to the dialect [256] of our dramas. In passing it may be pointed out that *kissa* (*kiśśa*) cannot be arrived at by the Prakritization of any Sanskrit form, therefore a question of contamination does not rise in this case.

7. *khu* (= Skt. *khalu*).

Svapna. 5 (Vāsavadattā), 7 (Tāpasī), 11 (Padmāvatī), 12 (Ceṭī) etc. etc.

Written almost throughout without the doubling of the initial. Now the rule deduced from an observation of the usage of manuscripts appears to be that after short vowels and after *e* and *o* (which then are shortened under those circumstances) we should have *kkhu* ; after long vowels, however, *khu* (PISCHEL 94). This rule applies to Śaurasenī and Māgadhī alike. But in the manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas the initial is never doubled ; and in our text of the present plays there are only two instances of the doubling, both of which are spurious and due to mistakes of copyists. We will turn our attention to these first. They are :—(1) Abhi. 23 (Śītā) : *aho aaruṇā-kkhu issarā,*[12] and (2) Pratimā. 22 (Sītā) : *ṇaṁ saha-dhammaāriṇī-kkhu ahaṁ*. It is quite evident that the doubling in these instances, which takes place after the long finals *ā* and *ī*, is contrary to every rule, and is nothing more than a mistake of some transcriber. It may therefore be assumed that at the stage in which the dialects of our dramas find them-

[12] But note Svapna, 27 (Vāsavadattā) : *aho akaruṇā khu issarā*. Of course the retention of the intervocalic *k* is unjustifiable.

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selves the doubling of the initial in *khu* had not yet taken effect. We notice here, however, the first step taken to its treatment as an enclitic. In the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa *khu* remains unaltered throughout with undoubled initial [13] but in our dramas we find frequently *hu* substituted for it in the combinations *na khu* and *kiṁ ṇu khu* : Svapna. 23 (Vāsavadattā) 58 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavaddattā), etc. ; Pratijñā. 9 (Haṁsaka) ; Pañca. 20 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Avi. 79 (Nalinikā), 82 (Kuraṅgī), 92 (Nalinikā) ; etc. etc. Sporadically *khu* is retained unaltered even in these combinations.[14]

[257] 8. *tava* (= Skt. *tava*).

Svapna. 17 (Tāpasī), 40 (Padmāvatī), 78 (Dhātrī) ; Pratimā. 8 (Avadātikā) ; etc. etc.

This is the usual form of the word in our plays in all dialects alike ; in addition, of course, the old enclitic *te* (*de*) is also in use. The Śaurasenī of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas furnishes also an example of its use in the Prakrit of dramas (LÜDERS 46), and it is common enough in Pāli. On the other hand the later forms *tu(m)ha,* and *tujjha* are unknown alike to the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa and these plays. According to Prakrit grammarians and the usage of the manuscripts of later dramas *tu(m)ha* (and not *tava*) is proper to Śaurasenī ; [15] evidently this represents the state of things at a later epoch. The use of *tava* seems later to be restricted to Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (PISCHEL 421).

9. *tuvaṁ* (= Skt. *tvam*).

Svapna, 37 (Padmāvatī), 38 (Vāsavadattā), 53 (Padminikā), 54 (Padminikā), 55 (Padminikā); Pratijñā, 40 (Vidūṣaka), 42 (Vidūṣaka) ; Avi. 72 (Vidūṣaka), 77 (Vidūṣaka), 79 (Kuraṅgī) ; Ūru. 104 (Durjaya) ; Cāru. 2 (Naṭī) ; etc., etc.

This form, in which the assimilation has not yet taken effect, disappeared from the Prakrit of later dramas, which substitute *tumaṁ* in its place. But it is mentioned by Prakrit grammarians (PISCHEL § 420), and it is the regular form of the nominative case of the 2nd pers. pron. in Pāli and inscriptional Prakrit. It was, moreover, in use still in Aśvaghoṣa's time (LÜDERS 46), which is significant from our viewpoint. The later form *tumaṁ* occurs sporadically in our dramas also : Svapna. 78 (Dhātrī) ; Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭa and Gātrasevaka), 62 (Bhaṭa) ; Avi. 29 (Vidūṣaka), 92 (Vasumitrā). In respect to the references from the Pratijñā. (58, 62)

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[13] Prof. LÜDERS does cite °*t- kkhu* in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, but, as he himself points out, it is far from certain that we have the particle *khu* before us (LÜDERS 51, footnote 3).

[14] For instance, *kiṁ ṇu khu,* Svapna. 63 (Vāsavadattā).

[15] See PISCHEL § 421 for a discussion of the merits and use of the different Prakrit equivalents of Skt. *tava*.

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it should be remarked that the manuscripts upon which our text is based are just at this place defective, and full of mistakes; consequently the readings adopted in the text cannot by any means be looked upon as certain. Twice *tuvaṁ* is used in the accusative case: Ūru. 105 (Durjaya), Cāru. 71 (Gaṇikā). [258] But the usual form of the accusative case in our plays, as in later Prakrit, is *tumaṁ*: e.g. Svapna. 27 and 32 (Ceṭī).

10. *dissa-, diśśa-* (= Skt. *dṛśya-*).

Svapna. 70 (Pratīhārī); Avi. 22 (Nalinikā), 70 (Vidūṣaka); Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭṭā); Bāla; 50 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Madhyama; 4 (Brāhmaṇī); Ūru. 101 (Gāndhārī); Abhi. 54 (Sītā); Cāru. 16 (Śakāra); Pratimā. 5. (Sītā); etc.

In the above instances we have the root-form *dissa-*. On the other hand, in a number of other places the later form *dīsa-*, with the simplification of the conjunct, has been used. The relation *dissa-* : *dīsa-* is the same as that of *kissa* : *kīsa* discussed in paragraph 6. According to PISCHEL *dissa-* occurs in the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina canon, but *not* in the dramas, which substitute *dīsa-* instead (PISCHEL § 541). This later form *dīsa-* is met with in our dramas only in: Avi. 28 (Vidūṣaka), 91 (Vasumitrā); Pratijñā. 54 (Vidūṣaka); Cāru. 16 (Śakāra). It is worth noting that in one instance (Cāru. 16) the two forms occur on the same page and are placed in the mouth of the same character (Śakāra). The remarks made in paragraph 6 on the relation of the forms *kissa* : *kīsa* are also applicable here. It is interesting to note that the passive base *dissa-* is in use not only in Pāli, but also in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (LÜDERS 58).

11. *vaaṁ* (= Skt. *vayam*).

Svapna. 31 (Vidūṣaka); Avi. 93 (Vasumitrā); Cāru. 49 (Vidūṣaka).

In Svapna. (p. 31) the word is spelt *vayaṁ*; but in conformity with the orthography of the manuscripts of our dramas, which omit the intervocalic *y*, the reading *vaaṁ* should be adopted also in this instance. The form proper to Śaurasenī, to which dialect all the above passages belong, is *amhe* (PISCHEL 419). But it is interesting to note that Vararuci (12. 25) and Mārkaṇḍeya 70, according to PISCHEL § 419, permit the use of *va(y)-aṁ* in Śaurasenī. And again in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa we do actually meet with an instance of the use of *vayaṁ* in a dialect which is probably Śaurasenī (LÜDERS 58). The form *amhe* does not occur in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. And in our plays it occurs, as far as my

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[16] In the paradigma of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. PISCHEL gives the form *tuvaṁ* for the nom. and acc. sing., but he encloses it in square brackets.

[17] It should be remarked that *amh-* is the regular base of the oblique cases of this pronoun, and that *amhe*, accus., is regular in all dialects.

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observation goes, only three times : twice, curiously enough, in the sense of (the nomi- [259]-native case of) the dual *āvām* (Abhi. 48 ; Pratimā. 58), and once in the accusative[17] case (Pratimā. 35). *va(y)aṁ* may therefore be regarded as a form peculiar and proper to the older Prakrits.

SUMMARY.

Above have been set forth a number of peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar in which the Prakrit of our dramas differs from that of the dramas of Kālidāsa and other classical playwrights. Every one of these peculiarities is shared by the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. In some instances the archaic and the more modern form are used side by side in our dramas : e.g. *amhāaṁ* and *amhāṇaṁ* ; *tuvaṁ* and *tumaṁ kissa* and *kīsa ; dissa-* and *dīsa-*; *arh-*, *arih-* and *aruh-*. But in other instances the archaic forms are used to the exclusion of the later forms : for example *ahaḳe* (later *hage*), *va(y)aṁ* (later *amhe* Nom. Plu.) *tava* (later *tumha*), *karia* (later *kadua*), and *āma* (obsolete). The absence of doubling of the initial of the particle *khu* and *ĕ* and *ŏ* may be taken to indicate an epoch when the shortening of the final *e* and *o* had not yet taken effect. Worthy of special note are the forms *ahake* and *āma,* which not only are unknown to later Prakrit, but are not the regular tadbhavas of any Sanskrit words. It should also be remembered that *ahake* and *va(y)aṁ* (used in our plays practically to the exclusion of *hage* and *amhe* respectively) are noticed in Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa,* which is believed to be the oldest Prakrit grammar extant.

The affinities with Aśvaghoṣa's Prakrit pointed out above have a bearing on the age of our dramas which will receive our attention in due course. Meanwhile it will suffice to note that these affinities go far to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections, for which the successive generations of scribes and 'diaskeuasts' should be held responsible, there lies in the dramas before us a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

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II. ON THE VERSIFICATION OF THE METRICAL PORTIONS OF THE DRAMAS.*

The following notes are the result of an attempt to study intensively certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas which seemingly distinguish the latter from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. The present investigation deals mainly with the metres and the metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages. The analysis of the metres comprises, besides a review of the metres conducted with special reference to the preponderance of the Śloka, a tabular conspectus of the metres (arranged in the order of frequency) showing the number of occurrences of each according to the dramas in which they are found, and secondly, a list showing specifically the distribution of the verses in each metre in the several plays. The section dealing with the solecisms has a twofold purpose: firstly, to ascertain their exact number and nature, and secondly to discuss their significance. Other aspects of versification, such as Alliteration, Rhyme, and Figures of Speech, will be considered in a separate article dealing with the Alaṁkāras.

Analysis of Metres.

Specifically, the verses[1] in each metre occur in the several plays as follows:

Śloka, Svapna. I. 2, 7, 10, 15; IV. 5, 7–9; V. 6–11; VI. 3, 6, 7, 9, 11–14, 16–19: Pratijñā. I. 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 15-17; II. 5[2]–7, 10, 11, 13; III. 3, 7–9; IV. 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20–22, 24–26: Pañca. I. 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 48-54; II. 4, 6, 8, 12-14, 16, 17, 19–21, 23, 25, 28, 34, 36–38, 41, 47–50, 52, 53, 55–59, 61–69, 71; III. 9, 10, 13, 15, 17–21, 23–26: Avi. I. 4; II. 4, 10; IV. 7, 14; V. 3; VI. 3, 6–8, 12–14, 17, 22: Bāla. I. 3, 11–13, 15–17, 20, 25–27; II. 8, 9, 11, 13–19, 25; III. 7–10, 12, [109] 13, 16; IV. 10, 12; V. 14, 16–20: Madhyama 2, 7, 12–23, 28–31, 33–40, 42–45, 47, 49, 50: Dūtav. 1, 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 20, 25–27, 29–31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 55, 56: Dūtagh. 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24—26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37–40, 42, 44, 48–50: Karṇa. 2, 7, 12, 25: Ūru. 33, 37, 41–44, 46, 49, 50, 62, 64, 65: Abhi. I. 3, 8, 12, 15, 18–21, 23, 24; II. 3, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18–20, 23, 24; III. 5, 6, 8–11, 13–15, 18, 20, 22, 24–26; IV. 4, 8–11, 14, 16, 19–22; V. 2, 5, 8–10, 12, 14, 17; VI. 8–10,

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* [*JAOS*, 41-107-130].

[1] Prakrit verses are marked with an asterisk (*).

[2] In verse 5 of the second Act of the Pratijñā., b is defective.

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[108] TABLE OF METRES

	Svapna.	Pratijñā.	Pañca.	Avi.	Bāla.	Madhyama.	Dūtav.	Dutagh.	Karṇa.	Uru.	Abhi.	Cāru.	Pratimā.	Total.
1 Śloka	26	29	76	15	37	33	22	22	4	12	68	17	75	436
2 Vasantatilaka.....	11	8	9	27	26	6	13	8	6	16	15	12	22	179
3 Upajāti[3].....	2	4	19	23	19	3	7	7	2	6	10	7	12	121
4 Sārdulavikrīdita....	6	5	9	5	4	1	2	8	2	21	15	5	9	92
5 Mālinī.....	...	5	7	3	6	4	7	2	6	7	11	4	10	72
6 Puṣpitāgrā	2	3	4	11	2	3	2	...	...	...	22	2	4	55
7 Vaṁśastha[4].....	...	3	12	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	4	35
8 Śālini.....	3	4	6	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	3	22
9 Śikhariṇi	2	1	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	5	19
10 Praharṣiṇī[5]	...	...	3	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	4	1	3	17
11 Āryā	3	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	11
12 Sragdharā	...	...	...	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	1	8
13 Hariṇī	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	4	8
14 Vaiśvadevī[6]	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	5
15 Suvadanā[7]	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	4
16 Upagiti[8]	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
17 Daṇḍaka[9]	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
18 [10]	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
19 Drutavilambita.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
20 Pṛthvī	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
21 Bhujaṁgaprayāta[11]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
22 Vaitāliya[12].....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
23 [13].....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total.....	57	67	152	97	103	51	56	52	25	66	154	55	157	1092

18, 20, 22, 23, 25–29, 35 : Cāru. I. 7, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28 ; III. 12, 14–17, 19 ; IV. 2, 3, 5, 7 : Pratimā. I. 4, 6, 9–13, 15–17, 19–21, 23, 24, 26–28, 31 ; II. 3, 5, 6, 8–12, 15–18, 20 ; III. 4–6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24 ;

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[3] Including Indravajrā and Upendravajrā. Schema : ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

[4] Schema : ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

[5] Schema : – – –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

[6] Schema : – – – – –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –

[7] Schema : – – – – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –

[8] Schema : a and c 12 moræ ; b and d 15 moræ.

[9] Schema : ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ + 7 amphimacers.

[10] 'Abbreviated Daṇḍaka' (24 syllables) ; its schema : ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ + 6 amphimacers. See below.

[11] Schema : ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ; or four consecutive bacchii.

[12] See below, footnote 18.

[13] Undetermined Prakrit metre. Its schema is :

– – ⏑ – ⏑ – – | – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –

– – ⏑ – ⏑ – – | – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –

(a and c 12 moræ ; b and d 14 moræ).

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IV. 3–5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26, 28 ; V. 6, 8, 9, 12–15, 20–22 ; VI. 5, 9–11, 13–15 ; VII. 5, 8, 13, 15.

Vasantatilaka, Svapna. I. 4, 6, 11 ; IV. 2 ; V. 1–3 ; VI. 2, 4, 5, 15 : Pratijñā. I. 4, 6 ; II. 2, 9 ; III. 4 ; IV. 5, 7, 8 : Pañca. I. 18, 29, 34, 37, 39 ; II. 27, 31, 42 ; III. 22 : Avi. I. 2, 6, 11 ; II. 1, 2, 7, 13 ; III. 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15–17, 19 ; IV. 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 22 ; V. 2, 7 ; VI. 1, 11, 19 : Bāla. I. 5, 8, 23 ; II. 1–4, 6, 7, 10, 21, 22 ; III. 2, 5, 14 ; IV. 6, 8, 11, 13 ; V. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15 : Madhyama. 1, 3, 8, 11, 27, 48 : Dūtav. 3–5, 11–14, 23, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54 : Dūtagh. 1, 5, 11, 14, 23, 35, 45, 52 : Karṇa. 4, 6, 9, 16, 21, 24 : Ūru. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 22, 31, 32, 36, 40, 54, 59, 60, 66 : Abhi. I. 1, 4, 9, 11 ; III. 21, 27 ; IV. 7, 13, 23 ; V. 4, 7, 13, 16 ; VI. 1, 7 : Cāru. I. 2, 5, 8*, 9, 11, 18 ; III. 1, 2, 5, 10, 18 ; IV. 4 : Pratimā. I. 7, 8, 22 ; II. 2, 4 ; IV. 1, 2, 16, 22, 24 ; V. 10, 11 ; VI. 4, 6, 7, 12 ; VII. 4, 6, 7, 9–11.

Upajāti (including *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*), Svapna. V. 5, 13 : Pratijñā. I. 5, 12 ; II. 1 ; IV. 3 ; Pañca. I. 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 27, 31, 40, 43, 46, 47 ; II. 9, 11, 30, 60, 70 ; III. 3, 12, 14 : Avi. I. 3, 9, 10 ; II. 8, 9, 12 ; III. 6, 18 ; IV. 2, 6, 15–17, 21 ; V. 1, 5 ; VI. 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 20, 21 : Bāla. I. 2, 4, 7, 21[14], 22, 24, 28 ; II. 5, 12, 20, 23, 24 ; III. 4, 6 ; IV. 4, 5, 9 ; V. 2, 7 : Madhyama. 9, 41, 51 ; Dūtav. 9, 18, 19, 22, 28, 52, 53 ; Dūtagh. 2, 9, 10, 16, 19, 30, 36 : Karṇa. 13, 17[15] : Ūru. 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 55 : Abhi. I. 26 ; II. 14 ; III. 3, 19 ; IV. 6 ; V. 1, 11 ; VI. 14, 21, 32 : Cāru. [110] I. 4, 10*[16], 12*, 23* ; III. 3, 7 ; IV. 1 : Pratimā. I. 1, 29 ; III. 15 ; IV. 9, 13, 25 ; V. 3–5 ; VI. 16 ; VII. 3, 14.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Svapna. I. 3, 8, 12 ; IV. 1 ; V. 4, 12 : Pratijñā. I. 8 ; III. 5, 6 ; IV. 13, 17 : Pañca. I. 4, 5, 9, 55 ; II. 26, 29, 39 ; III. 6, 7 : Avi. III. 3, 20 ; IV. 4, 10, 11 : Bāla. I. 1 ; III. 3 ; IV. 1, 7 : Madhyama. 26 : Dūtav. 24, 32 : Dūtagh. 3, 8, 12, 22, 27, 34, 41, 51 : Karṇa. 10, 15 : Ūru. 1, 4, 13–18, 21, 23–25, 28, 29, 34, 35, 51–53, 58, 63 : Abhi. I. 5 ; II 4, 6, 10, 22 ; III. 1 ; IV. 1, 2 ; V. 6 ; VI. 3, 16, 19, 30, 31, 34 : Cāru. I. 6 ; III. 6, 8, 11, 13 ; Pratimā. I. 3, 5 ; II. 2, 19 ; IV. 23, 27 ; V. 1, 16 ; VI. 3.

Mālinī, Pratijñā. I. 11, 14 ; II. 3 ; IV. 4, 14 : Pañca. I. 38, 45 ; II. 5, 15, 45 ; III. 2, 4 : Avi. II. 5 ; III. 2 ; IV. 9 : Bāla. I. 9, 10 ; III.

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[14] Pāda a of verse 21 of the first Act of the Bāla. is a Vaṁśastha line.

[15] Pāda b of verse 17 of the Karṇa. is a Vaṁśastha line.

[16] Pāda a of verse 10 of the first Act of Cāru. is defective. Perhaps we have to read *ṇubandhaantī* instead of *aṇubandhaantī* of the text ; cf. the (Prakritic) loss of the initial of *adhi* in epic verse and that of *api* in the compound (*a*)*pihita* (from *api* + *dhā*) even in classical Sanskrit. Or better still, in view of the position of the cæsura, delete the final syllable *hi* of *amehi* and read *amhe' aṇubandhaanti, amhe* being the shorter form of the Instr. Plu. ; cf. PISCHEL, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen,* § 415.

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11, 15; IV. 3; V. 12 : Madhyama. 5, 6, 32, 46 : Dūtav. 10, 35, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48 : Dūtagah. 43, 46 : Karṇa. 1, 3, 14, 18–20 : Ūru. 6, 20, 26, 27, 39, 56, 57 : Abhi. I. 16, 25; II. 8, 9, 21, 26; IV. 15; V. 15; VI. 4, 6, 11 : Cāru. I. 13, 14, 17, 29 : Pratimā. I. 14, 25; III. 9, 21; IV. 10, 21; V. 7; VII. 1, 2, 12.

Puṣpitāgrā, Svapna. I. 5; VI. 1 : Pratijñā. II. 12; IV. 6, 10 : Pañca. I. 17, 30; II. 35, 51 : Avi. II. 11; III. 4, 9, 11, 13; IV. 12, 20; V. 4; VI. 4, 9, 18 : Bāla. I. 14; V. 9 : Madhyama. 4, 24, 25 : Dūtav. 6, 37 : Abhi. I. 6, 14, 22; II. 2, 5, 11, 17, 25; III. 2, 16, 23; IV. 3, 5, 12, 18; V. 3; VI. 2, 12, 13, 17, 24, 33 : Cāru. I. 16, 20 : Pratimā. II. 21; IV. 18; V. 19; VI. 8.

Vaṁśastha, Pratijñā. III. 2; IV. 19, 23 : Pañca. I. 20, 25; II. 1, 18, 32, 33, 43, 44; III. 1, 8, 11, 16 : Avi. IV. 23 : Bāla. I. 18 : Madhyama. 10 : Dūtav. 21 : Dūtagh. 13, 33 : Karṇa. 8, 11, 22, 23 : Ūru. 8 : Abhi. I. 2 : Cāru. I. 3, 15*, 26; III. 4 : Pratimā. III. 13; IV. 20; VI. 1, 2.

Śālinī, Svapna. I. 13; IV. 6; VI. 10 : Pratijñā. I. 13, 18; II. 14; IV. 12 : Pañca. I. 22, 28; II. 2, 10, 40, 46 : Avi. I. 7; III. 5 : Bāla. I. 29 : Dūtagh. 20 : Abhi. I. 13 : Cāru. III. 9 : Pratimā. II. 13; III. 18; V. 17.

[111] *Śikariṇī,* Svapna. I. 14, 16 : Pratijñā. II. 4 : Pañca. I. 3, 14, 21; II. 7, 22, 24 : Avi. I. 5; II. 3; III. 14; Ūru. 61 : Abhi. IV. 17 : Pratimā. II. 14; III. 1, 2, 22; IV. 7.

Praharṣiṇī, Pañca. II. 3, 54; III. 5 : Avi. I. 8; IV. 3 : Bāla. I. 6; V. 13 : Dūtagh. 4 : Karṇa. 5 : Abhi. I. 7, 10, 17; III. 17 : Cāru. IV. 6 : Pratimā. I. 30; IV. 6; V. 18.

Āryā, Svapna. I. 1; IV. 3, 4 : Pratijñā. IV. 1* : Bāla. I. 19*; III. 1*; V. 4* : Cāru. I. 1*, 21 : Pratimā. I. 2; II. 7.

Sragdharā, Avi. I. 1, 12; IV. 19 : Bāla. IV. 2 : Dūtav. 51 : Abhi. III. 7, 12; Pratimā. IV. 17.

Hariṇī, Svapna. VI. 8 : Dūtagh. 47 : Ūru. 5, 10 : Pratimā. I. 18; III. 17; IV. 8; V. 2.

Vaiśvadevī, Svapna. I. 9 : Pratijñā. I. 3; II. 8 : Abhi. II. 1; VI. 5. —*Suvadanā,* Pañca. I. 6 : Dūtav. 15 : Pratimā. III. 7, 11.—*Upagīti,* Bāla. V. 5*.—*Daṇḍaka,* Avi. V. 6.—'Abbreviated' *Daṇḍaka,*[17], Pratimā. III. 3. —*Drutavilambita,* Abhi. III. 4.—*Pṛthvī,* Avi. II. 6.—*Bhujaṁgaprayāta,* Abhi. VI. 15.—*Vaitālīya*[18], Pratijñā. III. 1*.—? (Undermined Prakrit metre), Pratijñā. IV. 2*.

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[17] See p. 112 below.

[18] Read b as: *pīdiṁ-upādēduṁ uvaṭṭhi(d)ā.* The Vaitālīya stanza should have 14 moræ in a and c, and 16 in b and d; all the pādas, moreover, should end

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The lists given above supplement incidentally the data of the metrical collections of STENZLER, edited by KÜHNAU, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff., with the material placed at our disposal through the discovery of this important group of dramas. A comparison of our material with that brought together by STENZLER shows that, with the exception of what I have called above the 'abbreviated Daṇḍaka' of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poesy.

In the Hindu works on Sanskrit prosody we come across a group of metres which have this characteristic in common that they, on analysis, are found to consist of six light syllables followed by a series of amphimacers. The best known variety is the [112] Daṇḍaka with its sub-classes, consisting of six light syllables followed by seven or *more* amphimacers.[19] A well-known example is *Mālatīmādhava*, V. 23, which is a metre of 54 syllables consisting of six light syllables and sixteen amphimacers. Metres of the same scheme consisting of less than twenty-seven syllables are not unknown and are cited by prosodists under different names.[20] The shortest of these, formed of twelve syllables (six light syllables and two amphimacers[21]), is called Gaurī in Piṅgala's *Chandassūtra*. According to the commentator Halāyudha, there are between the Gaurī and the shortest Daṇḍaka (of twenty-seven syllables) four other metres formed by the successive addition of one amphimacer, each having a special name. Piṅgala mentions the name of only one of them, namely, the one which contains four amphimacers.[22] In the different manuscripts of the text and the commentary it is variously called Vanamālā, Mahāmālikā, Nārāca, etc.; the names of the other three have not been handed down. Now we have in our dramas an instance (Pratimā. III. 3 : *patitam iva śiraḥ pituḥ*, etc.) of one of the unnamed metres referred to in Halāyudha's commentary. It has twenty-four syllables consisting of six light syllables and six amphimacers. This metre differs from the shortest Daṇḍaka in containing only one amphimacer less than the minimum number requisite; I have accordingly called it the 'abbreviated Daṇḍaka'. It may be noted that the verse cited above is the only instance hitherto discovered of this rare metre. Besides the 'abbreviated Daṇḍaka', our dramas include also an example of the fuller form with twenty-seven syllables (Avi. V. 6).

Among the fixed syllabic metres the Vasantatilaka and the Upajāti (including the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā) are the favourite metres of the

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in an amphimacer followed by an iambus. The first part of c is defective, in that it measures only five moræ instead of the six, which are necessary. Note that the close of all the four pādas answers correctly the requirements of the definition.

[19] Vide the Daṇḍakas in STENZLER's collections, *ZDMG* 44. 1. ff.

[20] Piṅgala 7. 33 ff. (WEBER, *ISt.* vol. 8, pp. 405 ff.) and Piṅgala 8. 5 (WEBER, l. c. p. 419), for which references I am indebted to Prof. Franklin EDGERTON.

[21] Schema : ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

[22] Piṅgala 8. 17, and Halāyudha (WEBER, l. c.).

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author. Out of a total of 1092 verses (Sanskrit and Prakrit) included in the dramas there are 179 Vasantatilakas[23] and 121 Upajātis.[24] Among the metres of the Sanskrit verses, the five metres Bhujaṁgaprayāta, the 24-syllable 'Daṇḍaka', the 27-syllable Daṇḍaka, Drutavilambita and Pṛthvī [113] occur only once each. Worth noting is perhaps the fact that there are no examples of these five metres in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas[25]; for it shows at any rate that they did not figure very conspicuously in them.

A metre which deserves special mention is the Suvadanā, one of the metres which these dramas have in common with the Aśvaghoṣa fragments. Our list includes four instances of this uncommon metre : two in the Pratimā. (III. 7, 11) and one each in the Pañca. (I. 6) and the Dūtav. (verse 15). The Suvadanā[26] (a metre of twenty syllables) differs from the Sragdharā (twenty-one syllables) only in its final foot; the first fifteen syllables of both have the identical schema; yet there are far fewer instances of the Suvadanā in Sanskrit literature than of the Sragdharā. Until the discovery of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's plays there was only one solitary example known of its use in a drama; that was *Mudrārākṣasa* IV. 16, which, by the way, was mistaken by STENZLER[27] for Sragdharā. But now we have besides quite a number of instances in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, to which Prof. LÜDERS has drawn attention in his remarks on the versification of those plays.

The Āryā, which must originally have been a Prakrit metre, and its varieties, are used very sparingly by our author, though they figure so prominently in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* and the dramas of Kālidāsa. In our plays there are only eleven Āryās (of which five are Prakrit) and one (Prakrit) Upagīti. Compare with this Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśī* which has as many as 31 Āryās out of a total of 163 verses, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* with 35 Āryās out of a total of 96 verses.

There are in this group of plays thirteen Prakrit verses, of which five are Āryās, one Upagīti, three Upajātis, one Vaṁśastha, a (defective) Vaitālīya, and lastly an undetermined Prakrit measure; the last may be only a piece of rhythmic prose. The versification of the Prakrit verses does not call for any special comment.

We shall now turn to the consideration of a unique feature of the versification of these dramas, namely, the preponderance of the Śloka. The analysis of the metres shows that out of 1092 verses which these dramas contain, 436 are Ślokas : in other words the Śloka forms nearly forty per cent. of the total, which, it [114] will be admitted, is a remarkable high proportion.

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[23] Including one in Prakrit. [24] Of which three are in Prakrit.

[25] LÜDERS, *Bruchstücke Buddhisticher Dramen*, Berlin 1911.

[26] Its schema is : – – – – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –.

[27] Kühanan ZDMG 44. 1 ff.

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Indeed in many individual dramas of this group the proportion rises still higher : in some it is as high as fifty per cent. and in a few it is higher still. In the Svapnavāsavadattā there are 26 Ślokas out of a total of 57 verses ; in the Dūtaghaṭotkaca 22 out of 52 ; in the Pañcarātra 76 out of 152 ; and in the one-act play Madhyamavyāyoga there are as many as 33 Ślokas out of a total of 51 verses. Notably the proportion of this metre is very low in the Avimāraka,[28] where there are only 15 Ślokas out of a total of 97 verses.

It is well known that works of the epic, Purāṇic, devotional, and Śāstric or didactic order formed the field par excellence of the Śloka. The dramatists made use of this unpretentious metre rather sparingly ; they must have found it too commonplace. The later fixed syllabic metres with their sonorous and complicated rhythms were more suited to their flamboyant style. The greater the number of these in a play the greater the camatkāra, the greater the skill of the playwright. For this reason, it seems to me, the simple Śloka epicus lost ground in the drama, where it must have once figured prominently in favour of the fancy metres. The old Triṣṭubh of the vedic and epic literature, however, maintained its popularity even in the classical period. A few figures are quoted to show the actual proportion, in different dramas, of the Ślokas to the total number of verses[29]. Bhavabhūti is the only dramatist of the classical period who employs the Śloka on a large scale in two of the three plays attributed to him. Out of a total of 395 verses in the *Mahāvīracarita,* 129 are Ślokas ; while in the *Uttararāmacarita* the ratio is 89 : 253 ; the Śloka thus forms about a third of the total number of verses in these dramas. This is the highest proportion reached in any one drama or a group of dramas by the same author, except the dramas which are the subject of these Studies. In the *Mālatīmādhava* the ratio drops to 14 : 224. In the plays of Kālidāsa the Ślokas are few and far between. For the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the figures are 17 :96 ; for *Śakuntalā* 36 :230 ; for the *Vikramorvaśī* 30 : 163. We may further compare the figures for other dramas. In the *Ratnāvalī* [115] the ratio is 9 : 85 ; in the *Nāgānanda* 24 : 114 ; in the *Mudrārākṣasa* 22 : 163 ; in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* 53 : 204 ; in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* 36 : 190 ; in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* 85 : 336 : in these dramas the Śloka thus forms on an average about 20-25 per cent. of the whole. *These figures make abundantly clear that the preference for the Śloka is a feature of metrical technique in which our plays differ from all dramas of the classical age.*

As to the structure of the Śloka it may be remarked that the posterior pāda has invariably the diiambic close ; sometimes even at the sacrifice of grammar as in Pratimā. III. 8 : *pratimāṁ kiṁ na pṛcchase,* where the final

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[28] In the other non-epic dramas of this group the proportion is not so low ; in Svapna. it is 26 : 57 ; Pratijñā, 29 : 67 ; Cāru. 17 : 55.

[29] The figures have been computed from the data of STENZLER's collections, *loc. cit.* They will be of course different for the different recensions and editions.

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is, as a matter of fact, a syllable anceps. The prior pāda ends as a rule with the pathyā foot ⏑ – – ⏓ ; occasionally however it ends with one of the vipulā forms. Concerning the vipulās the following particulars will be found to be of interest. There is a complete absence of the fourth vipulā, and comparative rarity of the second ; noticeable is also a partiality for the first vipulā which is used about twice as frequently as the third variety. In the third vipulā the cæsura is without exception after the fifth syllable, which usually follows ⏓ – ⏑ – . The precedent foot of the first vipulā is commonly ⏓ – – – or ⏓ ⏑ — — and only occasionally ⏑ – of which latter, as is well known, the post-epic style has increasingly fewer cases.[30]

The analysis given above shows that the Śloka of our drama is of the refined type, not different at all from the classical model. The percentage of vipulā forms in these Ślokas is somewhat lower than in the classical epics like the *Raghuvaṁśa, Kumārasaṁbhava, Kirātārjunīya* and *Śiśupālavadha.* One reason for the low proportion may be the following. In epic and lyric poetry, where the Ślokas (whenever they form the running metre of a whole adhyāya or chapter) follow each other in scores and hundreds, the vipulā forms crept in inevitably and may even have been introduced as an agreeable change from the monotonous rhythm of an immutable octosyllabic scheme. With the limited number of the Ślokas occurring in a drama it was comparatively easier to produce a larger proportion of 'good' Ślokas ; moreover owing to the intervening prose and the sprinkling of fancy metres the need for variation was not as keenly felt.

In connection with this predilection for the Śloka epicus I [116] may draw attention briefly here to certain passages individualised by containing shorter or longer runs of Ślokas. Here the prose is unimportant, while the verses with fancy metres are mostly lyrical ; the Śloka is in these passages the dynamic element. A typical instance is the section of the Madhyamavyāyoga from verse 12 to verse 45. This passage, containing 34 verses, includes as many as 28 Ślokas, and only 6 fancy metres. Moreover, it will be noticed, the dialogue is carried on in simple unadorned Ślokas, the contents of which are not at all lyrical but include just what is necessary for the progress of the action of the drama. The prose cannot be entirely dispensed with, but it makes the distinct impression of being secondary in importance. Another such passage is Pañca. Act II from verse 47 to the end. It includes 25 verses of which as many as 21 are Ślokas and only four fixed syllabic metres. A piece shorter still is Pratimā. Act I from verse 9 to verse 28, which includes a group of 16 Ślokas punctuated with 4 fancy metres. These passages rather suggest to my mind rudimentary attempts at dramatisation which are not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.

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[30] JACOBI, *Das Rāmāyaṇa,* pp. 80 ff.; *ISt.* vol. 17. 443 f.

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The following list of set phrases and conventional comparisons (the number of which can easily be increased[31]) borrowed by our author directly from the epics illustrates in a striking manner how deeply he is indebted to the epic sources for his inspiration.

(i) acireṇaiva kālena, Pratimā. IV. 26 c; with the variation sucireṇāpi kālena, *ibid.* 26 a	[32]acireṇaiva kālena, MBh. 9. 2. 58; Rām. 5. 26. 23; 6. 61. 20, etc.
(ii) kampayann iva medinīm, Pañca. II. 21	kampayann iva medinīm, MBh. 2. 29. 7; 8. 34. 58; 9. 18. 26, etc., Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 101; Rām. 6. 56. 13; 67, 115; and variations, MBh, 3. 78. 3; 9. 30. 60; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 62. 31; Rām. 3. 67. 13. Also compare such expressions as nādayann iva medinīm, purāyann iva medinīm, and dārayann iva medinīm occurring in the epics.
[117] (iii) śaktiḥ kālāntakopamā, Abhi. VI. 8	sākṣāt kālāntakopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 157. 50; Rām. 6. 88. 2; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 45. 19. Cf. also kālāntakayomopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 22. 31; 27. 25; 4. 33. 25; (Gorr.) 3. 32. 5; 6. 49. 36, etc.
(iv) nayāmi Yamasādanam, Pratimā. V. 22	anayad Yamasādanam, MBh. 6. 54. 81; 7. 19. 15; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 34. 31; 75. 28. Compare also yiyāsur Yamasādanam, MBh. 1. 163. 10-; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 57. 23.
(v) prasādaṁ kartum arhasi, Pañca. II. 68	prasādaṁ kartum arhasi, MBh. 9, 35. 72; Rām. 4. 8. 19; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 110. 7, etc.
(vi) madasalalitagāmī mattamātaṅgalīlaḥ, Abhi. II. 9; and, mattamātaṅgalīlaḥ, Abhi. IV. 15	mattamātaṅgagāminam, MBh. 3. 80. 14; 277. 9; Rām. 2. 3. 28; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 61, etc.
(vii) saṁbhramotphullalocanā, Dūtav. verse 7; Cāru. IV. 3	vismayophullalocanāḥ, MBh. 1. 136. 1; 13. 14. 386; Rām. 7. 37. 3, 29; Rām. (Gorr.) 4. 63. 10, etc.
(viii) sucireṇāpi kālena, Pratimā. IV. 26 a	(See above the references under no. i).

And lastly (ix) with the following phrases from the *bharatavākya*
imām api mahīṁ kṛtsnām, in Pratijñā., Pañca., Avi., and Abhi.;
mahīm ekātapatrāṅkām, in Svapna., Bāla., and Dūtav.;
rājā bhūmiṁ praśastu naḥ, Pratimā.;

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[31] Only such passages have been enlisted below as occur in both the epics, and occur there very frequently.

[32] In this list *MBh.* refers to the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata*; *Rām.* to the Bombay edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; GORRESIO's edition is distinguished from the latter by the addition of Gorr, in parentheses.

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compare the hemistich from the Mahābhārata :

ya imāṁ pṛthivīṁ kṛtsnām ekacchatrāṁ praśāsti ha.—MBh. 12. 321. 134.

In conclusion I shall add a few words on the structure of the verses. The style of the author is notably simple and vigorous. The lucidity of the verses is due as much to the absence of long and complicated compounds as to the arrangement of words and phrases chosen with due regard to the position of the cæsura ; almost invariably the cæsura falls at the end of a complete word. The half-verse is in general independent of the rest of the verse in sense ; but often it is connected with it syntactically. Inside the half-verse the pādas are sometimes even euphonically independent ; for instance, Bāla. II. 4 there is hiatus between a and b *vigāhya ulkām*, a phenomenon common in the epics[33] but rare in the [118] works of the classical period. On the other hand metre requires the sandhi[34] in Pañca. I. 19 (a and b) : *mitrāṇy ācāryam*.[35] Without the sandhi we should have a superfluous syllable in a, and a metrically faulty line ; with the sandhi we have a perfect Upajāti line. Pratimā. IV. 24d, which commences with the enclitic *me*, shows again that c and d are to be treated as a single sentence ; for, an accentless word cannot stand at the beginning of a pāda any more than at the beginning of a sentence. Instances of the sacrifice of grammar are discussed in a separate section. Here it will suffice to draw attention to the rhythmic lengthening in *anūkarṣa* (Pañca. II. 7) and the use of the uncommon *pārṣṇī* (with the long final) in Svapna. V. 12 and *maulī* in Ūru. verse 59 (see PW. s. v.) ; the form *pārṣṇī*, it should be added, is not metrically conditioned. Similar lengthening of the stem-vowel is to be observed in *niyatī* (Pratimā. I. 21), in the sense 'destiny', of which only the form with the short *i* is cited in the dictionaries.[36]

Metrical Solecisms (Sanskrit)

The list of solecisms in the language of these dramas appended by Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrī to his edition of the Pratimānāṭaka (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XLII) is a contribution to literary history of which the full import appears not to have been generally realised. The significant thing is not the fact that some solecisms have been found in these dramas. Every Sanskrit work, I suppose, if submitted to a rigorous examination by a competent critic, will yield at least a few grammatical errors, which is not to be wondered at in view of the history of the language and the intricacies of its grammar. The interest about the solecisms in our dramas lies principally in their character and their number. I am persuaded that it will not be pos-

[33] See Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 197 f.

[34] Seldom in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

[35] Compare a very similar instance in *Mālatīmādhava* X. 1 (a and b) : *viśeṣaramyāṇy āceṣṭitāni*.

[36] To the word with the long final, a different meaning is assigned by lexicographers.

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sible to name a reputable author of the classical period whose work or works could be shown to contain a proportionate number of grammatical 'mistakes' of the same order as those about to be discussed.

[119] The first requisite in this connection was to ascertain exactly the points in which the language of these dramas differs from the literary Sanskrit of the classical period. Admirable as the list prepared by the learned Pandit is, it seemed to me that it needed, for the purpose in view, revision and rearrangement in certain respects. The list of Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ includes, on the one hand, certain items which do not strictly belong there; on the other hand, it omits certain others which have an important bearing on the subject. For instance, the Prakrit examples, to which the rules of Pāṇini's grammar cannot be expected to apply, have been palpably misplaced. It seemed to me also best to separate the solecisms occurring in the verses, of which the form is fixed by the metre, from those occurring only in the prose passages, which are more liable to be mutilated in the course of transmission. Again, certain details in the Pandit's list refer only to metrical[37] irregularities and have no connection with grammatical solecisms as such. Lastly, certain positive solecisms, which were explained away by the editor in the footnotes of the text editions of the various dramas[38] and therefore not considered at all subsequently, had to be added to the list. Through these additions and omissions a new list resulted. This list, appended below, includes only such metrical forms as offend against the literary Sanskrit as represented in the works of the classical age. It may be added that the dramas contain a few more irregularities in the non-metrical portions, which by their nature are not as certain and in their character not as important; they will be dealt with later in another connection.

Few scholars, if any, will be prepared to accept Pandit Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ's chronological scheme in which a date is assigned to the author of these dramas prior to the period of Pāṇini, for whom the now commonly accepted date is *ca.* 500 B.C. The posteriority of these dramas with reference to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is, I may say, axiomatic. Taking our stand on this assumption we have to understand and explain the solecisms as best as we can. It has been surmised that when grammar has been sacrificed we have in the vast majority of cases to do with metrical necessity; obviously the corresponding correct forms would not otherwise have been found in other passages where metrical considerations [120] do not interfere. What has perhaps been lost sight of is that these solecisms are not arbitrary, but that they belong to a well-defined class of irregularities, irregularities which are common enough in certain branches of Sanskrit literature, but which now, for the first time, have been shown to exist in the drama also.

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[37] See Pratimā. IV. 24; Bāla. II. 4; Abhi. VI. 30.
[38] See Bāla. II. 11, and Svapna. V. 5.

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The category of works in which similar deviations have hitherto been met with are of the epic, Purāṇic and Śāstric order. These works are known to contain abundant instances of ungrammatical and almost promiscuous use of the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada forms; examples of irregular feminine participles, absolutives and a variety of other abnormalities like those met with in our dramas. Such violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are particularly common in the epics; they have accordingly been regarded as forming 'epic Sanskrit'. The free use of the 'epic' solecisms in a drama is, as already observed, a new factor in our knowledge of the Hindu drama, and is particularly worthy of our attention in connection with the theory concerning the part that epic recitations have apparently played in the evolution of the Hindu drama, at least of its epic variety.[39]

It is plain that our dramatist derives his authority for the use of the irregular forms from epic usage. Such being the case, the question naturally arises whether the author, in exercising this licence, went so far as to invent new and spurious forms as occasion demanded them, or whether he had availed himself merely of such solecisms as were sanctioned by epic usage. The correspondence, if proved, would bring to a sharper focus the dependence of our author upon the epic source. As the following analysis will show, the solecisms of our dramas can indeed, with but insignificant exceptions, be *specifically* traced back to the epics. Quotations from the epic sources have been added in order to facilitate reference and comparison.

The solecisms have been arranged under the following heads: (i) Irregular sandhi; (ii) use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada, and (iii) vice versa; (iv) change of conjugation; (v) irregular feminine participle; (vi) irregular absolutive; (vii) simplex for the causative; (viii) irregular compounds; (ix) irregular syntactical combination; and (x) anomalous formations.

[121] List of Solecisms

Irregular Sandhi

1. *putraḥ + iti = putreti*

jñāyatāṁ kasya putreti.—Bāla. Act II. Verse 11.

Here metri causa the hiatus (between *a* and *i*) required by Skt. grammar has been effaced. The emendation suggested by the editor, *putro 'bhūt* for *putreti*, is uncalled for. This is a clear case of 'epic' sandhi. Instances of the effacement of the hiatus effected by the combination of the remaining final *a* with the following vowels are exceedingly common in epic Skt.; a common example is *tatovāca* (= *tataḥ + uvāca*), quoted by Whitney, *Sans-*

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[39] Lüders, Die Śaubhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas. *Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1916.

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krit Grammar, § 176b ; for examples from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see BÖHTLINGK, 'Bemerkenswerthes aus Râmâjaṇa'.[40] Cf. also no. 2 below. It should be noted that this solecism could not be an accidental slip ; it must be the result of a conscious effort. It is needless to add that there are no examples of such a sandhi in the prose of the dramas.

2. *Avantyāḥ + adhipateḥ = Avantyādhipateḥ*

smarāmy Avantyādhipateḥ sutāyāḥ.—Svapna. V. 5.

Here again we have a conscious effacement of the hiatus between *ā* and *a*. The editor tries to circumvent the assumption of a 'mistake' by explaining *Avantyādhipati* as a compound of *Avanti+ā+adhipati*, evidently an unsatisfactory explanation. Instances of such effacement are exceedingly common in the epics and the earlier texts. See WHITNEY's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 177b ; HOLTZMANN[41] cites the instances from the *Mahābhārata* and BÖHTLINGK from the Rāmāyaṇa,[42] which need not be reproduced here. This is the only instance in these dramas of the effacement of similar hiatus.

[122] Use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada

3. *gamiṣye*

gamiṣye vibudhāvāsam.—Bāla. V. 19.

Metri causa the Ātm. form is used in order to save a syllable, though, as is well known, in classical Skt. the root *gam* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations ; of course in prose passages where metrical considerations do not interfere, the Parasm. is regularly used by our author. The Parasm. form (*gamiṣyasi*) occurs also in Madhyama. verse 47. In his list of Skt. roots WHITNEY marks *gamiṣyate* with E. An epic example is

Rām. 5. 56. 29 : gamiṣye yatra Vaidehī.

4. *garjase*

kiṁ garjase bhujagato mama govṛṣendra.—Bāla. III. 14.

As in the preceding instance the Ātm. form is used metri causa here in order to secure a long final. In classical Skt. the root *garj*, when used as root of the first class, takes exclusively Parasm. terminations. PW. quotes a number of instances of the use of the middle pres. part. from the epics, but not any of the middle pres. ind. Where the pres. part. is used, the middle pres. ind. could be used with equal justification, if the necessity arose. I therefore explain the solecism on the ground of epic usage.

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[40] For four books of the Rāmāyaṇa : *Berichte d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 213.

[41] See HOLTZMANN, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, p. 4.

[42] BÖHTLINGK, *op. cit.*

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5. *drakṣyate* (Active)

katham agaṇitapūrvaṁ drakṣyate taṁ narendraḥ.—Pratijñā. I. 11.

As in the foregoing instance the Ātm. is used in order to secure a long final ; in classical Skt. the future is formed exclusively with Parasm. terminations. Epic examples of the Ātm. future are

Rām. 1. 46. 13 : bhrātāraṁ drakṣyase tataḥ,
Ibid. 2. 6. 23 : Rāmaṁ drakṣyāmahe vayam,
Nala. 12. 93 : drakṣyase vigatajvaram.

Other examples (cited in PW.) are : MBh. 3. 14728 ; 13. 964 ; Hariv. 10735; and Rām. 2. 83. 8 ; 3. 42. 49.

6. *pṛcchase*

strīgatāṁ pṛcchase kathām.—Pañca. II. 48.
pratimāṁ kiṁ na pṛcchase.—Pratimā. III. 8.

In classical Skt. the root *pracch* is exclusively Parasm. ; the Ātm. termination is used here in order to have a long final. In [123] the first example the length is almost imperative for the sake of the compulsory diiambic close of the posterior pāda of the śloka ; in the second it is preferred, notwithstanding the fact that the final syllable of the pāda is a syllable anceps. The medium is used only for metrical reasons, as seen from Pañca. II. 6, which offers an example of the Parasm. *pṛcchati*. PW. quotes numerous instances of the use of the Ātm. from the epics, the Bhāgavata Pur., and Manu. The epic examples are

MBh. 1. 1451 : karmasiddhim apṛcchata,
Ibid. 3. 2583 : Damayantīm apppṛcchata ;
also MBh. 3. 12070 ; 13. 297.

7. *bhraśyate*

dāivaprāmāṇyād bhraśyate vardhate vā.—Pratijña. I. 3.

This is either the third pers. sing. of a root of the fourth class, or a passive form of the root. The classical usage knows only *bhraśyati* and *bhraṁśate* in the active sense. *bhraṁśate* could have been used without prejudice to the metre. As the form is not metrically fixed, it is difficult to say whether the author should be held responsible for it ; apparently all three mss. of the drama agree in containing the same reading *bhraśyate*. There is abundant authority in the epics for the form *bhraśyate*, whether regarded as active or passive. The epic examples are

MBh. 3. 603 : yair naro bhraśyate śriyaḥ,
Ibid. 3. 1048 : bhraśyate śīghram aiśvaryāt ;
Rām. 3. 45. 12 : ye tīkṣṇam anuvartante bhraśyante saha tena te,
Ibid. 6. 75. 36 : kiṁ cic cābhraśyata svaraḥ.

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8. *ruhyate*

kāle kāle chidyate ruhyate ca.—Svapna. VI. 10.

Here *chidyate* is passive; but *ruhyate* ('thrives') should be active. The classical Skt. admits only *rohati*. Now the whole phrase *chidyate ruhyate ca* is parallel to *bhraśyate vardhate vā*, Pratijñā. I. 3. It seems to me therefore better to emend the text reading to *rohate*, for which PW cites Bṛhatsaṁhitā 54. 95 : rohate sasyam. But the pass. *ruhyate* is quoted with the mark E. against it in WHITNEY's list of Skt. roots and is therefore not absolutely inadmissible. Either form (*ruhyate* or *rohate*) is repugnant to classical usage; and *rohati* is unsuitable here for metrical reasons.

[124] 9. *śroṣyate*

katham apuruṣavākyaṁ śroṣyate siddhavākyaḥ.—Pratijñā. I. 11.

Metri causa for *śroṣyati*. In classical Skt. the root *śru* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; but in the epics the Ātm. forms are remarkably common. The Parasm. form (*śroṣyasi*) occurs in Avi. II. 5. Epic examples of Ātm. are

Rām. (Gorr.) 5. 23, 18 : Rāmasya dhanuṣaḥ śabdaṁ śroṣyase ghoranisvanam,

Ibid. 5. 69. 26 : na cirāc chroṣyase dhvanim. (Note that the final of *śroṣyase* is prosodically long here.)

Other examples are : MBh. 9. 105, 107 ; 7. 2725 ; 13. 1119 ; 14. 424 ; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 120. 22 ; 5. 23. 18.

Use of Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada

10. *āpṛccha* (Imp. 2nd pers. sing.)

āpṛccha putrakṛtakān hariṇān drumaṁś ca.—Pratimā. V. 11.

Metri causa for *āpṛcchasva*, the only form possible in classical Skt. Even in the epics the only Parasm. form used is apparently the Imp. 2nd pers. sing. The epic example quoted in PW. is

MBh. 14. 403 : āpṛccha Kuruśārdūla gamanaṁ Dvārakāṁ prati. Svapna. 16 *āpṛcchāmi* occurs in a prose passage. It is to be noted that the sentence containing this word rests on the authority of one ms. only, and is not essential to the context; it may therefore be corrected or deleted, as deemed advisable.

11. *upalapsyati*

taṁ hatvā ka ihopalapsyati ciraṁ svair duṣkṛtair jīvitam.—Dūtagh. verse 8.

In classical Skt. the root *upa* + *labh* is never used with any but Ātm.

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terminations. The epics contain examples of Parasm. The Mahābhārata examples are

MBh. 7. 3070 : na te buddhivyabhīcāram upalapsyanti Pāṇḍavāḥ,
Ibid. 1. 1046 : tathā yad upalapsyāmi.

12-14. *pariṣvaja, pariṣvajati, pariṣvajāmi*

(a) gāḍhaṁ pariṣvaja sakhe.—Avi. VI. 1.
(b) dṛṣṭir na tṛpyati pariṣvajatīva sāṅgam.—Avi. III. 17.
(c) putraṁ piteva ca pariṣvajati prahṛṣṭaḥ.—Avi. IV. 9.
(d) pariṣvajāmi gāḍhaṁ tvām.—Bāla. II. 9.

[125] Examples a, b and d are metrically conditioned ; in example c the Parasm. appears to have been used on the analogy of the other forms. The present reading in example c is based on the authority of two mss. Compare example d with Madhyama. verse 22 : pariṣvajasva gāḍhaṁ mām, where metre does not stand in the way of the Ātm. form. Only epic examples are available for the use of Parasm.

MBh. 4. 513 : pariṣvajati Pāñcālī madhyamaṁ Pāṇḍunandanam,
Rām. 3. 38. 16 : Sītā yaṁ ca hṛṣṭā pariṣvajet.

Change of Conjugation[43]

15-16. *vījanti* ; *vījantaḥ* (pres. part.)

snehāl lumpati pallavān na ca punar vījanti yasyāṁ bhayāt
vījanto malayānilā api karair aspṛṣṭabāladrumā.—Abhi. III. 1.

Metri causa for classical *vījayanti* and *vījayantaḥ*, from *vīj* to fan or to cool by fanning. Epic examples of the use of *vīj* as a root of the first or sixth class are

Hariv. 13092 : vījanti bālavyajanaiḥ,
MBh. 7. 307 : jalenātyarthhaśītena vījantaḥ puṇyagandhinā.

Irregular Feminine Participle

17. *rudantī-*

svairāsano Drupadarājasutāṁ rudantīm.—Dūtav. verse 12.

The classical form is *rudatī*. But in the epics the form *rudantī* is particularly common, whenever metrical conditions call for it.

MBh. 2. 2249 : tathā bruvantiṁ karuṇaṁ rudantīm ;
Rām. 2. 40. 29 : śuśruve cāgrataḥ strīṇāṁ rudantīnāṁ mahāsvanaḥ,
Ibid. 2. 40. 44 : tathā rudantīṁ Kausalyām.

Other examples are : MBh. 3. 2686 ; Rām. 2. 40. 29 ; 3. 51. 42 ; 5. 26. 42.

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[43] This may be regarded as the use of the simplex for the causative.

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Irregular Absolutive

18. *gṛhya*

vyādhāmoṣmaṁ gṛhya cāpaṁ kareṇa.—Dūtagh. verse 20.

It is unthinkable that this form could be used by any poet of the classical period. In the epics, however, it is regularly substituted [126] for *gṛhītvā* whenever metre requires it. See WHITNEY's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 990a. Other irregular absolutives like this used in the epics are : *arcya, īkṣya, uṣya, tyajya, plāvya,* etc. Of these *gṛhya* is the commonest. HOLTZMANN cites thirteen examples from the Mahābhārata, adding that there are many more ; BÖHTLINGK (op. cit.) mentions nearly twenty examples from the Rāmāyaṇa.

Simplex for the Causative

19. *sravati*

śaraiś channā mārgāḥ sravati dhanur ugrāṁ śaranadīm.—Pañca. II. 22.

In epic Skt. the simplex is frequently used for the causative stem : HOLTZMANN (see WHITNEY's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1041) mentions *vetsyāmi* (for *vedayiṣyāmi*), *veda* (for *vedaya*), *ramantī* (for *ramayantī*), *abhivādata* (for *abhivādayata*), *cudita* (for *codita*), etc. I have not been able to trace a specific use of *sravati* for *srāvayati.*

20. *vimoktukāmā*

bhūyaḥ paravyasanam etya vimoktukāmā.—Avi. I. 6.

Metri causa for *vimocayitukāmā.* See the preceding. Specific use is not traceable elsewhere.

Irregular Compounds

21. *sarvarājñaḥ* (Acc. plu.)

utsādayiṣyann iva sarvarājñaḥ.—Dūtav. verse 9.

Used irregularly for *sarvarājān,* though not conditioned metrically. The reading is based apparently on the authority of three mss. The epics contain quite a considerable number of similar formations. Thus, MBh. 4. 527 *Matsyarājñaḥ* ; ibid. 1. 169 *Matsyarājñā* ; ibid. 9. 2756 *Yakṣarājñā* ; ibid. 14. 1997 *Dharmarājñā.*—Avi. p. 110 we have *Kāśirājñe* instead of the grammatically correct *Kāśirājāya.* This must be set down as the error of a copyist, for we have in the very same play the correct compounds *Sauvīrarājena,* and *Sauvīrarāja-Kāśirājau* (Avi. p. 11); and there is nothing, as far as I can see, that can be added in justification of the use of an incorrect form in a prose passage[43a].

[43a] [Except that the language was, to this author, too much a living thing to be comprest in a grammarian's straight-jacket. F. E.]

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[127] 22. *vyūḍhoras-*

vyūḍhorā vajramaddhyo gajavṛṣabhagatir lambapīnāṁsabāhuḥ.—Madhyama. verse 26.

Metri causa for *vyūḍhoraska-*, which is required according to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 151, and found used in Raghu. 1. 13 and Kumāra. 6. 51, as also in the MBh. and Rām. But the MBh. supplies itself a precedent for the use of the unaugmented stem *vyūḍhoras*, cf. MBh. 1. 2740. 4553.

23. *tulyadharma-*

evaṁ lokas tulyadharmo vanānām.—Svapna. VI. 10.

All three mss. of the drama read *tulyadharmo*. According to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 124 *dharma* at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound becomes *dharman*, a rule which is strictly observed in classical Skt. But in epics *dharman* is used freely also in Tatpuruṣa compounds and, vice versa, *dharma* in Bahuvrīhi compounds. HOLTZMANN cites

MBh. 12. 483 : rājan viditadharmo 'si.

The emendation *tulyadharmā* suggested by the editor is uncalled for.

Irregular Syntactical Combination

24. Use of *yadi* with *cet*

iṣṭaṁ ced ekacittānāṁ yady agniḥ sādhayiṣyati.—Avi. IV. 7.

This pleonasm (of which I have not seen any instances in classical Skt.) is, I think, to be traced also to the epics, from which here are two instances :

Rām. 2. 48. 19 : Kaikayyā yadi ced rājyam ;

MBh. 1. 4203 : yady asti ced dhanaṁ sarvam.

This combination of *yadi* and *cet* recurs in a prose passage of another drama of this group (Pratijñā. p. 70). And though the reading of the text is based on the concordant readings of three mss., the combination seems harsh, and hardly appropriate in prose.

Anomalous Formations

We shall now proceed to consider certain anomalous formations for which there seems to be neither grammatical justification nor literary authority.

[128] *pratyāyati*

na pratyāyati śokārtā.—Abhi. II. 24.

Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ explains it as *prati+ā+ayati* (from Rt. *ay* to go). To me it seems to be merely a confusion between the simplex *pratyeti* and the causative *pratyāyayati* ; or rather a haplological contraction of *pratyāyayati* with the meaning of the simplex. A similar ungrammatical contraction appears to be the one to be discussed next.

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26. *samāśvāsitum*

Laṅkām abhyupayāmi bandhusahitaḥ Sītāṁ samāśvāsitum.—Abhi. VI. 19.

This is a clear case of a poet's compromise between *samāśvasitum* and *samāśvāsayitum.*

The irregularity to be discussed next appears to be as arbitrary as the last two.

27. Stem *yudh* as masc.

mahārṇavābhe yudhi nāśayāmi...Svapna. V. 13.

As the adjective *mahārṇavābhe* in this pāda shows, the author treats the word *yudh* as a masculine noun. But it always appears as a feminine word in literature, and is quoted as such by lexicographers.

In addition to the above, Pandit Gaṇapati ŚĀSTRĪ mentions three other metrical forms as irregular. They are indeed irregular in so far that the formations are ungrammatical. But they appear to have been accepted in the literary dialect as good Sanskrit. The Pandit objects to the Ātm. use of *ruṣyate* (Pañca. II. 45). The Parasm. occurs, as a matter of fact, in Pañca. I. 38 and II. 58, 67 in verse and in Madhyama. p. 18 in prose; moreover in Pañca. I. 38 the Parasm. form is not metrically necessary. In spite of all this the Ātm. form is not wrong. WHITNEY cites it with E+in his list of Sanskrit roots, and according to APTE's dictionary (s. v. *ruṣ*) the form *ruṣyate* does occur, though 'rarely'. It is thus plain that it was a current form. The Ātm. of *abhikāṅkṣe* (Pratijñā. II. 4) is common in the epics: but even for the classical dialect, the dictionaries cite the root as Ubhayapadin. The imp. 2nd sing. *unnāmaya* (Pratimā. IV. 16=VII. 7) is also included by the editor in his list of solecisms. But *nāmayati* is cited by WHITNEY with the mark U. S.+; while PW. quotes both *namayati* and *nāmayati*, adding 'mit präpp. angeblich nur nāmayati'.

[129] Index of verses that have been shown to contain solecisms.[44]

Svapna. V. 5, 13; VI. 10
Pratijñā. I. 3, 11
Pañca. II. 22, 48
Avi. I. 6; III. 17; IV. 7, 8; VI. 1
Bāla. II. 9, 11; III. 14; V. 19
Madhyama. v. 26
Dūtav. vv. 9, 12

[44] It should be noted that the solecisms occur not only in the dramas which derive their plot from the epics and the Purāṇas, but also in the dramas of which the plot is drawn from other sources. No solecisms have been found in Karṇa, Ūru, and Cāru.

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Dūtagh. vv. 8, 20
Abhi. II. 24; III. 1; VI. 19
Pratimā. III. 9; V. 11

Of the twenty-seven solecisms dealt with above, three (nos. 25, 26 and 27) are anomalous and peculiar to these dramas; two (nos. 19 and 20) belong to a class not unrepresented in the epics; but the remaining twenty-two were shown to be specifically traceable to the epics themselves. Now of these twenty-two some may again be nothing more than instances of individual caprice; others may be the results of lapsus memoriæ, in other words, pure and simple blunders. But it would be, in my opinion, quite wrong to hold that they are all of a form purely arbitrary. And what is of moment is that for the majority of them it would be impossible to find authority in classical works. It seems to me beyond all doubt certain that the author derives his sanction for their use from a class of works different from the dramas of the classical epoch; they involve the deliberate exercise of a liberty which may justly be regarded as the prerogative of the rhapsodists.

Here follows a list of solecisms selected from the above and arranged in the order corresponding to the degree of certainty with which it can be said of them that they lie outside the range of the license enjoyed by classical dramatists: the effacement of hiatus in *putreti* and *Avantyādhipateḥ*; the absolutive *gṛhya*; the Ātmanepada of *gamiṣye*; the compound *sarvarājñaḥ*; the Ātmanepada of *pṛcchase*; the Parasamaipala of *āpṛccha pariṣvaja(ti)*, and *pariṣvajāmi*; and the fem. part. *rudantīm*.

[130] I am not oblivious of the fact that the classical rule allowed the use of *maṣa* for *māṣa*, provided that metrical norm was observed; but I am fully persuaded that no playwright of the classical age, who aspired not to pass for an ignoramus, would, to such a degree, indulge in a license which was little more than an unequivocal confession of incompetence. If, therefore, we attempted to find for our group of plays a place within the framework of the classical drama, we should first have to account for this apparent reaction from the tradition of the classical drama implied by the occurrence of the solecisms pointed out above.

SUMMARY

The foregoing investigation leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Sanskrit of the verses included in these dramas, which differs in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama, which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. But our conclusions regarding the Prakrit of these dramas, which formed the subject of the first Study, converged to the same point. They revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of the Middle Indian dialects older than that preserved

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in the classical drama. While the Prakrit betrays its affinities with the Prakrit of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics.

I will not venture to draw any definite chronological conclusions regarding the dramas from these divergences and affinities, nor attempt to account for them here. I shall content myself for the present with having stated the facts of the case.

Post-scriptum. It should have been made clear that the references to the Svapnavāsavadattā follow the pagination and the text of the *second* edition of the play, Trivandrum 1915.

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III.* ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CĀRUDATTA AND THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA.[1]

THE CLOSE CORRESPONDENCE between the anonymous fragment[2] *Cārudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛcchakaṭika*,[3] attributed to King Śūdraka, inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship, and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin.

It is commonly taken for granted[4] that the *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, a relation which does not, however, necessarily and immediately follow from the terseness or brevity of one, nor from (what amounts to the same thing) the length and prolixity of the other; for, in adaptation, abridgment is as common and natural a determining principle as amplification.[5] In view of the intrinsic importance of the question, it seemed, [60] therefore, desirable to undertake an unbiased and exhaustive investigation so as to remove (if possible) the haze of uncertainty surrounding the subject.

Only the resemblances between the two plays appear hitherto to have attracted any attention;[6] the differences between them, are, however, equally remarkable and much more instructive. A careful comparative study of the two versions produces highly valuable text-critical results, which help further the understanding of the plays and throw unexpected light on the subject of our inquiry.

Regarding their relationship there are only two logical possibilities: either, one of the plays has formed directly the basis of the other, or else both of them are to be traced to a common source. In the former case we

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* [*JAOS* 42. 59-74].

1 A paper presented at the One Hundred Thirty-third Meeting (Baltimore, 1921) of the Amer. Or. Soc., under the title: 'The Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika: their mutual relationship.'

2 See thereon my article, '"Charudatta"—A Fragment' in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), 1919.

3 Ed. N. B. GODBOLE, Bombay, 1896.

4 For instance, Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ in the Introduction to his editions of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* (p. xxxviii), and the *Cārudatta* (p. i); LINDENAU, *Bhāsa-Studien* (Leipzig, 1918), p. 11; and BARNETT (hesitatingly) *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. I, part III (1920), pp. 35 ff.

5 Some attempt has already been made in India to discredit the authenticity of the *Cārudatta*; see, for instance, Raṅgācārya RAḌḌÎ, *Vividha-jñāna-vistāra* (Bombay), 1916, and P. V. KĀṆE, *ibid.* 1920; Bhattanatha SVAMIN, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 45, pp. 189 ff.

6 See particularly Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ, *Svapnavāsavadattā*, Introduction, pp. xxxviii-xlii.

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are called upon to answer the question, which of the two plays is the original ; in the latter, which of them is closer to the original.

We cannot be too careful in deciding what is original and what is not. The original may have been concise and well-proportioned, and later clumsy attempts at improvement may have introduced digressions, tiresome repetitions and insipid elaborations ; on the other hand, the original may have been prolix and loose, and subsequent revision may have pruned away the redundancies. Again, one may feel justified in assuming that the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of the original would be corrected in a later revised version ; but one must also readily concede that a popular dramatic text like the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, after it had been written down, during its migrations through centuries over such a vast territory as India, may have undergone occasional distortion and corruption.

Every change, however minute, presupposes a cause ; even the worst distortion was ushered in with the best of intentions, and though it may not always be possible to trace a given change to its proper cause, we are safe in assuming that in a limited number of favourable instances the intrinsic character of the passages under consideration may spontaneously suggest the cause for the change, and readily supply a clue to the relative priority and posteriority of two variations. In isolated [61] instances we could say no more than that the change in a certain direction appears more probable than a change in the contrary direction. But the cumulative force of a sufficient number of analogous instances, all supporting one aspect of the question, would amply justify our giving precedence to that particular alternative and treating it as a working hypothesis.. The problem, therefore, before us is to collect such instances, in which the motive for the change is directly perceptible and capable of objective verification. The cumulative effect of the indications of these scattered traces should not fail to give us the correct perspective. This digression was necessary in order to explain the methodology underlying the present investigation.

The textual differences between the two versions comprise a large mass of details of varying importance. The selection presented below, though conditioned on the one hand by the requirements of the present inquiry, is by no means exhaustive ; for lack of space, only a few typical examples have been singled out for discussion.

A Selection of Significant Textual Differences.

We shall now proceed to a discussion of the textual variations, roughly classified here under four headings : 1. Technique ; 2. Prakrit ; 3. Versification ; and 4. Dramatic incident.

1. *Technique.*

In point of technique the *Cārudatta* differs from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (as from other classical dramas) in two striking particulars. In the first place,

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the usual nāndī is missing, in both the available manuscripts of the Cārudatta ; in the second place, there is no reference to the name of the author or the play in the sthāpanā, which does not contain even the usual address to the audience.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika*, as is well known, begins with two benedictory verses ; the name of the play is announced in the opening words of the sūtradhāra ; then follow five verses which allude to the play, the playwright,[7] and other details not directly connected with the action.

[62] Elsewhere[8] I have tried to show that the *Cārudatta* is a fragment. I hold, accordingly, that we should not be justified in basing our conclusions regarding the technique of termination on the data of the fragment preserved.

Worth noting appears to be the fact that in the stage directions of the *Cārudatta*, the hero is never called by his name or his rank, but merely by the character of the rôle he plays, nāyaka. Professor LÜDERS[9] has already drawn attention to two other instances of this usage (if it may be called a usage), namely, a drama belonging to the Turfan fragments, and the play *Nāgānanda* attributed to Harṣa. Prof. LÜDERS sees in it an archaism intentionally copied by the author of the *Nāgānanda*. At present we can, it seems to me, do nothing more than record this third instance of its occurrence in a play of uncertain age and authorship.

2. *Prakrit.*

In the first article of this series, it was shown in a general way that the Prakrit of the whole group of plays under consideration was more archaic than the Prakrit of the classical plays.[10] This statement holds good also in the particular case of the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.. A comparison of parallel passages in the two plays shows that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* invariably contains Middle-Prakrit[11] forms in place of the Old-Prakrit forms of the *Cārudatta*. Here are the examples.

The Absolutive of the roots *gam* and *kṛ*. Cāru. has the Old-Prakrit *gacchia* and *karia* (*kaḷia*) : Mṭccha. *gadua* and *kadua*. Cf. in particular Cāru. 1 *gehaṁ gacchia jāṇāmi* with the corresponding passage, Mṛccha. 7 *gehaṁ gadua jāṇāmi*. The form *gadua*, which never occurs in the Cāru., is used uniformly in the Mṛccha.—For the absolute of *kṛ* ;[12] *karia* [63] (Śaura-

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[7] The verses in the prologue which refer to the death of the alleged author are palpably later additions. This self-evident fact does not however, necessarily justify the assumption that there was no reference whatsoever to the author in the prologue of the original draft.

[8] See above, footnote 2.

[9] *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (*Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I*), Berlin, 1911, p. 26.

[10] Above, vol. 40, pp. 248 ff.

[11] LÜDERS, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[12] See above, vol. 40, p. 254.

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senī) Cāru. 46, *kaḷia* (Māgadhī) Cāru. 23 : *kadua* (Śaurasenī and Māgaḍhī) Mṛccha. 53, 212, 213, etc. In the Cāru. *kaḍua* never occurs ; conversely *karia* is never met with in the Mṛccha.

Pronoun of the 1st Person ; nom. sing. Cāru. 23 we have the Old-Māgadhī *ahake*[13] (but never *hage* or *hagge*) : Mṛccha. (passim) *hag(g)e* (but never *ahake*). Noteworthy is the following correspondence. Cāru. I. 12c *ahaṁ tumaṁ gaṇhia* : Mṛccha. I. 29c *eśe hage geṇhia*.—Nom. plu. Cāru. 49. has the Old-Prakrit *vaaṁ* :[14] Mṛccha. (passim) *amhe*. The form *amhe* (nom. plu.) is never met with in the Cāru., and conversely *vaaṁ* never occurs in the Mṛccha.

Pronoun of the 2nd Person ; nom. sing. Cāru. (passim) we have Old-Prakrit *tuvaṁ* :[15] Mṛccha. (passim) *tumaṁ*. Cf. especially Cāru. 34 *kiṁ tuvaṁ*. etc., with the corresponding passage Mṛccha. 79 *hañje tumaṁ mae saha*, etc.—Gen. sing. Cāru. uniformly *tava* :[16] Mṛccha. sometimes *tuha*. Cf. in particular Cāru. 25 *tava gehaṁ paviṭṭhā* with Mṛccha. 59 *tuha gehaṁ paviṣṭā*.

The Neuter plu. of nom. and acc. of thematic stems ends in the Cāru. invariably in *-āṇi* (*-āni* in the Aśvaghoṣa fragments) : in the Mṛccha. it ends in *-āiṁ*.

Treatment of the assimilated conjunct. Retained in Cāru. 16 *diśśadi*[17] (as in the Turfan fragments) : simplified in Mṛccha. [64] 41 *dīśantī*. The root-form *diśś-* (*diss-*) is never met with in the Mṛccha, which shows uniformly *dīś-* (*dīs-*).

Vocabulary. Cāru. uniformly *geha* (Skt. *gṛha*) : Mṛccha. 39 *ghala*. Cf. especially Cāru. 16 *edaṁ tassa gehaṁ* with Mṛccha. 39 *vāmado taśśa ghalaṁ*. —The Old Prakrit affirmative particle *āma*,[18] which occurs in Pali and the Turfan fragments and which figures so conspicuously in Cāru. (e.g. pp. 4, 20, 64, etc.), is never met with in the Mṛccha.—There is one other thing

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[13] See above, vol. 40, p. 253. Dr. Truman MICHELSON has drawn my attention to an article of his (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. 23, p. 129) in which he points out that the Māgadhī *ahake* occurs several times in the Devanāgarī recension of the Śakuntalā. The paragraph on this word in my article cited above needs modification in view of this fact. The statement that *ahake* is archaic is none the less correct.

[14] See above, vol. 40, p. 258.

[15] See above, vol. 40, p. 257. In the references under no. 9 the last item 'Cāru. 2 (Naṭī)' is a mistake. Here *tuvaṁ* is used for the *acc.* sing., and not for the nom. sing. as implied. Accordingly, on the same page, in l. 6 from bottom, read 'thrice' instead of 'twice,' and add this instance. Cāru. instances of *tuvaṁ* (*nom.* sing.) are Cāru. 34 (Gaṇikā), 47 (Ceṭī), etc.

[16] See above, vol. 40, p. 257.

[17] See above vol. 40, p. 258.—The form *dīś-*, with the simplified conjunct, is met with on the same page (Cāru. 16), spoken by the same character, Śakāra.

[18] See above, vol. 40, p. 254.

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to be noted about the difference in the vocabulary of the two versions. While the Mṛccha. contains a number of Deśī words (not found in the Cāru.), the vocabulary of the Cāru. consists notably of pure tatsamas and tadbhavas. Here follow some of the Deśī words which occur in the Mṛccha. Mṛccha. 17 *chivia*, 'having touched,' from root *chiv* (Hem. 4. 182) with the reflexes in the Tertiary Pkts., Hindi *chūnā*, Marathi *śivaṇe*, 'to touch'; Mṛccha. 104 *ḍhakkehi*, 'shut,' from *ḍhakkai*, *ḍhakkei*, traced by PISCHEL (*Grammatik* 221) to a root **sthak*, with reflexes in the Tertiary Pkts., Hindi *ḍhāknā*, Marathi *ḍhākṇe*, 'to cover'; Mṛccha. 134 *uḍḍhehi*, 'open,' for which in the corresponding passage of the Cāru. (p. 19) we have a tadbhava of the root *apā* + *vṛ*,[19] and which for that reason is particularly worthy of note; Mṛccha. 207 *karaṭṭa-ḍāiṇī*, 'malevolent ogress' (cf. Marathi *kāraṭā*, a term of abuse, and *ḍākiṇ*, 'ogress').

3. *Versification.*

In the verses common to the two plays the *Mṛcchakaṭika* almost always offers better readings, of which a few are cited below.

For Cāru. I. 3 b *yathāndhakārād iva dīpadarśanam*, we have Mṛccha. I 10 b, *ghanāndhakāreṣv iva*, etc., in which *ghana-* is substituted for the tautologous *yathā*.

Similarly, instead of the Prakrit line Cāru. I. 10 b *jahā śigāḷī via kukkulehi*, containing the same fault, we have Mṛccha. I. 28 b *vaṇe śiāḷī via kukkulehiṁ*, in which *vaṇe* takes the place of *jahā*.

[65] For Cāru. I. 3 c *yo yāti daśāṁ daridratām*, we have Mṛccha I. 10 c *yo yāti naro daridratām*. It is correct to say *daśāṁ daridrām*, but *daśāṁ daridratām* is clumsy, to say the least.

Cāru. I. 23 a begins *eśā hi vāśū*; instead, we have Mṛccha. I. 41 a *eśā śi vāśū*. The *śi* which takes the place of *hi* eliminates the expletive *hi*, and adds moreover another sibilant to the row of alliterating syllables. In the same verse, for *kūjāhi kandāhi* of the Cāru., we have *akkośa vikkośa* in the Mṛccha, which serves better the purpose of the anuprāsa, the dominating alaṁkāra of this verse. Similarly in d, instead of *maheśśaḷaṁ* of the Cāru., we have *śaṁbhuṁ śivaṁ* in the Mṛccha., which latter reading contains an additional sibilant as well as a pleonasm.[20] These are minor details, but they all tend in the same direction.

For Cāru. I. 25 a *akāmā hriyate 'smābhiḥ*, we have Mṛccha. I. 44 a *sakāmānviṣyate 'smābhiḥ*. The reason for the change is not obvious, as in

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[19] The text reading is *avāvuda*, imp. 2nd sing., which is evidently incorrect. What the correct form should be I am unable to say. The initial letters *avāvu* of the word show unmistakably that the root is *apā* + *vṛ*.

[20] According to Lalla Dikshita, commentator of the Mṛcchakaṭika: *vyarthaikārtham apārthaṁ bhavati hi vacanaṁ śakārasya* (Mṛccha. 28).

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the foregoing instances. But a closer examination of the context will show that the reading of the Mṛccha. marks a distinct improvement, in so far as it implies a more minute analysis of character. In the Cāru. the ingenuous Viṭa inculpates Śakāra and himself by admitting that they were engaged in carrying away forcibly an unwilling maiden. In the Mṛccha. the artful Viṭa, readily inventing a plausible lie and explaining that they were following a girl who was willing, offers undoubtedly a much better excuse.

Cāru. I 29a describes the moon as *klinnakharjūrapāṇḍu*, 'pale as the moistened fruit of the date' : Mṛccha. I. 57 a has *kāminīgaṇḍapāṇḍu*, 'pale as a maiden's cheek.' The former is original and naïve, the latter polished but hackneyed ; the latter harmonizes better with the sentiment of śṛṅgāra which pervades the last scene of the first act, and is more in keeping with the tradition of the later enervated rasa theory.

For Cāru. III. 3 d *viṣāṇakoṭīva nimajjamānā*, 'like the tip of a tusk sinking in the water', the Mṛccha. (III. 7 d) has *tīkṣṇaṁ viṣāṇāgram ivāvaśiṣṭam*, 'like the sharp tip of a tusk that alone remains visible'. As far as the sense goes there is not much to choose between them ; but the line from the Cāru. [66] contains one serious defect. In classical Skt. the root *ni-majj* is used exclusively with Paras. terminations ; *nimajjamānā* is, in other words, nothing less than a gross grammatical blunder.[21]

With Cāru. III. 6 b *śauryaṁ na kārkaśyatā*, cf. Mṛccha. III. 12 b *cauryaṁ na śaurayaṁ hi tat. kārkaśyatā* of the Cāru. is an anomalous word, being a double abstract formation. The Mṛccha. eliminates this anomaly by substituting instead *caurya*, which, incidentally, rhymes with the succeeding *śaurya*.

These few instances[22] must suffice to illustrate the statement made above, that the Mṛccha. verses are largely free from the flaws of the corresponding verses of the Cāru. It should, however, be remarked that in a vast number of cases it is not possible to assign an adequate reason for the change : the different readings appear to be just arbitrary variations.

4. *Dramatic Incident.*

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* shows a marked improvement in the selection and arrangement of the incidents of the action.

The action of the *Cārudatta* begins with a soliloquy of the Vidūṣaka followed by a lengthy dialogue between the Nāyaka and the Vidūṣaka. The hero is conversing with his friend, deploring his poverty. This dialogue is brought to an abrupt end by the scene introducing Vasantasenā, who appears on the street outside pursued by the Śakāra and the Viṭa (Cāru. 10).

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[21] Similar solecisms, met with in other dramas of this group, are discussed by me in the second article of the series (above, vol. 41, pp. 121 ff.).

[22] It may be remarked that there are no verses in the second act of the *Cārudatta*, and only seven in the fourth act.

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In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (p. 25) the abruptness of the change of scene is skilfully avoided by the addition of the following words placed in the mouth of Cārudatta :

bhavatu | tiṣṭha tāvat | ahaṁ samādhiṁ nivartayāmi,

'Very well. Wait awhile and I will finish my meditation.'

These words of Cārudatta serve admirably to adjust the time relation of the different events. The playwright here unmistakably indicates that the succeeding scene, which introduces the offers of love by Śakāra, their indignant rejection by Vasantasenā, and her subsequent escape, develops during Cārudatta's [67] samādhi. Furthermore, as indicated by the subsequent words of Cārudatta (Mṛccha. 43) : *vayasya samāptajapo 'smi*, 'Friend, my meditation is over', Vasantasenā's reaching the door of Cārudatta's house coincides exactly in point of time with the emergence of Cārudatta from his samādhi. The words of Cārudatta quoted above, which serve to link together these various groups of incidents, are missing in the *Cārudatta.*

Here is another example. In the fourth act of the *Cārudatta* (p. 72), Sajjalaka comes to the house of the Gaṇikā to buy Madanikā's freedom. He stands outside the house and calls out for Madanikā. Madanikā, who is waiting on the heroine, hears him and, seeing that her mistress is musing on other things, slips away and joins Sajjalaka. The defect of this arrangement is obvious : it is inconsistent and illogical. With stolen goods in his possession Sajjalaka sneaks to the house of the heroine with the object of secretly handing over the spoils of his theft to Madanikā. Under these circumstances it is the height of indiscretion to stand outside the house of the heroine and shout for his mistress at the top of his voice. Again, if Madanikā is able to hear Sajjalaka, so should Vasantasenā, who is sitting close by, be able to hear him. Apparently she fails to do so owing to her preoccupation ; but this is a circumstance that could not have been foreseen even by a scientific burglar like Sajjalaka. The situation in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (p. 169) is much more realistic. On reaching Vasantasenā's house, Śarvilaka, instead of calling out for Madanikā, hangs about outside the house waiting his opportunity. The meeting of the lovers is brought about in the following manner. Soon after Śarvalika reaches the house of Vasantasenā, the latter sends away Madanikā on an errand ; on her way back, Madanikā is discovered by Śarvilaka, whom she thereupon naturally joins.

One more instance, which is the last. A time analysis of the first three acts of the *Cārudatta* will show that the incidents developed in these acts are supposed to take place on three *consecutive* days, the sixth, seventh and eighth of a certain lunar fortnight. Here are the specific references. *Cārudatta* 7, Vidūṣaka, in speaking of the Nāyaka, applies the adjective *saṭṭhīkidadevakayya* to him, which incidentally shows that that day was the sixth. Later on in the same act (Cāru. 30), addressing the Ceṭī, the Vidūṣaka says :

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[68] *saṭṭhīe sattamīe a dhārehi | ahaṁ aṭṭamīe aṇaddhāe dhāraïsaṁ.* The arrangement he proposes is that the Ceṭī should guard the jewels of the Gaṇikā on the sixth and the seventh, and that he should take over the charge of them on the eighth. In the third act we have a confirmation of the same arrangement. Cāru. 53, Ceṭī remarks :

iaṁ suvaṇṇabhaṇḍaṁ saṭṭhīe saṭṭamīe (pariveṭṭhāmi ?) | aṭṭhamī khu ajja.

The Ceṭī, appearing before the Vidūṣaka, with the jewels, on the night of the eighth, points out that she has guarded them on the sixth and the seventh, and adds that that day being the eighth it is the turn of the Vidūṣaka. Later on in the same act (Cāru. 65), the Brāhmaṇī, the hero's wife, incidentally mentions that she was observing on that day the Fast of the Sixth,[23] to which the Vidūṣaka pointedly retorts that that day was the eighth and not the sixth.[24] These various references leave no doubt that the events that form the action of the first three acts are supposed to take place within the span of three consecutive days.

There are in the plays some further chronological data, which we must also take into consideration. They comprise two lyrical stanzas which describe respectively the rising and the setting of the moon. In that elegant verse (Cāru. I. 29) beginning with

udayati hi śaśāṅkaḥ klinnakharjūrapāṇḍuḥ

the moon is described as *rising*, late in the evening, after the lapse of a short period of darkness following upon sunset, during which Vasantasenā escapes from the clutches of the evil Śakāra. In the third act, on his way home from the concert, Cārudatta, in a lyrical mood, recites another verse (Cāru. III. 3), beginning with

asau hi dattvā timirāvakāśaṁ
astaṁ gato hy aṣṭamapakṣacandraḥ,[25]

and having for its theme the *setting* moon.

[69] This is the chronological material of the *Cārudatta.* Let us turn for a moment to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and examine its data. Here also apparently the same conditions prevail. Apparently the events of the first three acts take place on three consecutive days, but only apparently so. There is nothing in the play itself from which the duration of the action could be precisely computed.

To begin with, the reference to the *ṣaṣṭhī* is missing from the opening words of the Vidūṣaka in the first act. In place of *saṭṭhīkidadevakayya* of

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[23] The words of the Brāhmaṇī are, *ṇaṁ saṭṭhiṁ uvavasāmi.*

[24] The Vidūṣaka observes : *aṭṭhamī khu ajja.*

[25] Translation : 'For yonder the Moon of the Eighth, giving place to darkness, has sunk behind the western mount.'

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the *Cārudatta*, we have the reading *siddhīkidadevakajja*, in which *siddhī* takes the place of *saṭṭhī*. Likewise we find that all subsequent references to the lunar dates are missing from the succeeding speeches of the Vidūṣaka and the Servant. An entirely different scheme has been adopted for the division of labour between the Vidūṣaka and the Servant. The Servant explains in the third act (Mṛccha. 137) the arrangement arrived at as follows :

ajja mittea edaṁ taṁ śuvaṇṇabhaṇḍaaṁ mama divā tuha lattiṁ ca,

'Maitreya, here is the golden casket, that's *mine by day and yours by night*'; no reference here to the *ṣaṭṭhī*, *sattamī* and *aṭṭhamī* of the *Cārudatta*. This is not all. The verse from the third act of the Cāru. cited above, containing a reference to the date, has also been substantially modified. Cāru. III. 3 b specifically states the date to be eighth : *astaṁ gato hy aṣṭamapakṣacandraḥ*. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version the line reads (Mṛccha. III. 7 b) : *astaṁ vrajaty unnatakoṭir induḥ*. The phrase *unnatakoṭi* has taken place of *aṣṭamapakṣa*, which brought in its train, naturally, the change of *gato* to a word like *vrajati*.[26] It is true that later on, in the same act of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (p. 159), the Vadhū, Cārudatta's wife, refers to *saṭṭhī*, saying that she is observing the *raaṇasaṭṭhī* (*ratnaṣaṣṭhī*).[27] But here also a significant omission confronts us. The Vidūṣaka, instead of correcting her, accepts her statement with the necklace, and there the matter rests.

[70] As remarked above, apparently the joint duration of the first three acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is also three days. But I have grave doubts whether any strict proof can be brought forward to support such an assumption. I have read the drama carefully and I have failed to find any allusion that necessitates such a time scheme. However that may be, it is absolutely certain that the specific references of the *Cārudatta* to the lunar dates are conspicuous by their absence in the other play.

At this place it may be observed that the tithi-scheme of the *Cārudatta* taken in conjunction with the references to moon-rise and moon-set in the verses already cited involves a chronological inconsistency, so minute and so latent as to be hardly noticeable. But the inconsistency is, nevertheless, an undeniable fact. For, the rising of the moon late in the evening and the setting of the moon at or about midnight[28] are phenomena that inherently belong to two *different* lunar fortnights. Only in the dark fortnight does the moon rise late in the evening : and only in the bright fortnight does the moon set at or shortly after midnight. In other words, if the moon is seen rising late in the evening on any particular day, it is nothing less than a physical

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[26] The present tense *vrajati* gives better sense than the past *gato*, in regard to the simile contained in lines c and d.

[27] Instead of the vague *saṭṭhī* of the *Cārudatta* we have the more specific *raaṇasaṭṭhī* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

[28] According to the words of the hero, just preceding the verse *asau hi dattvā*, etc. (Cāru. III. 3) : *upārūḍho 'rdharātraḥ* (Cāru. 50),

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impossibility that after an interval of forty-eight hours the moon should be seen setting at or about midnight.

The general time-scheme of the *Cārudatta* has thus been shown to contain a latent contradiction from which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is wholly free owing to the absence therein of any specific references to the days on which the action takes place.

Are these variations arbitrary ; or are they directly or indirectly related ; and if so how ?

Summary and Conclusion.

Briefly summarized, the significant differences between the two versions discussed above are the following. Firstly, in point of technique, the *Cārudatta* differs conspicuously from the other play in the absence of the nāndī, and in having a rudimentary sthāpanā. Secondly, the Prakrit of the *Cārudatta* is more archaic than that of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, in so far that the [71] former contains a number of Old-Prakrit forms not found in the latter. Thirdly, as regards versification, the text of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* marks an advance upon the other play in the following directions : rectification of grammatical mistakes ; elimination of redundancies and awkward constructions ; and introduction of other changes which may be claimed to be improvements in the form and substance of the verses. Fourthly and lastly, because of suitable additions and omissions the *Mṛcchakaṭika* presents a text free from many of the flaws, such as unrealities and inconsistencies, in the action of the Cārudatta.

These are the facts of the case. Do these facts enable us to decide the question of priority and anteriority ?

Let us assume first, for the sake of argument, that the *Cārudatta* contains older material (at least in respect of the passage discussed above) which was worked up later into the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

The differences in the technique neither support nor contradict definitely such an assumption. The nāndī, for all we can say, may have been lost. The words *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* do not militate against such a supposition : they could be used with or without a nāndī appearing in the text. Moreover, we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, rightly evaluate the absence of all reference to the name of the play and the playwright in the sthāpanā.[29] To say that in pre-classical times that was the practice is begging the question. The only technique of introduction with which we are familiar is the well-known classical model. Again the only play which is definitely known to antedate the classical plays is the Turfan fragment of Aśvaghoṣa's drama. Unfortunately, as the beginning of the

[29] The references in the text-books of rhetoric and dramaturgy are obscure and partly contradictory.

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Śāriputraprakaraṇa[30] is missing, we are not in a position to say whether the prologue of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa conformed to the standard of the classical dramas, or that of the dramas of the group under consideration. We are therefore bound to admit that at present we have no clear evidence that can aid us in placing with any degree of assurance, [72] chronologically or topographically, a drama with the technical peculiarity of the *Cārudatta.*

But the priority of the *Cārudatta* version would explain, and satisfactorily explain, all the other differences between the two plays. It would explain the presence of archaisms in the Prakrit of the *Cārudatta.* It would explain why many of the verses of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are free from the flaws of the corresponding verses of the *Cārudatta*; the grammatical corrections one may be justified in regarding as an indication of an increasingly insistent demand for scrupulous purity of language. The hypothesis would lastly explain the reason for the differences in the incident of the action of the play. All this is legitimate field of 'diaskeuasis', and is readily intelligible.

Let us now examine the other possibility, and try to explain the divergences on the assumption of the priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version.

The question of the technical differences between the plays has been dealt with already. It was submitted that this part of the evidence was inconclusive; it supported neither one side nor the other.

We will proceed to the next point, the Prakrit.[31] On the assumption of the priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version, it is at first sight not quite clear, how the *Cārudatta* should happen to contain Prakrit forms older than those found in (what is alleged to be) a still older play. But a little reflection will suffice to bring home to us the fact that it is not impossible to account for this anomaly. We have only to regard the *Cārudatta* as the version of a different province or a different literary tradition, which had not accepted the innovations in Prakrit that later became prevalent. In other words we have to assume merely that the Prakrit neologisms of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are unauthorized innovations and that the *Cārudatta* manuscripts have only [73] preserved some of the Old-Prakrit forms of the original *Mṛcchakaṭika.*[32] This does not, however, necessarily make the *Cārudatta* version older than the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version. The *Cārudatta* would become a recension of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* with archaic Prakrit. Thus the Prakrit archaisms of the

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30 Ed. LÜDERS, *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1911.

31 Until we have before us most carefully edited texts, any linguistic conclusion based upon minute differences in the form of Pkt. words, as appearing in the text-editions employed, must needs be regarded as tentative, a point not sufficiently emphasized in my article dealing with Prakrit archaisms (above, vol. 40, pp. 248 ff.). It may, however, be pointed out that no amount of critical editing can disturb the general inference that the dramas of this group contain quite a number of Old-Pkt. forms.

32 Or that the Old-Prakrit forms had been substituted for the Middle-Prakrit forms, because the local tradition demanded the use of Old-Prakrit forms.

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Cārudatta may be said to be not irreconcilable with the general priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version.

It is much more difficult to explain why the *Mṛcchakaṭika* should consistently offer better readings of the verses. Some of the discrepancies could perhaps be explained away as the result of misreading and faulty transcript, but not all. We could not explain, for instance, why the excellent pāda : *tīkṣṇaṁ viṣāṇāgram ivāvaśīṣṭam* should have been discarded, and another, *viṣāṇakoṭīva nimajjamānā,* be substituted, forsooth with the faulty *nimajjamānā.* Why should there be a change in the first place, and *why should the change be consistently for the worse?* We could not reasonably hold the copyists guilty of introducing *systematically* such strange blunders and inexcusable distortions.

Let us combine the archaisms of the Prakrit with the imperfections of the Sanskrit verses. On the assumption of the posteriority of the *Cārudatta,* we are asked to believe that while the compiler of the *Cārudatta* had carefully copied out from older manuscripts all the Prakrit archaisms, he had systematically mutilated the Sanskrit verses, which is a reductio ad absurdum!

Let us proceed to the fourth point. The theory of the priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭika,* which could with difficulty be supported in the case of the divergencies already considered, breaks down altogether when we try to account for the inconsistencies in the action of the *Cārudatta* in general, and in particular the presence of the tithi-scheme, which latter serves no purpose, aesthetic or didactic, but on the other hand introduces gratuitously an indisputable incongruity. The deleting of the whole tithi-scheme admits of a simple, self-evident explanation, acceptable to every impartial critic. But, assuming [74] that the original play contained no trace of it, can any one pretend to be able to give a satisfactory reason for the deliberate introduction of the tithi-scheme?

Taking all things into account, we conclude, we can readily understand the evolution of a *Mṛcchakaṭika* version from a *Cārudatta* version, but not vice versa. The special appeal of this hypothesis lies in the fact that it explains not merely isolated variations, but whole categories of them : it implies the formulation of a single uniform principle to explain divers manifestations.

It may be that I have overlooked inconsistencies and flaws in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version, absent from the other, which could be better explained on the contrary supposition of the priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version. If so, the problem becomes still more complicated, and will need further investigation from a new angle. I merely claim that I have furnished here some prima facie reasons for holding that the *Cārudatta* version is on the whole older than the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version ; hence (as a corollary) if our *Cārudatta* is not itself the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika,* then, we must assume, it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is based.

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IV. A CONCORDANCE OF THE DRAMAS.[1]

Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ and other scholars after him, who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhāsa, have sought to justify their ascription of the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings.[2] The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must, however, be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them, although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common, do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately.[3] Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas, taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

[168] There is no doubt that every poet or dramatist of note has not merely a settled style but a settled diction of his own. This is particularly true of writers who are natural, and who do not strain after the unnatural, poignant and high-flown. The natural or ordinary element in the diction will recur, and recur frequently, in different works by the same author. It must, however, be borne in mind that the mere recurrence, in different works, of a limited number of ideas, phrases, and expressions, would not necessarily be sufficient evidence of common authorship. Such recurrence might after all be the result of conscious or even unconscious imitation. It is, in final analysis, the number and character of these repetitions and analogies that will count and enable us to decide the question.

The period of development of ancient Hindu literature was a period of communal art. Repetitions and analogies of thought and expression are therefore quite common. Particularly, in the case of a cramped literary form like the Sanskrit drama, it is to be expected that works of even different dramatists will betray a certain amount of family resemblance. Here we must be prepared for the recurrence of certain stock similies and metaphors, and for the reappearance of the familiar figure of the Vidūṣaka and his stock witticisms. We must be prepared for the exploitation of fossilized

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1 [*Annals BORI* 4. 167-187]

2 Ganapati SÂSTRÎ, Introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadatta* (2nd edition), p. xix f; LINDENAU, *Bhāsa-Studien*, p. 51; WINTERNITZ, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jg. IX, pp. 286 ff.

Sten KONOW (*Das indishe Drama*, p. 53) accepts Bhāsa's authorship for all dramas of this group except the Pratimā. See thereon WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.* p. 289.

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poetic conventions regarding certain trees such as the aśoka, regarding certain birds such as the cakravāka ; of certain well-worn dramatic situations such as the rescue of the hero or the heroine from the clutches of the infuriated elephant. We must expect to find here verses and verse-portions culled from epic, narrative and even didactic literature of the day that have been bodily reproduced, or that have been assimilated and have served as the nucleus of further inspiration. All this was common property, the literary stock in trade of every poet and dramatist who cared to make use of it. This and much else besides will be naturally ruled out as irrelevant in any careful examination, based on recurrence and analogy merely, of the question of the authorship of any anonymous Sanskrit drama.

[169] At the time of the discovery of these plays the novel technique implied by the position of the stage direction *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* at the head of the plays, and the use of the technical term sthāpanā (employed in these plays instead of prastāvanā to denote the prologue), were regarded as decisive factors. But since then quite a number of plays by different authors have been discovered in South India that show some of the same technical peculiarities.[3] These factors, therefore, lose all significance now in this inquiry, and can no longer be adduced as evidence of common authorship.

Intensive study of details is the only right method to be adopted in this instance. In such an intensive study it is evidently essential to make a most careful comparison of sentences and turns of expressions, and even of words and phrases, occurring in these dramas. The case will not be decided on the testimony or the presentation of isolated facts, however material they may appear to be ; but a conclusion can be made highly probable through the preponderance of evidence. We have to adopt the rigorous method of quantitative analysis, if we are to get *reliable* results. To facilitate such comparison and such investigation, I have prepared the present list of parallelisms and recurrences.

The scope of the article has been restricted to the presentation of material, which falls into the following six categories :—

(*a*) Entire stanzas ;
(*b*) Entire pādas of verses ;
(*c*) Longer prose passages ;
(*d*) Short passages ;
(*e*) Set phrases and rare words ;
(*f*) Echoes of thought.

The list records all instances of recurrence and parallelism that I have been able to trace in these dramas ; except that, in order to avoid unnecessary expansion, I have as a rule omitted notice of unimportant expressions recur-

[3] See WINTERNITZ, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jg. IX pp. 285 ff.

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ring in one and the same drama [170] but not found elsewhere; for, the list was formed primarily for the sake of comparing the diction of the different dramas. A second list is appended, which is a conspectus of the same material arranged on a different plan: it is in fact an analysis of the foregoing list. Here the recurrences and parallelisms have been arranged under the heads of the dramas in which they occur. This supplementary list will be especially serviceable when we undertake a critical examination of the claims of individual plays, a theme which will form the subject of a subsequent article of the series.

(i) List of Recurrences and Parallelisms[4]

a. Entire Stanzas.

1. imāṁ sāgaraparyantām himavadvindhyakuṇḍalām |
mahīm ekātapatrāṅkām rājasiṁhaḥ praśāstu naḥ ||
Svapna. VI. 19; Bāla. V. 20; Dūtav. v. 56

2. bhavantv arajaso gāvaḥ paracakraṁ praśāmyatu |
imām api mahīm kṛtsnām rājasiṁhaḥ praśāstu naḥ ||
Pratijñā. IV. 26; Avi. VI. 22; Abhi. VI. 35

3. limpatīva tamo' ṅgāni varṣatīvāñjanaṁ nabhaḥ |
asatpuruṣaseveva dṛṣṭir niṣphalatāṁ gatā ||[5]
Bāla. I. 15; Cāru. I. 19.

4. vakṣaḥ prasāraya kavāṭapuṭapramāṇam
āliṅga māṁ suvipulena bhujadvayena |
unnāmayānanam idaṁ śaradindukalpam
prahlādaya vyasanadagdham idaṁ śarīram ||
Pratimā. IV. 16; ibid. VII. 7

[171] *b. Entire pādas of Verses*

5. imaṁ sāgaraparyantām—Svapna. VI. 19; Bāla. V. 20 Dūtav. v. 56. Cf. catussāgaraparyantām—Bāla. IV. 10. (See *1*)

6. imām api mahīṁ kṛtsnām | rājasiṁhaḥ praśāstu naḥ—Pratijña. IV. 26; Pañca. III. 26; Avi. VI. 22; Abhi. VI. 35. (See *2* and *17*)

7. kathaṁ tiṣṭhati yātv iti—Pañca. II. 58; Pratimā. IV. 5 (var. *tiṣṭhatu* instead of *tiṣṭhati*)

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[4] In the citations, the roman and the arabic figures refer to the Act and the verse respectively. A single arabic figure refers to the *page* of the edition used, unless otherwise indicated. The *second* edition of the Svapna. has been cited throughout.

[5] This stanza occurs also in the *Mṛcchakatika* (ed. Godbole, I. 26), and is quoted in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (II. 233). See F. W. Thomas, *Kavīndravacana samuccaya* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1911), p. 105, and Pischel's Introduction to Rudraṭa's *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, pp. 16 ff.

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8. kiṁ vakṣyatīti hṛdayaṁ pariśaṅkitaṁ me—Svapna. VI. 4, 15; Abhi. IV. 7

9. gadāpātakacagrahe—Ūru. vv. 41, 62

10. candralekheva śobhate—Dūtav. v. 7; Cāru. I. 27. Cf. vidyullekheva śobhate—Abhi. II. 7. (See *120*)

11. tvaṁ pāṇḍavānāṁ kuru saṁvibhāgam—Pañca. I. 31, 47

12. dharmasnehāntare nyastā—Pratijñā. II. 7; Abhi. VI. 23

13. nṛpā bhīṣmādayo bhagnāḥ—Pañca. II. 41, 61

14. bhāratānāṁ kule jātaḥ—Svapna. VI. 16; Pratijñā, IV. 18

15. maṇiviracitamauliś cārutāmrāyatākṣaḥ | ... mattamātaṅgalīlaḥ Abhi. II. 9; IV. 15

16. yadi te' sti dhanuśślāghā—Abhi. III. 22; Pratimā. I. 20

17. rājasiṁhaḥ praśāstu naḥ—Svapna. VI. 19; Pratijñā. IV. 26; Pañca. III. 26; Avi. VI. 22; Bāla. V. 20; Dūtav. v. 56; Abhi. VI. 35. Cf. bhūmim ekaḥ praśāstu naḥ—Karṇa. v. 25, and rājā bhūmiṁ praśāstu naḥ—Pratimā. VII. 15. (See *1* and *2*)

18. śatrupakṣam upāśritya—Abhi. III. 24, 25 (var. *upāśritam* instead of *upāśritya*)

19. saṁbhramotphullalocanā[6]—Dūtav. v. 7; Cāru. IV. 3

e. Longer Prose Passages

20. atipāti kāryam idam | śīghraṁ nivedyatām—Pañca. 24 Abhi. 27 (repeats *nivedyatām*)

[172] *12.* ayam akramaḥ | ... atha kaḥ kramaḥ—Pañca. 7; Pratimā. 35

22. āpas tāvat ... yad ājñāpayati mahārājaḥ | niṣkramya praviśya) ... imā āpaḥ—Pañca. 10. 43; Abhi. 11; Pratimā. 38. Cf. Madhyama. 20; Pratimā. 67. (See *28* and *44*)

23. evam āryamiśrān vijñāpayāmi | aye kiṁ nu khalu mayi vijñāpanavyagre śabda iva śrūyate | aṅga paśyāmi | (nepathye)—in the prologues of Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi; of the remaining, in Pratijñā. Avi. and Pratimā, a naṭī is introduced

24. kadācid anṛtaṁ noktapūrvam | rājā : ā asty etat—Pañca. 30; cf. Pratijñā. 32 (var. *na ... anṛtam abhihitapūrvam*). Cf. also anṛtaṁ nābhihitapūrvam | —Bāla. 27

25. kiṁ edaṁ | ... edaṁ | idaṁ | idaṁ edaṁ | ... bhaṇādu bhaṇādu ayyo bhaṇādu—Svapna. 50; cf. kiṁ edaṁ | ... idaṁ | ... bhaṇādu bhaṇādu ayyo bhaṇādu—Pratijñā. 17

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[6] Cf. vismayotphullalocana—Mbh. 1, 136. 1; 13. 14. 386; Rām. (Bom. ed.) 7. 37. 3. 29; Rām. (Gorr.) 4. 63. 10, etc.

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26. kiṁ gūhase | mama khalu prāṇaiḥ śāpitaḥ syāḥ | yadi satyaṁ na brūyāḥ—Abhi. 37 f.; cf. kiṁ gūhase | svargaṁ gatena mahārājapādamūlena śāpitaḥ syāḥ | yadi satyaṁ na brūyāḥ—Pratimā. 95

27. kiṁ te bhūyaḥ priyam upaharāmi | .. yadi me bhagavān prasannaḥ kim ataḥ paramaham icchāmi—Avi. 110; and (with variation in) Pratijña. 73; Dūtav. 48; Abhi. 75; Cf. Bāla. 67 (in which the answer to the query is in verse form)

28. kutaḥ khalv āpaḥ | ... āpas tāvat | hanta sravati | (ācamya ...) —Madhyama. 20; Dūtav. 43. (See *22* and *44*)

29. gaccha | bhūyo jñāyatāṁ vṛttāntaḥ—Pañca. 30, 31. Bāla. 58; Abhi. 30, 59.

30. jayatu svāmī | jayatu bhadramukhaḥ | jayatu mahārājaḥ | jayatu rāvaṇāntakaḥ—Abhi. 73; cf. Pratimā. 113 (var. in different order)

31. (tataḥ praviśati ...)... ka iha bhoḥ kāñcanatoraṇadvāram aśūnyaṁ kurute | (praviśya) pratīhārī: ayya ahaṁ vijaā | kiṁ [173] karīadu | ... nivedyatām nivedyatām—Svapna. 69 (ms. kha); Abhi. 26; Pratimā. 90. Cf. also Abhi. 52

32. parityajantīva māṁ prāṇāḥ | imā gaṅgāprabhṛtayo mahānadyaḥ | etā urvaśyādayo' psaraso mām abhigatāḥ | eṣa sahasrahaṁsaprayukto vīravāhī vimānaḥ kālena preṣito māṁ netum āgataḥ | bhavatu | ayam ayam āgacchāmi | (svargaṁ gataḥ)—Abhi. 12 (ms. ka); cf. speech of the dying Rājā in Ūru. 114

33. praviśa tvam abhyantaram ... na khalu na khalu praveṣṭavyam—Svapna. 83; Pañca. 42

34. sītā: satto si | rāvaṇaḥ: hahaha | aho pativratāyā tejaḥ—Abhi 20; Pratimā. 86 (var. addition of a stage direction)

35. hī hī ṣuṭṭhu ṇaccidaṁ | ṣuṭṭhu gāidaṁ | jāva ahaṁ pi ṇaccemi—Pañca. 22; cf. 42 (var. *hī hī ṣuṭṭhu īdaṁ*[7] | *ṣuṭṭhu vāidaṁ* | *ṣuṭṭhu naccidaṁ* | *jāva* etc.). In both cases spoken by the character Vṛddhagopālaka

d. Short Passages

36. aṇṇaṁ ca (dāṇi) acchari(ī)aṁ—Pratijñā. 14, Cāru 7, 49; and aṇṇaṁ ca idaṁ acchaḷiaṁ—Bāla. 36; as also, ekaṁ pi tahiṁ acchariaṁ—Avi. 20

37. atisnigdham anurūpaṁ cābhihitaṁ—Svapna. 78; Pañca 46.

38. aho a(k)aruṇā (k)kkhu issarā—Svapna. 27, 62; Abhi. 23

39 aho balavāṁś cāyam andhakāraḥ | saṁprati hi—Bāla. 7; Cāru. 17

40. aho parijaṇassa pamādo—Svapna. 63; Avi. 54

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[7] Read here also *gāidam*?

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41. aho hāsyam abhidhānam—Pratijñā. 67, 71 ; Pañca. 48 ; Dūtagh. 66

42. aḷaṁ dāṇi bhavaṁ adimattaṁ saṁtappia—Svapna. 72 : Cāru. 8 (var. *saṁtapiduṁ* instead of *saṁtappia*); cf. mā dāṇiṁ bhaṭṭā adimattaṁ saṁtappiduṁ—Svapna. 77 ; and aḷaṁ adimattaṁ saṁdāvena—Avi. 83.

43. āḥ kasya mahārājaḥ—Pañca. 39 ; Bāla. 61

[174] *44.* āpas tāvat—Pratijñā. 21 ; Pañca. 10, 43 ; Madhyama 20 ; Dūtav. 43 ; Abhi. 11 ; Pratimā. 38, 67. (See *22* and *28*)

45. āśramapadavāramātram api saṁbhāvayiṣyāmaḥ—Madhyama. 25 ; Pratimā. 73 (with var. in the last word)

46. ussaraha (ussaraha) ayyā ussaraha—Svapna. 1, 2, 3 ; Pratijñā. 63, 65 ; Ūru. 99

47. ete smo bhoḥ | ete smaḥ—Ūru 88 ; Abhi 62

48. evam iva (Pkt. evam via), as whispered in the ear, Svapna. 51 ; Pratijñā. 17, 71 ; Avi. 40, 51 ; Cāru. 38 (twice), 76. [Read Cāru. 85 (1. 13) likewise *evaṁ via* instead of *evaṁ* of the text.]

49. esā gacchāmi mandabhāā—Svapna. 9 ; Pratijñā 17 ; Bāla. 6 ; Abhi. 6. Cf. Ūru. 193 ; gacchāmi mandabhāā

50. kā gatiḥ (Pkt. kā gaī)—Svapna. 9, 45 ; Pratimā : 49, 95

51. ko kālo—Svapna. 27, 32 ; Pratijñā. 56, 58 ; Cāru. 49. (See *52*)

52. ko kalo tumaṁ aṇṇesāmi—Svapna. 27, 32 ; Pratijñā. 58. (See *51*)

53. gacchatu. . .punardarśanāya (Pkt. gacchadu. . .puṇodaṁsaṇāa)—Svapna. 17 ; Avi. 67 ; Bāla. 67 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Cāru. 44. It is followed by : yad ājñāpayati bhagavān nārāyaṇaḥ, in Bāla. 67 and Dūtav. 48

54. ṇa me saddha (in the speech of the vidūṣaka)—Avi. 72 ; Cāru. 18, 30

55. tattahodī padumāvadī iha āacchia ṇiggadā bhave—Svapna. 40, 59

56. na śakomi roṣaṁ dhārayitum—Dūtagh. 69 ; Abhi. 19 ; Pratimā. 20

57. piaṁ de ṇivedemi—Svapna. 82 ; Cāru. 60

58. bāḍhaṁ prathamaḥ kalpaḥ[8]—Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 ; Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 : Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 9 ; Abhi. 69 ; Pratimā. 90

58a. bhūyo jñāyatāṁ vṛttāntaḥ—(See *29*)

59. mahārājasya pratyanantarībhavāmaḥ—Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 53 (var. *bhaviṣyāmi*)

[175] *60.* vaktukāmam iva tvāṁ lakṣaye—Pratijñā. 25 ; Abhi. 43

61. ṣantī hodu ṣantī hodu amhā(ṇ)aṁ godhanaṣṣa a—Pañca. 20, 21 ; Bāla. 35

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8 Almost invariably at the end of a scene or an act.

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62. sarvaṁ tāvat tiṣṭhatu (Pkt. savvaṁ dāva cịṭṭhadu or ṣavvaṁ etc.) Pratijñā. 58 ; Avi. 85 ; Bāla. 38 ; Cāru. 4, 66

63. savvaṁ āṇedu (bodhī) vajjia bhoaṇaṁ—Svapna. 32 ; Cāru. 80

64. sthito madhyāhnaḥ (Pkt. ṭhido majjhaṇho)—Svapna. 10 ; Pratijñā. 46

65. sthirīkriyatām ātmā—Pratijñā. 17, 52

e. Set Phrases and Rare Words

66. abhyantaracatuśśāla (Pkt. abbhantaraccaüssāla)—Svapna. 30 ; Cāru. 20, 26, 53. Cf. Mṛccha. act VI. (See *74*)

67. asaṁbhogamalinatayā (Pkt. asaṁbhoamaliṇadāe)—Cāru. 18, 84

68. āma. An affirmative particle frequently used in these dramas ; see references given in *JAOS* 40. 254. Outside the group of these dramas found generally in old Pāli texts, and a few times in the Turfan dramatic fragments, Prof. WINTERNITZ draws attention (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.* Jg. IX, p. 290) to its use in the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha,* 5, 114 and 9, 70

69. ekātapatra—Svapna. VI. 19 ; Avi. I. 1 ; Bāla. V. 20 : Dūtav. v. 56 ; Pratimā. VII, 1

70. kanakaracita—Pratijñā. IV. 4 ; Abhi. II. 2, 5 ; VI. 6, 11, Cf. kanakakhacita—Dūtav. v. 47

71. kamalāyatākṣa—Bāla. V. 15 ; Dūtav. v. 42. Cf. kamalāmalāyatkṣa --Bāla. V. 9

72. kṛtottarīya—Pratijñā. IV. 3 ; Dūtav. v. 3

73. kauḍumbika[9] (Pkt. koḍumbia)—Pratijñā. 46 ; Cāru. 84

74. catuśśāla[10] (Pkt. caüssāla)—Svapna. 26, 30, 67 ; Avi. 23, 42, 86 ; Cāru. 20, 26, 53 ; Pratimā. 96

[176] *75.* tatkāladurlabha (Pkt. takkāladullaha)—Pratijñā. 15 ; Avi. 6

76. dattamūlya—Ūru. 98 ; Cāru. I. 4

77. dahipiṇḍapaṇḍara—Pañca. 22 ; Avi. 28

78. dāruparvataka (Pkt. dārupavvadaa)—Svapna. 39 ; Avi. 47

79. dūtasaṁpāta (Pkt. dūdasaṁpāda)—Svapna. 6 ; Avi. 12

80. devāsuravigraheṣu—Bāla. I. 4, 21

81. parispanda (Pkt. paripphanda)—Pañca. 32 ; Cāru. 45

82. purobhāadā—Svapna. 44 ; Cāru. 32. Not cited in lexica ;

83. bhavanasya vinyāsaḥ—Abhi. 15 ; bhavanavinyāsa—Cāru. 57

84. bhāgyaiś calaiḥ—Svapna. I. 3 ; VI. 4

85. maṇibhūmi(kā)—Svapna. 27 ; Pratijñā. 37

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9 Generally used in the sense 'paterfamilias' (see sub voce APTE'S dictionary) ; here probably equivalent to 'servant', 'retainer.'

10 Occurs also often in the *Mṛcchakaṭika,*

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86. mallaa[11]—Pratijñā. 39, 41, 57 ; Cāru. 7

87. lalitagambhīrākṛti—Bāla. 61 ; Dūtagh. 64

88. vyāghrānusāracakita—Madhyama. v. 3 (read so) ; Cāru. I. 9

89. sajalada—Madhyama. v. 32 ; Abhi. IV. 5. Cf. sajalajaladhara —Abhi. IV. 3

90. samudragṛhaka (Pkt. samuddagihaka), 'oceanic pavilion'—Svapna. 54, 56, 57 ; Pratimā. 27

91. sumaṇāvaṇṇaa—Svapna. 32 ; Avi. 20, 40, 54 (twice)

92. suraiḥ sāsuraiḥ—Ūru. v. 29 ; sāsurāṇāṁ surāṇām—Pratimā. IV. 17

f. Echoes of Thought

93. ajja evva kila sobhaṇaṁ ṇakkhattaṁ | ajja evva koduamaṅgalaṁ—kādavvaṁ Svapna. 24 ; and adyaiva khalu guṇavān nakṣatram | adyaiva vivāho 'syāḥ pravartatām—Pañca. (p. 98 of the 1917 edition)

94. aṇeṇa mama bhādā hado | aṇeṇa mama pidā | aṇeṇa mama sudo mama vaassa—Pratijñā. 13 ; and asyāḥ kāraṇeṇa bahavo bhrātaraḥ sutāḥ suhṛdaś ca me nihatāḥ—Abhi. 60

[177] *95.* abhijaṇassa sadisaṁ mantidaṁ—Svapna. 46 and abhijana-yuktam evābhihitam—Avi. 106

96. abhijaṇeṇa ṇa sīleṇa [gaṇiā]—Cāru. 37 ; Cf. jātyā rākṣasī na samudācāreṇa—Madhyama. 23

97. astādrimastakagataḥ pratisaṁhṛtāmśuḥ—Abhi. IV. 23 and

ravir api ca saṁkṣiptakiraṇaḥ |
rathaṁ vyāvṛtyāsau praviśati śanair astaśikharam ||
—Svapna. I. 16

98. asyāḥ kāraṇena bahavo bhrātaraḥ, etc.—Abhi. 60. See *94*

99 imāṁ sāgaraparyantām—Svapna VI. 19, etc. See *104*

100. kāñcanastambhasadṛsa—Madhyama. v. 42 ; and yaḥ kāñcanastambhasamapramāṇaḥ—Ūru. v. 45

101. kim etad bho bhayaṁ nāma | bhavato 'dya mayā śrutam—Bāla. III. 8 ; and śapāmi satyena bhayaṁ na jāne | jñātuṁ tad icchāmi bhavat-samīpe—Madhyama. v. 41

102. gajāśvanarendrayaudha—Ūru. v. 3 ; and hayanāganarendrayaudha —Ūru. v. 12

103. giritaṭakaṭhināṁsāv eva bāhü mamaitau
praharaṇam aparaṁ tu tvādṛśāṁ durbalānām |
—Bāla. III. 11

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[11] PW. cites only lexicographical references for the meaning 'cup which is required in the present context,

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. . . . and

sahajau me praharaṇam bhujau pīnāṁsakomalau |
tāv āśritya prayudhyeyam durbalair gṛhyate dhanuḥ ||

—Pañca. II. 55

104. catussāgaraparyantām—Bāla. IV. 10 ; and imām sāgaraparyantām —Svapna. VI. 19 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56

105. ciṭṭha ciṭṭha vaśañcaśeṇie ciṭṭha—Cāru. 10, together with nāgīva yāsi patagendrabhayābhibhūtā—Cāru. I. 11 ; and bhoḥ brāhmaṇa tiṣṭha tiṣṭha—Madhyana. 3 and kiṁ yāsi madbhayavināśitadhairyasāraḥ—Madhyama. v. 8.

106. jātyā rākṣasī na samudācāreṇa—Madhyama. 23. See *96*

107. tantrīṣu ca svaragaṇān kalahāṁś ca loke—Avi. VI. 11 ; and tantrīṁś ca vairāṇi ca ghaṭṭayāmi—Bāla. I. 4

[178] *108.* devāḥ sendrādayo bhagnāḥ—Abhi. II. 18 ; and devāḥ sendrā jitā yena—Abhi. V. 12

109. nagaraparicito 'haṁ rakṣiṇo jñātasārāḥ
timiragahanabhīmaṁ vartate cārdharātram |

—Avi. III. 2

and

paricitatimirā me śīladoṣeṇa rātriḥ
bahalatimirakālās tīrṇapūrvā vighaṭṭāḥ |
vipaṇiṣu hataśeṣā rakṣiṇaḥ sākṣiṇo me ||[12]

—Cāru. I. 13

110. naṣṭā śarīraiḥ kratubhir dharante—Pañca. I. 23 ; and hateṣu deheṣu guṇā dharante—Karṇa. v. 17

111. nāgīva yāsi patagendrabhayābhibhūtā—Cāru. I. 11. See *105*.

112. paricitatimirā me, etc.—Cāru. I. 13. (See *109*)

113. paribhraṣṭo dūrād ravir api ca samkṣiptakiraṇaḥ—Svapna. I. 16. See *97*

114. pariṣvajāmi gāḍhaṁ tvām—Bāla. II 9 ; and pariṣvajasva gāḍhaṁ mām—Madhyama. v. 22

115. bhūmim ekaḥ praśāstu naḥ—Karṇa. v. 25 ; and rājā bhūmiṁ praśāstu naḥ—Pratimā. VII. 15 (See also *17*)

116. bho brāhmaṇa tiṣṭha tiṣṭha, etc.—Madhyama. 3. See *105*

117. mocayāmi na rājānam | nāsmi yaugandharāyaṇaḥ—Pratijñā. I. 16 ; yadi tām na hared rājā | nāsmi yaugandharāyaṇaḥ—ibid. III. 8 ; nāha-

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12 Note that both the stanzas are in the Mālinī metre, and that the recurring words *paricita, raksinah, timira* and *rātri* (*rātra*) occur in the corresponding halves of the respective padas.

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rāmi nṛpam caiva | nāsmi yaugandharāyaṇaḥ—ibid. III. 9 ; yadi na patasi bhūmau nāsmi dāmodaro 'ham—Bāla. III, 11

118. rājā bhūmim praśāstu naḥ—Pratimā. VII. 15. See *115.*

119. vijayā khalv asi—Pratijñā. 17 ; sajjalakaḥ khalv aham—Cāru. 57 ; and radaṇikā khu aham—Cāru. 26

120. vidyullekheva śobhate—Abhi. II. 7 ; and candralekheva śobhate—Dūtav. v. 7 ; Cāru. I. 27

[179] *121.* śapāmi satyena bhayaṁ na jāne—Madhyama. v. 41 See *101*

122. sajjalakaḥ khalv aham—Cāru. 57. (See *119*)

123. sahajau me praharaṇam bhujau pīnāṁsakomalau—Pañca. II. 55. See *103*

124. sopasnehatayā vanāntarasyābhitaḥ khalu kiṣkindhayā bhavitavyam —Abhi. 3 ; and sopasnehatayā vṛkṣānām abhitaḥ khalv ayodhyayā bhavitavyam—Pratimā. 42

125 hateṣu deheṣu guṇāḥ dharante—Karṇa. v. 17. See *110*

126 hayanāganarendrayaudha—Ūru. v. 12. See *102.*

127.
hā vatsa sarvajagatām jvarakṛt kṛtāstra
hā vatsa vāsavajid ānatavairicakra |
hā vatsa vīra guruvatsala yuddhaśauṇḍa
hā vatsa mām iha vihāya gato 'si kasmāt ||
—Abhi. V. 13

and

hā vatsa rāma jagatām nayanābhirāma
hā vatsa lakṣmaṇa salakṣaṇasarvagātra |
hā sādhvi maithili patisthitacittavṛtte
hā hā gatāḥ kila vanaṁ bata me tanūjāḥ ||
Pratimā. II. 4

(ii) A Conspectus of Recurrences and Parallelisms

This list has been arranged according to the dramas in which the recurrences and parallelisms occur. The *italic* figures refer to the serial numbers of the foregoing list.

Svapna

Entire Stanzas. 1. Svapna. VI. 19 = Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56.

Entire pādas. 8. Svapna. VI. 4, 15 : Abhi. IV. 7.—*14.* Svapna. VI. 16 : Pratijñā. IV. 18.—*17.* Svapna. VI. 19 : Pratijña. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

[180] *Longer prose passage. 23.* The sthāpanā of Svapna : Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi.—*25.* Svapna. 50 : Pratijñā. 17.—*31.* Svapna. 69 (ms. kha) : Abhi. 26 ; Pratimā. 90.—*33.* Svapna. 83 : Pañca. 42.

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Short passages. 37. Svapna. 78 : Pañca. 46.—*38.* Svapna. 27. Abhi. 23.—*40.* Svapna. 63 : Avi. 54.—*42.* Svapna. 72, 77 : Avi. 83 ; Cāru. 8.—*46.* Svapna. 1, 2, 3 : Pratijñā. 63, 65 : Ūru. 99.—*48.* Svapna. 51 : Pratijñā. 17, 71 ; Avi. 40, 51 ; Cāru. 38 (twice), 76.—*49.* Svapna. 9 : Pratijñā. 17 ; Bāla. 6 ; Ūru. 103. Abhi. 6.—*50.* Svapna. 9, 45 : Pratimā. 49, 95.—51. Svapna. 27, 32 ; Pratijñā. 56, 58 ; Cāru. 49.—*53.* Svapna. 17 : Avi. 57 ; Bāla. 67 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Cāru. 44.—*55.* Svapna. 40 : ibid. 59.—*57.* Svapna. 82 : Cāru. 60.—*58.* Svapna. 52 : Pañca. 19 ; Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 68 ; Pratimā. 90.—*63.* Svapna. 32 : Cāru. 80.—*64.* Svapna. 10 : Pratijñā. 46.

Set phrases etc. 66. Svapna. 30. Cāru. 20, 26, 53.—*69.* Svapna. VI. 19 : Avi. I. 1 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav.. v. 56 ; Pratimā. VII. 1.—*74.* Svapna. 26, 30, 67 : Avi. 23, 42, 86 ; Cāru. 20, 26, 53. ; Pratimā. 96.—*78.* Svapna. 39 : Avi. 47.—*79.* Svapna. 6 : Avi. 12.—*82.* Svapna. 44 : Cāru. 32.—*84.* Svapna. I. 3 : ibid. VI. 4.—*85.* Svapna. 27 : Pratijñā. 37.—*90.* Svapna. 54, 56, 57 : Pratimā. 27.—*91.* Svapna. 32 : Avi. 20, 40, 54 (twice).

Echoes of thought. 93. Svapna. 24 : Pañcā. (p. 98 of 1917 edition.)—*95.* Svapna. 46 : Avi. 106.—*97.* Svapna. I. 16 : Abhi. IV. 23.

PRATIJÑĀ

Entire Stanzas. 2. Pratijñā. IV. 26 = Avi. VI. 22 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

Entire pādas. 6. Pratijñā. IV. 26 : Pañca. III. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Abhi. VI. 35.—*12.* Pratijñā. II. 7. Abhi. VI. 23.—*14.* Pratijñā. IV. 18 : Svapna. VI. 16.—*17.* Pratijñā. IV. 26 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

[181] *Longer prose passages. 24.* Pratijñā. 32 : Pañca. 30.—*25.* Pratijñā. 17 : Svapna. 50.—*27.* Pratijñā. 73 : Avi. 110 ; Bāla. 67 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Abhi. 75.

Short passages. 36. Pratijñā. 14 : Avi. 20 ; Bāla. 36 ; Cāru. 7, 49.—*41.* Pratijñā. 67, 71 : Pañca. 48 ; Dūtagh. 66.—*44.* Pratijñā. 21 : Pañca. 10, 43 ; Madhyama. 20 ; Dūtav. 43 ; Abhi. 11 ; Pratimā. 38, 67.—*46.* Pratijñā. 63, 65 : Svapna. 1, 2, 3 ; Ūru. 99.—*48.* Pratijñā. 17, 71 : Svapna. 51 ; Avi. 40, 51 ; Cāru. 38 (twice), 76.—*49.* Pratijñā 17 : Svapna. 9 ; Bāla. 6 ; Abhi. 6 ; Ūru. 103.—*51.* Pratijñā. 56, 58. Svapna. 27, 32 ; Cāru. 49.—*60.* Pratijñā. 25 : Abhi. 43.—*62.* Pratijñā. 58 : Avi. 85 ; Bāla. 38 ; Cāru. 4, 66.—*64.* Pratijñā. 46 : Svapna. 10.

Set phrases, etc. 70. Pratijñā. IV. 4 : Abhi. II. 2, 5 ; VI. 6, 11.—*72.* Pratijñā. IV. 3 : Dūtav. v. 3.—*73.* Pratijñā. 46 : Cāru. 84.—*75.* Pratijñā. 15: Avi. 6.—*85.* Pratijñā. 37 : Svapna. 27.—*86.* Pratijñā. 39, 41, 57 : Cāru. 7.

Echoes of thought. 94. Pratijñā. 13 : Abhi. 60.—*117.* Pratijñā I. 16 : Bāla. III. 11.—*119.* Pratijñā. 17 : Cāru. 26, 57.

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PAÑCARĀTRA

Entire pādas. 6. Pañca. III. 26 : Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Abhi. VI. 35.—*7.* Pañca. II. 58 : Pratimā. IV. 5.—*11.* Pañca. I. 31 : ibid. I. 47.—*13* Pañca. II. 41 : ibid. II. 61.—*17.* Pañca. III. 26 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

Longer prose passages. 20. Pañca. 24. Abhi. 27.—*21.* Pañca ; 7 : Pratimā. 35.—*22* Pañca. 10, 43 ; Abhi. 11 ; Pratimā. 38.—*23.* The sthāpanā of Pañca : Svapna. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi.—*24.* Pañca. 30 : Pratijñā. 32 ; Bāla. 27.—*29.* Pañca. 30 f : Bāla. 58 ; Abhi. 30, 59.—*33.* Pañca. 42 ; Svapna. 83.—*35.* Pañca. 22 : Bāla. 42.

Short passages. 37. Pañca. 46 : Svapna. 78.—*41* Pañca. 48 : Pratijñā. 67, 71 ; Dūtagh. 66.—*43.* Pañca. 39 : Bāla. 61.—*44.* Pañca. 10, 43 : Pratijñā. 21 ; Madhyama. 20 ; Dūtav. 43 ; Abhi. [182] 11 ; Pratimā. 38, 67.—*58.* Pañca. 19 : Svapna. 52 ; Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 68 ; Pratimā. 90.

Set phrases etc. 77. Pañca. 22 : Avi. 28.—*81.* Pañca. 32 : Cāru. 45.

Echoes of thought. 103. Pañca. II. 55 : Bāla. III. 11.—*110.* Pañca. I. 23 : Karṇa. v. 17.

AVIMĀRAKA

Entire stanzas. 2. Avi. VI. 22 = Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

Entire pādas. 6. Avi. VI. 22 : Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Abhi. VI. 35.—*17.* Avi. VI. 22 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

Longer prose passages. 27. Avi. 110 : Pratijñā. 73 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Abhi. 75.

Short passages. 36. Avi. 20 : Pratijñā. 14. Bāla. 36 ; Cāru. 7. 49.—*40.* Avi. 54 : Svapna. 63.—*48.* Avi. 40, 51 : Svapna. 51 ; Pratijñā. 17, 71 ; Cāru. 38 (twice), 76.—*53.* Avi. 67 : Svapna. 17 ; Bāla. 67 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Cāru. 44.—*54.* Avi. 72 ; Cāru. 18, 30.—*58.* Avi. 26 : Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 ; Bāla. 55 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 68 ; Pratima. 90.—*62.* Avi. 85 ; Pratijñā. 58 ; Bāla. 38 ; Cāru. 4. 66.

Set phrases etc. 69 Avi. I. 1 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Pratimā. VII. 1.—*74.* Avi. 23, 42, 86 ; Svapna. 26, 30, 67 ; Cāru. 20, 26, 53 ; Pratimā. 96.—*75.* Avi. 6 : Pratijñā. 15.—*77.* Avi. 28 : Pañca. 22.—*78.* Avi. 47 ; Svapna. 39.—*79.* Avi. 12 : Svapna. 6.—*91.* Avi. 20, 40, 54 : Svapna. 32.

Echoes of thought. 95. Avi. 106 : Svapna. 46.—*107.* Avi. VI. 11. Bāla. I. 4.—*109.* Avi. III. 2 : Cāru. 1. 13.

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BĀLACARITA

Entire stanzas. 1. Bāla. V. 20 = Svapna. VI. 19 ; Dūtav. v. 56.—*3.* Bāla. I. 15 = Cāru. I. 19.

[183] *Entire pādas. 5.* Bāla. V. 20 : Svapna. VI. 19 : Dūtav. v. 56.—*17.* Bāla. V. 20 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 : Avi. VI. 22 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

Longer prose passages. 23. The sthāpanā in Bāla : Svapna. Pañca. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi.—*24.* Bāla. 27 : Pratijñā. 32 ; Pañca. 30.—*27.* Bāla. 67 : Pratijñā. 73 ; Avi. 110 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Abhi. 75.—*29.* Bāla. 58 : Pañca. 30, 31 ; Abhi. 30, 59.—*35.* Bāla. 42 : Pañca. 22.

Short passages : *36.* Pratijñā. 14 ; Avi. 20 ; Cāru. 7, 49.—*39.* Bāla. 7 : Cāru. 17.—*43.* Bāla. 61 : Pañca. 39.—*49.* Bāla. 6 : Svapna. 9 ; Pratijñā. 17 ; Abhi. 6 ; Ūru. 103.—*53.* Bāla. 67. Svapna. 17 ; Avi. 67 ; Madhyama 24 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Cāru. 44.—*58.* Bāla. 55 : Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 ; Avi. 26 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 68 : Pratimā. 90.—*61.* Bāla. 35 : Pañca. 20, 21.—*62.* Bāla. 38 : Pratijñā. 58 ; Avi. 85 ; Cāru. 4, 66.

Set phrases etc. 69. Bāla. V. 20 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Avi. I. 1 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Pratimā. VII. 1.—*71.* Bāla. V. 9, 15 : Dūtav. v. 42.—*80.* Bāla. I. 4 ; ibid. I. 21.—*87.* Bāla. 61. Dūtagh. 64.

Echoes of thought. 101. Bāla. III. 8 : Madhyama. v. 41.—*103.* Bāla. III. 11 : Pañca. II. 55.—*104.* Bāla. IV. 10 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Dūtav. v. 56.—*107.* Bāla. I. 4 : Avi. VI. 11.—*114.* Bāla. II. 9 : Madhyama. v. 22.

MADHYAMA

Longer prose passages. 23. The sthāpanā of Madhyama : Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi.—*28.* Madhyama. 20 : Dūtav. 43.

Short passages. 44. Madhyama. 20 : Pratijñā. 21 ; Pañca. 10, 43 ; Dūtav. 43 ; Abhi. 11 ; Pratimā. 38, 67.—*45.* Madhyama. 25 : Pratimā. 73.—*53.* Madhyama. 24 : Svapna. 17 ; Avi. 67 : Bāla. 67 : Dūtav. 48 ; Cāru. 44.—*58.* Madhyama. 24 : Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 ; Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 ; Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 68 ; Pratimā. 90.

[184] *Set phrases etc. 88.* Madhyama. v. 3 : Cāru. I. 9—*89.* Madhyama. v. 32 : Abhi. IV. 5.

Echoes of thought. 86. Madhyama. 23 : Cāru. 37.—*100.* Madhyama. v. 42 : Ūru. v. 45.—*101.* Madhyama. v. 41 : Bāla. III. 8.—*105.* Madhyama. 3. and v. 8 : Cāru. 10 and I. II.—*114.* Madhyama. v. 22 : Bāla. II. 9.

DŪTAVĀKYA

Entire stanzas. 1. Dūtav. v. 56 = Svapna. VI. 19. Bāla. V. 20.

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Entire pādas. 10. Dūtav. v. 7 ; Cāru. I. 27.—*17.* Dūtav. v. 56 ; Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Abhi. VI. 35.—*19.* Dūtav. v. 7 : Cāru. IV. 3.

Longer prose passages. 23. The sthāpanā of Dūtav. : Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtagh. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi.—*27.* Dūtav. 48 : Pratijñā. 73 ; Avi. 110 ; Abhi. 75.—*28.* Dūtav. 13 ; Madhyama. 20.

Short passages. 44. Dūtav. 43 : Pratijñā. 21 ; Pañca. 10, 43 ; Madhyama. 20 ; Abhi. 11 ; Pratimā. 38. 67.—*53.* Dūtav. 48 : Svapna. 17 ; Avi. 67 ; Bāla. 67 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Cāru. 44.

Set phrases etc. 69. Dūtav. v. 56 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Avi. I. 1 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Pratimā. VII. 1.—*70.* Dūtav. v. 47 : Pratijñā. IV ; 4 ; Abhi. II. 2, 5 ; VI. 6, 11.—*71.* Dūtav. v. 42 : Bāla. V. 9, 15.—*72.* Dūtav. v. 3 : Pratijñā. IV. 3.

Echoes of thought. 104. Dūtav. v. 56 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Bāla. IV. 10 ; V. 20.—*120.* Dūtav. v. 7 : Abhi. II. 7 ; Cāru. I. 27.

DŪTAGHAṬOTKACA

Longer prose passages. 23. The sthāpanā of Dūtagh : Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Karṇa. Ūru. and Abhi.

Short passages. 41. Dūtagh. 66 : Pratijñā. 67, 71 ; Pañca. 49.—*56.* Dūtagh. 69 : Abhi. 19 ; Pratimā. 20.

Set phrases etc. 87. Dūtagh. 64 : Bāla. 61.

[185] KARṆABHĀRA

Entire pādas. 17. Karṇa. v. 25 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III, 26 ; Avi. VI. 22 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56 ; Abhi. VI. 35.

Longer prose passages. 23. The sthāpanā in Karṇa : Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Ūru. and Abhi.

Echoes of thought. 110. Karṇa. v. 17 : Pañca. I. 23.—*115.* Karṇa. v. 25 : Pratimā. VII. 15.

ŪRUBHAṄGA

Entire pādas. 9. Ūru. v. 41 : ibid. v. 62.

Longer prose passages. 23. The sthāpanā of Ūru : Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. and Abhi.—*32.* Ūru. 114 : Abhi. 12 (ms. ka).

Short passages. 46. Ūru. 99 : Svapna. 1, 2, 3 ; Pratijñā. 63, 65.—*47.* Ūru. 88 : Abhi. 62.—*49.* Ūru. 103 : Svapna. 9 ; Pratijñā. 17 ; Bāla. 6 ; Abhi. 6.—*58.* Ūru. 96 : Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 : Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Abhi. 68 ; Pratimā. 90.—*59.* Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 53.

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Set phrases, etc. 76. Ūru. 98 : Cāru. I. 4.—*92.* Ūru. v. 29 ; Pratimā. IV. 17.

Echoes of thought. 100. Ūru. v. 45 ; Madhyama. v. 42.

Abhiṣeka

Entire stanzas. 2. Abhi. VI. 35 = Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22.

Entire pādas. 6. Abhi. VI. 35 : Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Avi. VI. 35.—*8.* Abhi. IV. 7 : Svapna. VI. 4, 15.—*10.* Abhi. II. 7 : Dūtav. v. 7 : Cāru. I. 27. *12.* Abhi. VI. 23 : Pratijñā. II. 7.—*15.* Abhi. II. 9 : ibid. IV. 15.—*16.* Abhi. III. 22 : Pratimā. I. 20—*17.* Abhi. VI. 35 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Pratijñā. IV. 26 ; Pañca. III. 26 ; Avi. VI. 22. Bāla. V. 20. Dūtav. v. 56.

[186] *Longer prose passages. 20.* Abhi. 27 : Pañca. 24.—*22.* Abhi. 11 : Pañca. 10, 43. Pratimā. 38.—*23.* The sthāpanā in Abhi. : Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karṇa. and Ūru.—*26.* Abhi. 37 f : Pratimā. 95.—*27.* Abhi. 75 : Pratijñā. 73 ; Avi. 110 ; Dūtav. 48 ; Bāla. 67.—*29.* Abhi. 30, 59 : Pañca. 30 f ; Bāla. 58.—*30.* Abhi. 73 : Pratimā. 113.—*31.* Abhi. 26 : Svapna. 69 ; Pratimā. 90.—*32.* Abhi. 12 (ms. ka) : Ūru. 114.—*34.* Abhi. 20. Pratimā. 86.

Short passages. 38. Abhi. 23 : Svapna. 27.—*44.* Abhi. 11 : Pratijñā. 21 ; Pañca. 10, 43 ; Madhyama. 20 ; Dūtav. 43 ; Pratimā. 38, 67.—*47.* Abhi. 62 : Ūru. 88.—*49.* Abhi. 6 : Svapna. 9 ; Pratijñā. 17 ; Bāla. 6 ; Ūru. 103.—*56.* Abhi. 19 : Dūtagh. 69 ; Pratimā. 20.—*58.* Abhi. 69 : Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 ; Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 96 ; Pratimā. 90.—*60.* Abhi. 43 : Pratijñā. 25.

Set phrases etc. 70. Abhi. II. 2, 5 ; VI. 6, 11 : Pratijñā. IV. 4 ; Dūtav. v. 47.—*83.* Abhi. 15 : Cāru. 57.—*89.* Abhi. IV. 5 : Madhyama. v. 32.

Echoes of thought. 94. Abhi. 60 ; Pratijñā. 13.—*97.* Abhi. IV. 23 : Svapna. I. 16.—*120.* Abhi. II. 7 ; Dūtav. v. 7. Cāru. I. 27.—*124.* Abhi. 3 : Pratimā. 42.—*127.* Abhi. V. 13 ; Pratimā. II. 4.

Cārudatta

Entire stanzas. 3. Cāru. I. 19 = Bāla. I. 15.

Entire pādas. 10. Cāru. I, 27 : Dūtav. v. 7 ; Abhi. II. 7.—*19.* Cāru. IV. 3 : Dūtav. v. 7.

Short passages. 36. Cāru. 7, 49 : Pratijñā. 14.—*39.* Cāru. 17 : Bāla. 7.—*42.* Cāru. 8 : Svapna. 72, 77.—*48.* Cāru. 38, 76 : Svapna. 51 ; Pratijñā. 17, 71 ; Avi. 40, 51—*51.* Cāru. 49 ; Svapna. 27, 32 ; Pratijñā. 56, 58.—*53.* Cāru. 44 : Svapna. 17 ; Avi. 67 ; Bāla. 67 ; Madhyama. 24.—*54.* Cāru. 18, 30 : Avi. 72.—*57.* Cāru. 60 : Svapna. 82.—*62.* Cāru. 4, 66 ; Pratijñā. 58 ; Avi. 85 ; Bāla. 38.—*63.* Cāru. 80 : Svapna. 32.

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[187] *Set phrases etc. 66.* Cāru. 20, 26, 53 : Svapna. 30.—*67.* Cāru. 18 : ibid. 84.—*73.* Cāru. 84 : Pratijñā. 46.—*74.* Cāru. 20, 26, 53 : Svapna. 26 ; 30, 67 ; Avi. 23, 42, 86.—*76.* Cāru. I. 4 : Ūru. 99.—*81.* Cāru. 45 ; Pañca. 32.—*82.* Cāru. 32 : Svapna. 44.—*83.* Cāru. 57 : Abhi. 15.—*86.* Cāru. 7 : Pratijñā. 39, 41, 57.—*88.* Cāru. I. 9 : Madhyama. v. 3.

Echoes of thought. 96. Cāru. 37 : Madhyama. 23.—*105.* Cāru. 10, and I. 11 : Madhyama. 3 and v. 8.—*109.* Cāru. I. 13 : Avi. III. 2.—*119.* Cāru. 57 : Pratijñā. 17.—*120.* Cāru. I. 27 : Abhi. II. 7 ; Dūtav. v. 7.

PRATIMĀ

Entire stanzas. 4. Pratimā. IV. 16=ibid. VII. 7.

Entire pādas. 7. Pratimā. IV. 5 : Pañca. II. 58.—*16.* Pratimā. I. 20 : Abhi. III. 22.

Longer prose passages. 21. Pratimā. 35 : Pañca. 7.—*22.* Pratimā. 38, 67 : Pañca. 10, 43 ; Madhyama. 20 ; Abhi. 11.—*26.* Pratimā. 95 : Abhi. 37 f. -*30.* Pratimā. 113 ; Abhi. 73.—*31.* Pratimā. 90 : Svapna, 69 (ms. kha) ; Abhi. 26, 52.—*34,* Pratimā. 86 : Abhi. 20.

Short passages. 44. Pratimā. 38, 67 : Pratijñā. 21 ; Pañca. 10, 43 ; Madhyama. 20 ; Dūtav. 43 ; Abhi. 11.—*50.* Pratimā. 49, 95 : Svapna. 9, 45.—*56.* Pratimā. 20 ; Dūtagh. 69 ; Abhi. 19.—*58.* Pratimā. 90 : Svapna. 52 ; Pañca. 19 ; Avi. 26 ; Bāla. 55 ; Madhyama. 24 ; Ūru. 96 ; Abhi. 68.

Set phrases etc. 69. Pratimā. VII. 1 : Svapna. VI. 19 ; Avi. I. 1 ; Bāla. V. 20 ; Dūtav. v. 56.—*74.* Pratimā. 96 : Svapna. 26, 30, 67 : Avi. 23, 42, 86 ; Cāru. 20, 26, 53.—*90.* Pratimā. 27 : Svapna. 54, 56, 57.—*92.* Pratimā. IV. 17 : Ūru. v. 29.

Echoes of thought. 124. Pratimā. 42 ; Abhi. 3.—*127.* Pratimā. II. 4 : Abhi. V. 13.

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V.* A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE[1]

The effort to place the group of anonymous plays discovered in South India by Pandit Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ of Travancore has engaged the imagination and the pen of Indologists for over a decade; but no definite solution of that problem has yet been logically justified. Opinion is divided on more than one aspect of the plays. Opinion is sharply divided between those who place the dramas in the fifth century B.C. and those who place them in the tenth century A.D., between those who ascribe them to the 'far-famed' Bhāsa, honoured by Kālidāsa and those who ascribe them to a poetaster whose name even is forgotten by posterity; between those who claim for them high literary merit and those who describe them as the miserable lucubrations of a plagiarist. These three aspects of the plays, it may be added, are not entirely independent of each other; in fact, the second and the third of them are really closely connected. For while, on the one hand, those who support the Bhāsa theory invariably claim to be able to recognize high merit in the plays; on the other hand, those who repudiate that theory at the same time deny the plays all real merit.

Despite the divers opinions held by scholars regarding the age and authorship of the plays, and despite the formidable phalanx of arguments advanced by them to support their respective claims, the significant difference, it seems to me, has been just on the question of the literary and æsthetic merits and defects of the dramas. Back of all the various aspects of the discussion seems to lurk, often unnoticed by the disputants themselves, this fundamental divergence. And æsthetic merit being a vague quality not amenable to exact measurement or computation, the difference of opinion as regards the place of these dramas in the history of Sanskrit literature will in all likelihood continue to exist, [231] unless another fortuitous discovery happens to place in our hands some material which can give an unequivocal reply to the question of the age or the author of our dramas.

Although the suspicion voiced by BARNETT[2] that few Sanskritists 'agree with the learned editor's ascription of them to Bhāsa,' appears to be *utterly* without foundation, it cannot be denied that a few critics who had first hailed the appearance of these plays with éclat and jubilation, have later, on re-examining the plays, become indifferent and turned away from them in considerable disappointment. But Pandit Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ's alluring theory has in the meantime made fresh conquests and found new adherents.

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* [*JBBRAS* 26. 230-249.]

1 The paper was read at a meeting of the Society held on March 22nd, 1923.

2 *JRAS.* 1919, p. 233,

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The Bhāsa question is now, it may be emphatically stated, as far away from being settled as ever before. The number of writers on the subject is steadily increasing and the field of research is gradually widening. It is therefore highly desirable that all students interested in the question should have, even at this stage, a list as complete as possible of the writers and their writings so that they may be able to tell at a glance what editions and translations are available, what the problems are, and what has been written concerning them.

Apropos of the remark of BARNETT cited above, a few statistics may not be out of place. Here is a list of those who have, at one time or other, written on the subject, accepting the Bhāsa theory explicitly or implicitly : Amaranatha SARMA, APTE, Asuri ANANTACHARYA, BANERJI-SASTRI, BASTON, BECCARINI-CRESCENZI, BELLONI-FILIPPI, BELVALKAR, BHATTA, BHIDE, CHAUDHURI, DEB, DESAPANDE, DHRUVA, Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ, GRAY, GUNE, HARPRASAD, HERTEL, HILLEBRANDT, JACOBI, JANVIER, JAYASWAL, JOLLY, KALE, KHUPREKAR, KONOW, LACÔTE, LESNY, LÉVI, LINDENAU, MEHENDALE, MORGENSTIERNE, OGDEN, Panna LALL, PARANJAPE, PAVOLINI, PISHAROTI, PRINTZ, SAUNDERS, SUALI, THOMAS, URDHWARESHE, and WELLER. It must be added that the enthusiasm of Sylvain LÉVI has apparently cooled down considerably since he penned his ecstatic preface to BASTON's (French) translation of VĀSAVADAṬṬĀ ; and now, I understand, he has joined the ranks of the opponents of the theory, which include the names : BARNETT, Bhattanatha SVAMIN, KANE, MAHABAL, Rangacharya RADDI, and Ramavatara SARMA. Whether the opponents of the Bhāsa theory are really so few, or whether they are over-modest and of a retiring disposition, it is cer-[232]-tain that the number of such as have expressed their views openly is *remarkably* limited. Between the two extreme sections lie the views of WINTERNITZ and the present writer, who, while they recognize that the supporters of the theory have a good *prima facie* case, that the authorship of Bhāsa is a factor within the range of possibility, hold, on the other hand, that the evidence hitherto adduced does not amount to a conclusive proof of the proposition ; they accept it merely tentatively, as a working hypothesis.

In passing it may be pointed out that the doubts propounded by BARNETT, and the interpretation of the term *rājasiṁha* (occurring in the bharata-vākyas of the plays) as a *nomen proprium*—features of the controversy generally associated with the name of BARNETT[3]— had been made public by Pandit Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya in an article contributed to the little known Sanskrit journal *Śāradā* long before the appearance of BARNETT's note in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In 1915 Pandit Ramavatara SARMA wrote expressing his doubts as to the validity of Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ's

[3] BARNETT's objections have been criticised and refuted severally by BANERJI-SASTRI, KONOW, F. W. THOMAS, and WINTERNITZ.

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theory, ascribing the dramas to an anonymous court poet of a Kerala king Rājasiṁha. BARNETT's first article on the subject, as far as I know, did not appear till 1919, that is, four years later.

Of the thirteen dramas comprising this group, the *Svapnavāsavadatta* is undoubtedly by far the most popular. Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ published some years ago the third edition of the text; and there are of this drama seven independent translations in five different languages (English, French, German, Gujarati and Italian). Like its remarkable namesake cited by Rājaśekhara in his *Sūktimuktāvali*, it may well claim to be able to withstand even the rigorous 'ordeal by fire.' Next in popularity stands that interesting little one-act episode *Madhyama*, which has been translated four times already and which richly deserves to be more widely known The *Pratimā* and the *Chārudatta* have been translated twice each, and a new Italian translation of the *Chārudatta* is, I understand, in course of preparation. Of the remaining, the five major dramas *Abhisheka*, *Avimāraka*, *Pañcharātra*, *Pratijñā*, and *Bālacharita*, have been translated once only, while the four one-act Mahābhārata episodes *Ūrubhaṅga*, *Karṇabhāra*, *Dūtaghaṭotkacha*, and *Dūtavākya*, have not attracted serious attention so far. The *Pratijñā* is really an interesting [233] little drama of unquestionable merit; but its third act (the so-called mantrāṅka) presents certain difficulties. That is perhaps the reason why it has not yet tempted any translator except the intrepid Keshavlal DHRUVA.

Now as to the criticism of the dramas. A critical study of the Prakrit of the whole group has been made independently by two young German scholars LESNY and PRINTZ. There is also an unpretentious little contribution on the subject by the present writer. The relationship between the *Chārudatta* and the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* has been exhaustively investigated by MORGENSTIERNE. This monograph, taken in conjunction with two other papers dealing with the same subject that were almost simultaneously made public elsewhere, seems to establish beyond all reasonable doubt two facts: firstly, that the *Chārudatta* is a fragment; and secondly, that it represents a version of the theme earlier than the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. We have a scholarly contribution to the study of the source of the *Svapna* from the pen of Félix LACÔTE, who has made a special study of the literature clustering round the *Bṛihatkathā*. The lexicographical peculiarities of the same drama have been studied and listed by the American Indologist OGDEN. The late Dr. GUNE has left us a small but thoughtful contribution to a study of the *Pratijñā*. A connected account of these dramas will be found in the Introductions to Pandit Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ's editions of the Svapna and the Pratimā respectively; and in the sections on Bhāsa in KONOW's *Das indische Drama* and WINTERNITZ's *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*.

Estimates of the age of these plays vary, as already averred, by about fifteen centuries. They have been assigned to the fifth century B. C. by BHIDE; third (or second) century by Gaṇapati SÂSTRÎ; to the first century

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B.C. by JAYASWAL and CHAUDHURI ; to the second century A.D. by KONOW, LINDENAU and SUALI ; to the third (or fourth) century by BANERJI-SASTRI, JOLLY and JACOBI ; and to the fourth century by LESNY and WINTERNITZ ; to the seventh century by BARNETT and NERURKAR (on independent grounds); to the ninth century (or later) by KANE ; to the tenth century (or later) by Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya ; to the eleventh century (or later) by Rangacharya RADDI.

Very briefly summarized the arguments for and against the theory are the following. Among the most important arguments adduced in support of the theory are these. (1) The common authorship of the plays follows from the similarity [234] of technique, style and thought informing these plays, and from the abundant instances of repetition and parallelism. One of these plays is styled the *Svapnavāsavadatta,* which is the title of a celebrated drama composed by Bhāsa. (2) A technical peculiarity of the prologues of the Bhāsa dramas has been noticed by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita,* which peculiarity characterises also the prologues of our dramas. (3) The name of the author is never mentioned in the rudimentary sthāpanā of these plays, which testifies to their great antiquity, further evidenced by the archaic language and the technique of these plays. (4) Owing to their having been well-known plays, verses and passages from them have been cited and criticized by rhetoricians such as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and Vāmana, although they do not name the source from which these verses and passages have been taken. (5) Apt expressions and felicitous similes have been borrowed from these plays by celebrated poets like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and others. Being distinguished products of dramatic art, they are in style and matter worthy of the fame of the great Bhāsa. These are the arguments advanced in support of the theory. On the other hand, those who repudiate the Bhāsa theory do so mainly for the following reasons. (1) This *Svapnavāsavadatta* does not contain the verse quoted by a certain rhetorician as from a drama of the same name, which drama, it is said, is probably the original *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa. Likewise these plays ascribed to the great dramatist do not contain any of the verses cited in anthologies as his verses. (2) The stanza quoted from the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa has been grossly misinterpreted, and is quite irrelevant to the discussion. (3) The similarities of ideas and expression between these plays and the works of celebrated dramatists like Kālidāsa clearly prove that the author has unblushingly plagiarized from the works of other dramatists. (4) They contain irregularities of technique and a surprising number of grammatical blunders, which exclude the possibility of their being the works of any reputable author, not to speak of Bhāsa. Obviously works of mediocre quality, they are in every way unworthy of being ascribed to the distinguished dramatist Bhāsa. I have singled out here for the purpose of this survey, only the most important arguments advanced on either side. None of them appear to me incontrovertible ; the balance seems delicately

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adjusted. It is a question where the emphasis should be laid, aod the answer to that question will largely depend on personal predilections.

The Bhāsa question has acquired fresh interest and importance through the discovery of other dramas such as the *Matta-*[235]*-vilāsa,*[1] which apparently stand closer to our group than to the classical dramas like those of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, and others, It is becoming increasingly evident that we have before us dramas, if not of Bhāsa, at least of a distinctly new school of dramatic art, and as such they are undeniably interesting and worthy of most careful study. There is nothing to be gained by peevishly brushing them aside as the lucubrations of a plagiarist, or as the creations of an ingenious forger (as one learned Indian critic[2] has averred), simply because they are not exactly what we expect them to be or want them to be. Already the study of them has yielded some fruitful result, and it is not too much to say that a deeper study of them may throw further light on some of the obscure corners of this interesting field of inquiry.

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ŪRUBHAṄGA.

Text edition.

[236] 5. See No. 35.

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Text edition.

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[1] A revised version of this translation has since been published by the Oxford University Press.

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60. BARNETT, L. D. The Mattavilāsa and "Bhāsa." In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London Institution, 1920, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 35-38.

61. BARNETT, L. D. "Bhāsa." In *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1921, pp. 587-589.

The writer attributes the dramas to an anonymous court poet of a Pāṇḍya King Rājasiṁha of the seventh century A.D., basing his arguments chiefly on his interpretation of the word *rājasiṁha* in the bharatavākya of the dramas, and on the alleged technical similarity between these plays and the Mattavilāsa. No. 61 is a rejoinder to BANERJI [243] SASTRI'S 'The plays of Bhāsa,' *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 367-382. See counter-joinder by THOMAS, *ibid.* 1922, pp. 79-83. For further criticism see Nos. 58 and 104.

62. BHATTACHARYA, D. C. Bhāsa and his alleged works.

Paper stated as read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. See *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal,* 1917, p. ccxiv.—Apparently not published.

[2] Not available to me.

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63. BHATTANATHA SVAMIN. Thirteen newly discovered dramas attributed to Bhāsa. In *Ind. Ant.* vol. 45 (1916), pp. 189-195.

Emphatically rejecting Bhāsa's authorship, assigns the dramas to an anonymous poet of unknown date.

64. CHAUDHURI, P. The date of Bhāsa. In Modern Review (Calcutta), vol. 14 (1913), pp. 382-397.

Supporting JAYASWAL (see No. 71), assigns the plays to the reign of Nārāyaṇa Kāṇva, basing the conclusions on alleged allusions in the plays to contemporary history.—See rejoinder by VENKATARAMAN, *Modern Review*, 1913, p. 579 f. (No. 93).

65. DEŚAPĀṆḌE, R. D. Bhās va Dhāvak he niranirāle kavi hot. [Bhāsa and Dhāvaka are two different poets.] In *Vividhajñāna-vistāra* (Bombay), vol. 50 (1919). [In Marathi.]

66. DEŚAPĀṆḌE, R. D. Bhās āṇi Kālidās.. In *Vividhajñāna-vistāra* (Bombay), vol. 51 (1920), pp. 19-28. [In Marathi.]

Estimates Kālidāsa's indebtedness to the author of the plays, Bhāsa.

67. GAṆAPATI SÂSTRÎ. See Introductions to his editions of the Svapnavāsavadatta (Nos. 41 & 42) and Pratimānāṭaka (No. 28) respectively.

68. GULERI, CHANDRADHAR. A poem by Bhāsa. In *Ind. Ant.* vol. 42 (1913), p. 52 f.

Draws attention to an old gloss, which refers to a poem called Vishṇudharma by a Bhāsa; see the editorial note, *ibid.* p. 53.

69. HALL, F. Fragments of three early Hindu dramatists, Bhāsa, Rāmila, and Somila. In *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. 28 (1859), pp. 28-30.

70. JACOBI, H. See Introduction to his German translation of the Svapnavāsavadatta (No. 48).

71. JAYASWĀL, K. P. The plays of Bhāsa, and King Darśaka of Magadha. In *Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. 9 (1913), pp. 259-269.

[244] Justifies the authorship of Bhāsa, and assigns the plays to the reign of Nārāyaṇa Kāṇva (ca. 50 B.C.) on the ground of alleged veiled and obscure allusions to him in some of the verses of the plays. Indirectly answered by VENKATARAMAN in *Modern Review*, 1913, p. 579 f. See No. 93.

72. KĀṆE, P. V. Kavi Bhās va tad-rachit nāṭkeṁ. In *Vividhajñāna-vistāra* (Bombay), vol. 51 (1920), pp. 97-102.

[In Marathi]

Supporting the views of Raṅgāchārya B. RAḌḌÎ (see No. 86) assigns the plays to an anonymous plagiarist of some period later than the eighth century A.D.

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73. KHUPREKAR, B. M. Ābhās navhe Bhāsac. In *Lokeśikshaṇ* (Poona), vol. 5 (1916), pp. 295-298, 324-328, 353-358, 395-402. [In Marathi.]

Rejoinder to Raṅgāchārya B. RAḌḌĪ's 'Bhās kiṁ ābhās' (No. 86).

74. KONOW, STEN. Das indische Drama, Leipzig, 1920. (= Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Band 2, Heft 2 D.)

Bhāsa, pp. 51-56.—Assigns the author of the dramas Bhāsa, to the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I., that is, to the end of the second century A.D.; incidentally questions Bhāsa's authorship of the Pratimā.

75. LESNY, V. Vyvojovy stupen náreci Prākṛtskych v dramatech Bhāsovych a urceni Bhāsovy doby. [The stage of development of the Prakrit dialects in Bhāsa's dramas and the date of Bhāsa.] Rozpravy ceské Akademie Cisare Frantiska Josefa. Trida 3, cislo 46. Prag, 1917.

See No. 76.

76. LESNY, V. Die Entwicklungsstufe des Prākrits in Bhāsa's Dramen und das Zeitalter Bhāsa's. In *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesell.* Band 72 (1918), pp. 203-208.

Summary of his contribution to the Bohemian Academy of Sciences, in which the writer assigns, chiefly on linguistic grounds, the author of the plays, Bhāsa, to the first half of the fourth century A.D.

77. LÉVI, SYLVAIN. Le Théâtre Indien, Paris, 1890, vol. 1, pp. 157-160; vol. 2, pp. 31-32.

Gives an almost exhaustive resumé of literary references to Bhāsa and his works, known until then.

78. LÉVI, SYLVAIN. Preface to A. Baston's translation of the Svapnavāsavadatta. (See No. 47.)

[245] 79. LINDENAU, MAX. Bhāsa-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des altindischen Dramas. Leipzig, 1918, pp. VI. + 51.

A congerie of observations on divers aspects of the plays.—See WINTERNITZ, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jg. 9, p. 297 f.

80. MACDONELL, A. A. Three plays of Bhasa in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. In *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1913, pp. 186-190.

Rev. of Nos. 20, 23, and 41.

81. MAHĀBAL, BH. B. Bhās va Kālidās (dusarī bājū). [Bhāsa and Kālidāsa: the other side.] In *Vividhajñāna-vistāra*, vol. 51 (1920), pp. 73-80. [In Marathi.]

Rejoinder to No. 66. Indignantly rejects the suggestion of Kālidāsa's indebtedness to these dramas of doubtful merit.

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82. MEERWARTH, A. M. The dramas of Bhasa. A literary study. In *Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, N. S. vol. 13 (1917), pp. 261-280.

An appraisement of the literary and æsthetic merits of the plays, without reference to the question of authorship.

83. MORGENSTIERNE, GEORG. Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā. Leipzig, 1921, pp. 80 + LXI.

See especially pp. 5-21.

Pāṇḍeya. See Rāmāvatāra ŚARMĀ Pāṇḍeya (No. 87).

84. PARANJAPE, S. M. Chārudatta āṇi Mṛichchhakaṭika. In *Chitramaya-jagat*, 1915, pp. 46 ff.—Priyadarśikā āni Nāgānanda hī koṇāchī, *ibid.* 1915, pp. 576 ff.—Bhāsā vishayī kāhī goshṭî, *ibid.* 1916, pp. 91 ff.—Bhāsāchi bhavitavyatā, *ibid* 1916, pp. 381 ff.

85. PRINTZ, WILHELM. Bhāsa's Prākrit. Frankfurt, A.M. 1921, pp. 47.

86. RAṆḌĪ, RAṄGĀCHĀRYA B. Bhās kīṁ ābhās? [Bhāsa or his semblance?] In *Vividha-jñāna-vistāra* (Bombay), vol. 47 (1916). [In Marathi.]

Emphatically rejects the Bhāsa theory, chiefly on the ground that these plays of questionable worth could not be the works of the great Bhāsa.

87. RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚARMĀ Pāṇḍeya. Mahākavir Bhāsah, In Śāradā (Allahabad), vol. 1 (Vikrama 1970[1]), pp. 4-7. [In Sanskrit.]

[246] Like BARNETT (see Nos. 59-61), this writer assigns the plays to an anonymous court poet of a Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha; and estimates their age ca. 10th century A.D.

88. SMITH, V. A. Discovery of the plays of Bhāsa, a predecessor of Kalidasa. In *Ind. Ant.* vol. 40 (1911), pp. 87-99.

See No. 107.

89. SUALI, LUIGI. I drammi di Bhāsa. Firenze, 1912, pp. 36.

Reprinted from *Giorn. Soc. Asiat. Ital.* 1912. The article was continued in vol. 26 of the Journal, but the continuation is not available to me.—Assigns the dramas to ca. 2nd century A.D.

90. SUKTHANKAR, V. S. Studies in Bhāsa:

I. On certain archaisms in the Prakrit of these dramas. In *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* vol. 40 (1928), pp. 248-259.

II. On the versification of the metrical portions of the dramas. *Ibid.* vol. 41 (1921), pp. 107-130.

III. On the relationship between the Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika. *Ibid.* vol. 42 (1922), pp. 59-74.

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1 Vikrama 1970 corresponds to A.D. 1914-15.

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IV. A concordance of the dramas. In *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, vol. 4 (1923).

V. A bibliographical note. In *Journ. Bombay Branch of the Royal As. Soc.* vol. 26, pp. 230 ff.

91. SUKTHANKAR, V. S. A note on the dramas of Bhāsa. In *Shamā'a* (a Magazine of Art, Literature and Philosophy, published in Madras), vol. 3 (1922), p. 59 f.

A note of a popular character appended to the translation of the Svapnavāsavadatta, appearing in the same Magazine.

92. THOMAS, F. W. The plays of Bhāsa. In *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1922, pp. 79-83.

Sets forth fresh reasons in support of the Bhāsa theory, being at the same a rejoinder to BARNETT, *ibid.* 1921, pp. 587-589 (see No. 61).

93. VENKATARAMAN, T. L. The Date of Bhāsa. In *Modern Review* (Calcutta), vol. 14 (1913), p. 579 f.

Rejoinder to P. CHAUDHURI'S 'The Date of Bhāsa,' *Mod. Rev.* vol. 14 (1913), pp. 382-387. See No. 64.

[247] 94. WINTERNITZ, M. Der indische Dramendichter Bhāsa. In *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jg. 9 (1922), pp. 282-299.

Contents: 1. Is Bhāsa the author of the dramas attributed to him? 2. The date of Bhāsa. 3. Some observations on Max LINDENAU'S "Bhāsa-Studien" (see No. 79). The Appendix emphasises the writer's view that the ascription of the plays to Bhāsa is nothing more than a 'hypothesis,' which needs further investigation, and verification.

95. WINTERNITZ, M. Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band 3 (1922), pp. 184-202, 205 f., 209 f., 644-646; see also Index s. v. Bhāsa.

C. INCIDENTAL REFERENCES.

96. BHATTANATHA SVAMIN. Mayuraja. In *Ind. Ant.* 41 (1912), p. 141.

A propos of M. KRISHNAMACHARYA'S ascription of *Kiranāvali* and other dramas to Bhāsa (see No. 105).

97. DEB, HARIT KRISHNA. Udayana Vatsa-raja. Calcutta, 1918, pp. 1-9.

A brochure published by the author himself.—Mainly historical gleanings.

98. GRAY, LOUIS H. Vasavadatta, a Sanskrit romance by Subandhu, translated with an introduction and notes. New York, 1913, p. 1 f. (of the Introduction). (= Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. 8.)

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99. JAYASWAL, K. P. Statues of two Śaiśunaka emperors (483-409 B. C.) In *The Journ. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.* vol. 5 (1919), p. 98 f.

The Pratimā is cited here to establish the 'custom of maintaining a royal gallery of portrait statues,' such as those of the Sātavāhana kings at Nānāghāṭ, and of the Śaiśunāga kings, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

100. JOLLY, J. Kollektaneen zum Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. In *Nachricht. königl. Gesell. Wissen. zu Göttingen,* 1916, p. 353.

101. KALE, M. R. In the Introduction to his edition of the Ratnāvalī, Bombay, 1921, pp. xvii-xx.

Discusses the validity of the alleged quotations from the Kavivimarśa of Rājaśekhara, published by Narayan Sastri. See also the bhūmikā to the Vani Vilasa edition of the Priyadarśikā, p. xxvii.

[248] 102. KONOW, STEN. In his review of HILLEBRANDT'S edition of the Mudrārākshasa, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 43 (1914), pp. 65-67.

103. KONOW, STEN. Zur Frühgeschichte des indischen Theaters. In *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte,* vornehmlich des Orients, *Ernst Kuhn* zum 70. Geburtstage am 7. Februar 1916 gewidmet von Freunden and Schülern. München, 1917, pp. 106 ff.

Embodying views substantially the same as those expressed in his work 'Das indische Drama' (see No. 74).

104. KONOW, STEN. In his review of W. CALAND'S edition of Gopālakelichandrikā, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 49 (1920), pp. 233-235.

Chiefly criticises BARNETT'S articles on the subject (see Nos. 59 & 60).

105. KRISHNAMACHARYA, M. A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1906, p. 67.

Refers to a tradition which ascribes the Udāttarāghava, Svapnavāsavadatta, and Kiraṇāvalī to Bhāsa. That passage has been criticized by Bhattanatha Svamin, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 41, p. 141.

106. MEHENDALE, K. C. Date of Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika. In *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar,* Poona, 1917, pp. 368-370, 374.

'It is an undoubted fact that the *Chārudatta* formed a unit in the *nāṭakachakra* of Bhāsa ... The *Cārudatta* printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is evidently a fragment.'

107. NARASIMHACHAR, R. In Archæological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1909-10, p. 46.

The pertinent passages have been excerpted by V. A. SMITH, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 40, p. 87 f. (see No. 88).

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108. NERURKAR, V. R. In the Introduction to his edition of the Mṛichchhakaṭika, Bombay, 1919, pp. 14-19.

'Chārudatta and Mṛichchhakaṭika are probably the productions of one and the same author—namely Bhāsa. This is not the Pre-Kalidasian Bhāsa. . .but a Bhāsa who was dhāvaka washerman by caste and who flourished in the time of Shri Harsha (7th Century—the first half).'

109. PISCHEL, R. In *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, pp. 1229 ff.

[249] 110. SARASWATI, A. RANGASWAMI. The age of Bharavi and Dandin or the literary history of the Pallava period. In *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, vol. 13 (1923), p. 686.

111. SAUNDERS, VIRGINIA. Some literary aspects of the absence of tragedy in the classical Sanskrit drama. In *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* vol. 41 (1921), pp. 152-156.

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VI. ON THE PRAKRIT OF THE DRAMAS.[1]

THIS is a rather belated review of the thesis *Bhāsa's Prākrit* by Dr. WILHELM PRINTZ, which was accepted by the University of Frankfurt as 'Habilitationsschrift' in 1919, but which was not published till 1921.[2] It is undoubtedly the most important contribution[3] hitherto made to the study of the Prakrit of the thirteen anonymous plays attributed to Bhāsa, and as such it deserves a detailed notice. Moreover, as the author of the brochure contemplates incorporating the published material in a Prakrit Lexicon which he is preparing,[4] it appeared desirable that before the material is finally embodied in the proposed dictionary, the thesis should be critically examined by some one who has made a careful study of these dramas. As I had already collected considerable data of a similar kind in the course of my study of the dramas, I was in a position to check without much difficulty the statements of PRINTZ by comparing them with my own unpublished notes. The following review is the outcome of this comparison.

It may be stated at the very outset that the work of PRINTZ represents the most painstaking, minute and comprehensive review, hitherto published, of the Prakrit of these dramas. As a monument of patient erudition it commands respect, and as a conscientious piece of laborious work it will be valued by every [104] serious student not only of the Trivandrum plays but also of dramatic Prakrit. The searching criticism to which it is here subjected is not made in a captious spirit of fault-finding; it is offered with a view to increasing the value and utility of the work.

A defect which mars considerably the value of this dissertation is the axiomatic finality with which PRINTZ postulates the authorship of Bhāsa; for though the attribution of the plays to this dramatist may be said not to have been satisfactorily disproved,[5] it cannot be contended any longer, in face of the numerous valid objections raised against the theory, that it has been satisfactorily established either.[6] Not only does PRINTZ categorically

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1 [*JBBRAS* NS. 1, 103-117.]

2 WILHELM PRINTZ: *Bhâsa's Präkrit*, Frankfurt a. M., 1921, im Selbstverlag, p. 47.

3 The Czech contribution of LESNY to the Bohemian Academy of Sciences is to me, unfortunately, a sealed book. Its resumé, *ZDMG* 72 (1918), 203 ff. is rather scrappy.

4 See PRINTZ's Einleitung (p. 3).

5 A. Berriedale KEITH, Notes on the Sanskrit drama, *BSOS* 3, 295 ff.

6 See my Studies in Bhāsa V, *JBBRAS.* 26, 234; PISHAROTI and PISHAROTI, "Bhāsa's Works"—Are they genuine?, *BSOS* 3, 107 ff.; Kunhan RAJA, Bhāsa; another side, *Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran.* 2, 247 ff.; BARNETT, *BSOS* 3, 35; and W. E. CLARK, *JAOS* 44, 101 f.

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assume Bhāsa's authorship, his methodology seems to imply also that the Trivandrum texts have been handed down in an almost unalloyed condition since the time of the supposed author Bhāsa! PRINTZ deals with the Prakrit of these plays in the same confident way in which Prof. LÜDERS has dealt with the Prakrit of the Turfan fragments of Buddhist dramas.[7] In doing so, PRINTZ has failed to take into account the essential difference of character between the two sets of manuscripts, not to speak of the manner in which they have been edited; he appears not to appreciate the elementary fact that Prakrit texts are liable to serious mutilation and corruption in the course of transmission through centuries, and that they need most careful editing. PRINTZ's method of arguing is most unscientific.

Even a cursory examination of the Prakrit of these dramas is sufficient to show that the manuscripts are full of blunders and inconsistencies. Here are some *a priori* considerations which cast suspicion on the absolute purity of the text: the frequent elision in Śaurasenī of *t* in the termination of 3. Sing. Pres. (*-ti*) and in the ending of the Part. Perf. Pass. (*-ta-*) (PRINTZ 32, 39); the uniform [105] change of intervocalic *-th-* to *-h-* (PRINTZ 16); the termination of 2. Plu. Indic. and Imp. *-ha* instead of *-dha* (PRINTZ 32); the frequent change, in Māgadhī, of initial *y-* to *j-* (PRINTZ 17); the (apparent) retention of *-yy-* (derived from Skt. *-ry-*) in Śaurasenī (PRINTZ 21); evident Dravidianisms[8] such as Śaur. *-nd-* instead of *-nt-* (PRINTZ 19); uniform cerebralization of *l* (initial as well as double) (PRINTZ 18); the forms *attabhavaṁ, tattabhavaṁ*[9] (PRINTZ 22); palpable Sanskritisms like *vissasihi, samassasihi*,[10] *rodidi* (PRINTZ 34), *āmantaāṇi* (PRINTZ 32); and so on and so forth.

Another—and a more serious—defect in this dissertation of PRINTZ arises out of the faulty classification of the Prakrits. It is extremely unfortunate that PRINTZ (p. 6) should have thought fit to style as Māgadhī the Prakrit of the Cowherds in the two Kṛṣṇa dramas. It seems unnecessary to point out that a Māgadhī in which the Nom. Sing. of thematic stems ends in *-o* is no Māgadhī at all; at least not the Māgadhī we know anything of. This curious dialect of the Cowherds in Bāla. and Pañca. has all the appearance of being a western or northern dialect, and may, for the sake of convenience, be styled a variety of Śaurasenī, as WELLER has done;[11] but I fail to see how it could be called Māgadhī. Again, to bracket together the dialect of Indra (in Karṇa.) and of the Pugilists (in Bāla.), and to label them as Ardhamāgadhī[12] is not merely a 'Notbehelf' (as PRINTZ calls it), but the

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7 LÜDERS, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin 1911.

8 PISCHEL 275. 9 *Ibid.* 293. 10 *Ibid.* 495.

11 Dr. H. WELLER, *Bālacarita* (Leipzig 1822), Vorwort, p. iii. BANERJI-SASTRI, Bhāsa: His age and Māgadhī, *Journ. of the Bihar & Orissa Res. Soc.* 1923, pp. 1 ff. admits under Māgadhī the dialects of Unmattaka and Śakāra only.

12 KONOW, *Das indische Drama* § 11, hesitatingly assigns Ardhamāgadhī to the dialect of Indra (Karṇa.) only.

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height of inconsequence and arbitrariness. It seems almost as though PRINTZ needed 'Belege' for Ardhamāgadhī in order to complete his case for Bhāsa; and the dialect of the Pugilists was the only one handy besides the few sentences spoken by Indra. These facts, unfortunately, make PRINTZ's citations for Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī all but useless.

Since the appearance of the dissertation of PRINTZ, our knowledge of dramatic Prakrit has been considerably furthered through [106] the publication of the southern texts of other dramas.[13] The additional light thrown by these publications on the practice of southen dramatists and southern scribes will necessitate correction in many a hasty generalization of PRINTZ, based on an observation of too narrow a field.

With these preliminary remarks we may proceed to an examination of PRINTZ's treatment of the grammar of the Prakrit of these plays, which begins on p. 8 and comprises the major part of the thesis.

Page 8. (*Line* 5) Ś. *pāaḍa-* (*prākṛta-*) Avi. 29 has the usual meaning 'common'; *pāaḍagaṇiā* means 'a common prostitute', and therefore it is not necessary to stretch *pāaḍa-* to mean 'weggejagt,' as P. does.—(*Line* 6.) There is no need to trace back *pākida-* Pratijñā. 13 to *prakṛta-* since *prākṛtaḥ* (Pkt. *pākido* 'a common fellow') gives a thoroughly satisfactory sense without any difficulty.—(*Line* 12.) *vaṣabha-* and *govaṣaha-* Bāla. 15 are not Māg.; they may be said to belong to a sub-variety of Śaur. assigned to Cowherds.—(*Line* 13.) *hìaa-* Bāla. 54 is likewise not Māg.—Thus the distinction that P. tries to draw between the Śaur. and Māg. treatments of *r* (*line* 9) on the ground of the instances cited by him in the first paragraph is illusory.—(*Line* 18.) Ś. *-uttiṁ* ifc. Pratijñā. 44 is noteworthy only as an orthographical peculiarity; for the elision of medial *v* in these mss. cf. PRINTZ 19. The *v* of *-vutti-* has been correctly retained in *sāhāraṇavuttiṁ* Cāru. 7. Ś. *uttanta-* (*vṛttānta-*) Pratijñā. 18, Abhi. 24 appears not to have even that justification. There should be no hesitation in correcting the text reading to *vuttanta*, since the former appears to owe its existence to the influence of such doubtful forms as *pautta-* Pratijñā. 51, *ṣaṁpāuda-* Bāla. 9.—(*Line* 24.) *amida-* Bāla. 39 is [107] taken from the speech of Vṛddhagopālaka and is therefore not Māg.

Page 9. (*Line* 4.) As we find *yeva* (i.e. *eva* with prefixed *y-*) even in the Old Śaur. of the Turfan fragments (LÜDERS 59), the Śaur. *e(v)va* of our mss. would appear to be an orthographical blunder; it is probably nothing more than a Sanskritism!—(*Line* 32.) In *odaradī via* (*avatarati iva*) Cāru.

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[13] Among others Mattavilāsa (Trivandrum Skt. Series, no. 55), Kalyāṇasaugandhika (*BSOS* 3, 33 ff.), and the prologue of the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi (*BSOS* 3, 116 f.), besides the southern recensions of classical and post-classical dramas, published in the Trivandrum Skt. Series and elsewhere.—For important additions of lengthy Māgadhī passages unknown to PISCHEL and perhaps to PRINTZ, see now W. E. CLARK, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī *JAOS* 44, 96, footnote 44.

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51 etc. there appears to be a confusion between the use of the enclitikon *-vva* (with subsequent elision of one *v* and compensation lengthening) and that of Ś. *via*.[14] The alternative forms are *odaradīva* (for *odaradivva*) and *odaradi via*; the hybrid forms of our mss. appear to be utterly without justification.

Page 10. (*Line* 13.) There is no shortening of the end vowel in *haddhi* (*hā dhik*), which is arrived at by a regular elision of the final consonant; on the other hand there is an anomalous lengthening of the end vowel in *haddhī* cited by P. from Śak.—(*Line* 17.) As the short final of vocatives of nouns ending in *-a* alternated frequently with the pluti vowel,[15] it is highly improbable that the initial of *khu* should be doubled just after a vocative, when it is not doubled in any other position. WELLER (ed. Bālacarita, p. 38) is therefore perfectly justified in emending the ms. reading *kkhu* (in the four isolated cases in) Bāla. 34 to *khu*.—(*Line* 21.) *dhikkhu*=*dhik-khalu* and not *dhīk khalu*.—(*Line* 30.) As the Old Śaur. of Turfan fragments shows *yeva*, the form Ś. *īdisavaṇṇayyeva* (*īdṛsavarṇā*+*eva*), condemned by P., appears to be correct Pkt.: on the other hand the spurious forms *e*(*v*)*va*, approved of by P., have all the appearance of being unauthorized Sanskritisms, as already remarked.—(*Line* 34.) *durattaṇayyeva* Bāla. 18 is not Māg.

Page 11. (*Line* 9.) Ś. *-matta-* (*-mātra-*) ifc. occurs likewise in Kalyāṇa-saugandhika (ed. BARNETT, *BSOS* 3, 37), *ettiammatto maggo*. [108] If it is an archaism, as it appears to be, it is probably one common to all Malayalam mss., and not peculiar to the Trivandrum plays. Hema. 1. 81 cites, as a matter of fact, both variants *matta-* and *metta-*. —(*Line* 34.) P. implies that the form *purusa-* is older than *purisa-*. It may be so. But Mārkaṇḍeya, Prākṛtasarvasva 9.9, assigns *purusa-* to Śaur. and *purisa-* to Mahārāṣṭrī. This suggests that the difference between them is really dialectic, a view fully endorsed by the ground-form **pūrṣa-* (WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* 1. § 51). In the northern mss., the Mahārāṣṭrī form *purisa-* appears to have been stereotyped. In our mss., however, *purusa-* may be merely an incorrect (or accidentally correct) Tadbhava.

Page 12, *line* 20. Ś. *arihadi*, etc. I adhere to the views expressed in my Studies in Bhāsa I, *JAOS* 40, 252 f., despite the remarks of PRINTZ on p. 46.

Page 13, *line* 3. With *-puruva-* (*-pūrva-*) ifc. of our mss. compare *diṭṭhapuru*[*vo*] of the Turfan Fragments (LÜDERS 50), not noticed by P.

Page 14, *line* 19. P. mentions *oggada-* Bāla. 9, 12 as an exception to the rule that the preposition *apa-* appears invariably as *ava-*; but, as a matter

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[14] PISCHEL's observation is that *iva* becomes *-vva* after short vowels sporadically in verses only; one of the examples cited by him is: *samūsasantivva*. But the rule holds good only for Mahār., Ardham. and Jaina Mahār. (*Gramm. Pkt. Spr.* 143.)

[15] See PISCHEL 71. The length is maintained even in the tertiary stage; cf. BLOCH, *La formation de la langue marathe*, p. 180.

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of fact, it is better to trace *oggada-* to *udgata-*[16] than to *apagata-* (proposed by Chāyā) ; for the instances of the change of short *u* to short *o*, see PRINTZ 11 f.

Page 15. (*Line* 18.) The explanation of *ṣuṭṭhu īdaṁ* Bāla. 42 (proposed in the Chāyā and accepted by P.) is unsatisfactory. In view of *ṣuṭṭhu gāidaṁ* in the parallel passage Pañca. 22, either read *ṣuṭṭhu idaṁ*, or correct the text to *ṣuṭṭhu gāidaṁ*, following WELLER, ed. Bālacarita, p. 49. There should be really no hesitation in making the correction, since the text of the Trivandrum edition is based on one single ms., which swarms with mistakes.—(*Line* 11.) The change of *-th-* to *-h-* (instead of *-dh-*) in Śaur. appears to be a characteristic of these Malayalam mss. ; thus Kalyāṇas. (ed. BARNETT) has *kahaṁ* (pp. 36, 37, Skt. *katham*), *ṇāha-* (pp. 40, 41, 48, Skt. *nātha-*), etc. Similarly in the extract from the Prologue of the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi (*BSOS*. 3, 117) published by Pisharoti.

[109] *Page* 16, *line* 15. P. does not give the reference for *aghaṁ* =*dhīk*; but I expect that the Chāyā spells it correctly as *dhik*.

Page 17. (*Line* 13.) As regards the change of *cch* to *sc*, it should be remembered that the rule is seldom followed in the mss. of dramas. PISCHEL admits that the texts have mostly *cch*, and although he adds that the mss. show distinct traces of this rule, he cites only instances from the Mṛccha. and the Com. Pṛthvīdhara. To judge by the dramatic texts published in the Trivandrum Saṇskrit Series (such as the Mattavilāsa, Subhadrādhanaṁjaya and others), the Malayalam mss. show uniformly *cch*.[17]—(*Line* 14.) The instances P. quotes for the retention of *y* in Māgadhī have been taken mostly from the speeches of Cowherds in the two Kṛṣṇa dramas, and are therefore, for reasons already given, perfectly irrelevant. Moreover, the instances cited for the irregular change of *y* to *j* in Māg. are more numerous than for the correct retention of *y*. Conversely, the instances for the incorrect retention of *y* in Śaur. are almost as numerous as those for the regular change of *y* to *j*. In fact, the treatment of *y-j* in the mss. of our dramas is inconsequent to a degree, violating all rules of Pkt. grammar, and cannot therefore be made the basis of any inference like that drawn by P.

Page 18. (*Line* 16.) The rule regarding the change of *r* to *l* is not applicable to the cases P. has in view, the dialect in question not being Māg. ; so there is probably no text corruption.—(*Line* 36.) *ḷ* for *ḷ* appears to be a characteristic of Malayalam mss. ; cf. Kalyāṇas. (ed. BARNETT) p. 41 *ḷakkhīadi*, p. 42 *sagga-ḷacchī*, p. 49 *bahaḷattaṇa*.—But it is never carried out quite so consistently as in the Trivandrum texts. My surmise is that the editor has normalized the spelling and written *ḷ* throughout, irrespective of the ms. spelling.

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16 APTE's Dictionary gives sub voce *ud-gam-* the meaning 'to depart (as life).'

17 See W. E. CLARK, *JAOS* 44, 82-93.

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Page 20. (*Line* 13.) The confusion between the Śaur. and Māg. treatments (*-ṇṇ-* and *-ññ-*) of the Skt. *-jñ-* is so complete in our mss. and besides so common in all classes of mss. that to my mind it is most uncritical to assume that *-ṇṇ-* has crept into our texts through contamination with younger texts.—(*Line* 15.) The examples *yañña* Bāla. 9 and *laññó* Bāla. 10 cited by P. as Māg. [110] are not Māg.—(*Line* 17.) The treatment of Skt. *-ny-* is analogous and P. himself cites a very illuminating example : *Ś. dakkhiññadā, sadakkhiññā, sadakkhiṇṇa,* and *adakkhiṇṇa.*—(*Line* 33.) Owing to the uncertainty characterizing the ligature *-yy-* in southern mss., we cannot attach much importance to the spelling *uyyāṇa-* (*udyāna-*) Avi. 2, 4 ; it may be read as *uyyāṇa-* or as *ujjāṇa-* ; see below.

Page 21. (*Line* 4 f.) The examples *aṇṇa-, kaṇṇaā,* and *ṇāsa-* cited by P. from Bāla. are not Māg., but, as pointed out often enough above, a variety of Śaur.—(*Line* 12.) BARNETT in his edition of the Kalyāṇas. (*BSOS* 3, 36, footnote 5) states that in his ms. the word *ayya* is spelt *aṁa,*[18] and therefore in all likelihood the Trivandrum mss. also follow the same orthography, although Ganapati SASTRI is silent on the point. It must thus be regarded as still uncertain whether the ligature is to be read as *-yy-* or as *-jj-*, or again be looked on as representing a sound intermediate between the two (PISCHEL 193, 284). P. adds that the reading *-yy-* is assured, because of the hesitating orthography in words like *ṇiyyādedi- ṇiādedi,* but in this P. is grossly mistaken ; for P. admits that *-j-* is preserved only—or at least mostly—at the point of contact in a compound, but is elided generally in the middle of a word (PRINTZ 15) ; *ṇiādedi* may therefore stand for *ṇijādedi* as well as for *ṇiyādedi,* since intervocalic *-j-* is dropped in the same way as intervocalic *-y-*, cf. *antaa-* (*antaja*) Avi. 14, *pūaṇia* (*pūjanīya-*) Cāru. 34 *rāā* (*rājā*) Svapna. 6 etc. Thus it is evident that it is a futile attempt to try to place the treatment of Skt. *-ry-* in our dramas on the same footing as in the Turfan Fragments.[19]

Page 22, line 13. The Chāyā is perfectly right in explaining the compound *saṭṭhīkida-* as *ṣaṣṭhīkṛta-* ; see MORGENSTIERNE, *Ueber das Verhältnis zwischen Cāru. u. Mṛccha.* 30. The rendering of P. is grammatically faultless ; unfortunately it makes no sense. Expand the compound *ṣaṣṭhī(sambandhi)kṛtadevakārya-* (= *kṛtaṣaṣṭhīsaṁbandhidevakārya-*) 'one who has performed the religious duties [111] (pertaining) to the sixth' ; for the transposition of the members of a compound, see PISCHEL 603 ; for the significance of the *sixth,* see the discussion on the tithi scheme and the time analysis of the Cāru. in my Studies in Bhāsa III, *JAOS.* 42, 67 ff. Lastly, it may be pointed out that the usual reflex of *-rth-*, in our plays, is *-tth-* and not *-ṭṭh-* ;

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[18] See also his footnote to PISHAROTI's transliteration of the Prologue of the Āscaryacūḍāmaṇi, *BSOS* 3, 116.

[19] LESNY (*ZDMG* 72, 207) has fallen in the same trap, through the omission of the editor to report about the orthographical peculiarity of southern mss.

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cf. *atthavāvārā* (*arthavyāpārā*) Cāru. 10, *attha* (*artha-*) Svapna. 54, and elsewhere.

Page 23, *line* 12. P. has failed to notice that *ṇikkhanta-* of our dramas has a parallel in *nikkhanta-* of the Turfan Fragments (LÜDERS 61).

Page 26. (*Line* 12). The Māg. in which the Nom. Sing. of thematic stems ends in *-o*, as already remarked, is no Māg.[20] PRINTZ's treatment of the dialect of the Cowherds as Māg. has been rightly rejected by WELLER, ed. Bāla. Vorwort, p. iii f.—(*Line* 14.) Better to correct the text reading to *Ṇandagovaputto paṣūdo* Bāla. 35 as WELLER (op. cit. p. 40) has done, because the construction of a loc. abs. with *jadappahudi* is harsh.—(*Line* 15.) The Ardham. in which the Nom. Sing. of thematic stems ends in *-o* is no Ardham.—(*Line* 30.) It is a notable observation of P. that in the plays before us there are instances of Acc. Plu. Masc. ending in *-āṇi* in Śaur. and Māg. But his remarks on the subject call forth following comment. (1) All the examples cited by P. but one are from Śaur.; the exception is *amhāḷiśakāṇi* Cāru. 14. (2) With the exceptions of two adjectives, *tādisāṇi* and *amhāḷiśakāṇi*, all the words refer to inanimate objects (*kesa, gucchaa, gumhaa, guṇa, paāra, māsaa phaṇa, saaḍaa* and *paṭaha*). (3) In the example *tāṇi dāva sehāḷiāgumhaāṇi pekkhāmi kusumidāṇi vā ṇa vetti* Svapna. 33, *gumhaāṇi* is Nom. Plu. and not Acc. Plu. P. was evidently misled by the position of *pekkhāmi* and has taken *gumhaāṇi* as its object. The object of *pekkhāmi*, however, is not *gumhaāṇi*, but the whole sentence *tāṇi* [112] *dāva sehāḷiā°* etc. (4) Pkt. grammarians (Hema. 1. 34) permit the optional forms *guṇā* (m.) and *guṇāiṁ* (n.) and therefore the suggested change in Cāru. 47 is quite uncalled for; P. has here again been misled by the Chāyā. The text reading is *ekapurusapakkhavādidā savvaguṇāṇaṁ hanti*; and P. wants to correct the text reading *guṇāṇaṁ* to *guṇāṇi*; but *guṇāṇaṁ* is clearly nothing more than an incorrect contraction of *guṇā ṇaṁ*. (5) It is questionable whether we have to correct *pāṇāṇi* (Svapna.) to *pāṇā*, or to correct *pāṇā* (Pratijñā.) to *pāṇāṇi*; or again to let them both stand, like so many doublets in Pkt. (6) With regard to *māsaāṇi*, it should be remarked that in Cāru. 5 the Nom. Plu. has the identical form *māsaāṇi*,[21] which makes it doubtful whether in Pratijña. the word is used as mas. or as neut. (7) If *śakaṭa-* is n., *saaḍaa-* could, I think, quite easily be also n. I am not able to check the

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[20] The use of the cerebral *ṣ* is certainly peculiar. Though unnoticed by Prakrit grammarians it is not altogether unknown to Prakrit orthography. The Shahbazgarhi, Mansera and Kalsi versions of Aśoka's edicts are full of words spelt with the cerebral *ṣ*. A few examples chosen at random are: Rock Edict XII Sh *savraṭraṣaṁdani*, M *savraṭraṣadani*, K *ṣavāpāṣaṁdani*; III M *pariṣa*; XIII K *ṣe athi aṁuṣaye*; ibid. *aṭhavaṣābhisitaṣā devāṇaṁ piyaṣa Piyadaṣine lājine*; VIII Sh *daśavaṣabhisito sato*.

[21] The text reading is: *avia dakkhiṇāmāsaāṇi bhavissanti*, repeated by the Vidūṣaka on p. 6 of the text.

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example, as P. has omitted to give the reference to the text. (8) As a reference to the Petersb. Dict. will show, *paṭaha-* is used sometimes as n. and what is more important is that the passage cited (Bāla. 62) is not Ardham. (9) P. has not given a single instance of any of these words being actually used *in these plays* with masc. ending to show that they are used in the Prakrit of these dramas as masc. nouns; on the other hand, he has cited (p. 25) a number of cases in which the gender has actually changed from m. to n.: *aṅkuśa, puruṣakāra, guḍa, naraka, vāsa, svapna,* and *taṇḍula,* some of which are used in both genders indiscriminately. And as pointed out above, none of these words (with the exception of the two adjectives) are protected against neutralization by their meaning, as they are all names of inanimate objects. (10) Lastly, it is worth remembering that Prof. LÜDERS, after a most exhaustive and minute investigation of the entire material, has succeeded in establishing this peculiar form for Ardham. and Māg. only; for Śaur. its propriety is still questionable (LÜDERS, Epigraphische Beiträge III = *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Akad.* 1913, p. 1009). It should seem then that while there is a distinct possibility that some of the instances cited by P. are Acc. Plu. Masc. formed with the termination *-āṇi,* in others there has most probably been a change of gender. The claim of P. is justified to [113] a certain extent, but it is undeniable that P.. considerably over-shoots the mark.

Page 27. (*Line* 23.) The propriety of assuming a Loc. Sing. Fem. in *-āaṁ* is questionable; we should sooner assume an unauthorized Sanskritism. —(*Line* 27.) *vīṇā* Cāru. 79 has been correctly construed in the Chāyā as Nom.; PRINTZ has been apparently misled by the text reading *vādāanti,* which is only a misprint for *vādīanti,* duly corrected in the second edition (p. 97).—(*Line* 32.) There is no need to correct *Ujjaïṇīo* to *Ujjaïṇīe* in Svapna. 21, 22 (first ed. pp. 20, 21), since *Ujjaïṇīo* is not Gen. Sing. but a nominal adj. (= *Ujjayinīka-* or *Ujjayinīya-*) derived from Ujjayinī; P. has again allowed himself to be misled by the Chāyā.

Page 30. (*Line* 2.) P. has misunderstood the passage cited by him; the subject of *bhavissadi* is *uvāaṇaṁ* and not *tāṇi,* which is the predicate!—(*Line* 3.) *tāṇi* Svapna. 33 is not Acc. Plu. Masc. but Nom. Plu. Neut. (see above).—(*Line* 35.) It is uncertain whether *imāṇi* Pratijñā. 46 should be regarded as Masc. or Neut., since *māsaāṇi* Cāru. 5, 6 has been used once as Nom. Plu. (see above).

Page 31, *lines* 29-31. Ś. *saṭṭhī, sattamī* and *aṭṭhamī* refer to the *day* of the lunar month, and not to the *hour* of the day; cf. *aṭṭhamī khu ajja* Cāru. 53. Further *kālaṭṭhamī* Pratijñā. 50 is not the 'black eighth hour,' but the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when Kṛṣṇa was born, a day also known as Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī.

Page 34, *line* 27. The text reading *vādāanti* Cāru. 79 is only a misprint, as already remarked, for *vādīanti,* corrected in the second edition. The sign

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of the medial *ī* was displaced and knocked off by the superior Devanāgarī figure 4. The Chāyā correctly renders it as *vādyante*, a fact which should have put P. on the right track.

Page 35, *line* 36. It is not quite clear to me what P. means by future forms with thematic *-i-*, unless he is referring to forms like *ukkaṇṭhissidi* Svapna. 17, *jivissidi* Dūtagh. 54. The Turfan fragments have preserved *pavvajissiti* (LÜDERS 48, footnote 1).

Page 36, *line* 23. No need to correct *pucchīadi* to *pacchīadi*, if the sentence is understood aright; see BELLONI-FILIPPI, Note [114] critiche ed esegetiche al "Cārudatta" di Bhāsa, *Riv, studi orient.* 9, 586.

Page 41, line 16. In explaining *āamia* Pratijñā. 11 as Abs. of rt. *gam*, P. follows the Chāyā, and has been misled again; for by reading the passage himself, he could have seen that *āgamya* in that context does not make any sense; here *āamia* is obviously = *ācamya*, *ācamana* being a ceremony which always precedes the praṇāma. The stage direction *ācamya* is particularly frequent in these plays.

Page 44. (*Line* 11.) Ś. *āma* occurs in the Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha 5. 114 and 9.70, as pointed out by WINTERNITZ, *Ostasiat. Zeitsch.* 9, 290, and in Mattavilāsa.—(Line 19.) Ś. *uvaṇhāṇa* Avi. 79, to judge by the context, is not 'Waschwasser,' but some other accessory of the bath, perhaps ointment.—(*Line* 26.) The reference for *kumbhavaḷāa* has been left out inadvertently.

Page 45. (*Line* 2.) If *tuṇṇiā* is the same as *tuṇhiā* of the second edition (p. 21) it will hardly be necessary to assume the improbable meaning 'Schwiegertochter' for an imaginary word *tuṇṇiā*, since *tuṇhīā* is a regular derivative of Skt. *tūṣṇīkā* 'silent,' which gives a thoroughly satisfactory sense; see my translation (Oxford University Press 1923), p. 21.—(*Line* 4.) The successive steps by which *pankhu* Bāla. 14 is reached appear to be these: Skt. *pāṁsu* > Pkt. *pāṁṣu*,[22] *pāṁkhu*, *paṁkhu*; whether the form is valid and admissible is another question; about the meaning, however, there cannot be any doubt; see WELLER, *Die Abenteuer des Knaben Krischna*, Anmerkungen, p. 94—(*Line* 7.) Instead of correcting *vaḍivassaa-* Cāru. 1, 4 to *paḍivassaa-* (as suggested by P.), adopt the reading of ms. kha, *paḍivcssa-* (Skt. *prativeśya-*) Cāru. 4 footnote.—(*Line* 13.) Ś. *paḍisarā* is, as Ganapati SASTRI in his commentary to the second edition of the Pratijñā. explains, a charmed protective thread worn round the arm (*hastadhāryaṁ rakṣāsūtram*); in support he quotes Keśava: *pratisarastu syād hastasūtre nṛṣaṇḍayoḥ | ... vraṇaśuddhau ca kecit tu striyāṁ pratisarāṁ viduḥ ||*.—(*Line* 21.) For S. *laṇḍuo*, see now MORGENSTIERNE, *Ueber das Verhältnis zwischen Cāru. u. Mṛccha.* p. 27 f., who has undoubtedly proposed a very

22 WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gramm.* 1 § 118.

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satisfactory explana-[115]-tion.—(*Line* 22.) For *lohi* also see MORGENSTIERNE, op. cit. p. 26, who refers to a Divyāvadāna passage cited by MONIER-WILLIAMS.—(*Line* 24.) Both the form and meaning of *honti*-Svapna. 59 are quite clear. The Chāyā rightly explains it as *huṅkṛti*; *honti* = *huṁ-ti* for *hum iti*, lit. 'huṁ'- making, that is, following the narrative with the ejaculation 'huṁ,' in order to show continued attention; see my (O.U.P.) p. 57 and explanatory note 20. Cf. the analogous derivatives *jhaṭ-iti*, *taḍ-iti*, and see examples in Kāśikā to Pāṇini 6. 1. 98. See also now BELLONI-FILIPPI, *Riv studi orient.* 10, 370.

We will now revert to p. 5 of the thesis, where PRINTZ has presented in a collected form the most important peculiarities of the Prakrit of these dramas, which establish, according to him (p. 47), the antiquity of the dramas, as also in a remote manner the authorship of Bhāsa. In regard to these alleged peculiarities,[23] I have to submit the following remarks and reservations: (1) *metta-*(*mātra-*) according to P. is later than *matta-*. It may be so. But *matta-* is mentioned by grammarians like Hemacandra and occurs in the Kalyāṇas. also. It cannot therefore be said to be peculiar to the Trivandrum plays. (2) Svarabhakti *u* in *purusa-* is correct in Śaur. according to Mārkaṇḍeya. (3) *-puruva-*(instead of *-puvva-*Skt. *-pūrva-*) ifc. is found in the Turfan Fragments, and may therefore be regarded as a genuine archaism. (4) The regular cerebralization of *l* is a characteristic of Malayalam mss., also found in most of the southern editions of classical dramas recently published; it is not a peculiarity of the Trivandrum plays. (5) In the hesitation between the reflexes *-ṇṇ-* and *-ññ-* (Turfan-*ññ-*) of *-jñ-* I see a confusion between the Śaur. and Māg. forms, an explanation which harmonises with the frequent representation of *-ny-* by *-ṇṇ-* (the Turfan mss. show *-ññ-*). (6) The alleged change of *-dy-*(in *ud-y-*) and *-ry-* to *-yy-* is uṅ-[116]-certain, since the symbol used in southern mss. to represent the ligature is ambiguous. These doubts are only strengthened by the inconsequent treatment of initial *y-*. (7) The change of *-kṣ-* to *-kkh-* instead of *-cch-* signifies nothing relative to the age of the plays. (8) Some of the instances of Acc. Plu. Masc. ending in *-āṇi* cited by P. are valid; others are doubtful or spurious. (9) Nom. Acc. Plu. Neut. in *-āṇi* appears to be a common, if not the regular, form in Malayalam mss. (10) The Loc. Sing. Fem. ending in *-āaṁ*, as well as *attāṇaṁ* (for *attāṇaaṁ*), I regard as Sanskritisms, as there is no authority for them anywhere else. (11) *vaaṁ*, *amhāaṁ*, *tava*, and *kissa* are true archaisms, as they are documented by actual instances in the Turfan Fragments. But it appears now that they

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[23] See also W. E. CLARK, *JAOS* 44, 101 f.—CLARK takes exception to my use of the term 'archaism,' but there can be, I think, no question that the forms mentioned by me are 'archaic'; that is to say they belong to the 'Old Prakrit' in contradistinction to the rest of the Prakrit of the dramas, which is mostly 'Middle Prakrit.' That is exactly the sense in which I use the word 'archaic.'

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are not peculiar to the Trivandrum plays, since they are also found in other Malayalam mss. of, in part, very late plays such as the Mattavilāsa, Nāgānanda and others. (12) *kocci* I am unable to account for. (13) In view of the *geṇh-* of the Turfan fragments, *gaṇhadi* appears to be a misformation, a hybrid Tadbhava. (14) The Part. Pres. Pass. in *-īamāṇa-*, I am inclined to regard with suspicion. (15) As has been observed by P. and other writers, these mss. contain clear instances of the inhibition of simplification of double consonants and compensation lengthening. Malayalam mss. in general, as appears from text editions of dramas published in recent years, favour this inhibition. (16) *karia* and *gacchia* are true archaisms; but *āamia* should be deleted from the list, since it is a reflex not of *āgamya* but of *ācamya*. (17) The use of *mā* with Imp., Inf. or Abs. and the employment of Part. Perf. Pass. as nomen actionis are matters of style and have no bearing on the question of the age of the plays.

The more important of the general observations regarding the Prakrit of these plays scattered through the above pages may be conveniently summarized as follows. Firstly, even if these plays be Bhāsa dramas (or as some scholars think adaptations of Bhāsa dramas), the Prakrit they contain is not necessarily *Bhāsa's* Prakrit, since our mss. are barely 300 years old. Secondly, owing to faulty classification PRINTZ'S citations of Māg. and Ardham. forms are useless for purposes of dialect differentiation. Thirdly, [117] we cannot be sure that forms like *matta* (*mātra*), *purusa* (*puruṣa*), *eva* are archaic, or even legitimate Prakrit forms, unless we find corroboration from more reliable sources; they may be mere Sanskritisms. Fourthly, the treatment of the ligatures *jñ*, *ny*, *ry* in our mss. is confused and inconsequent; hence in regard partly to the near possibility of confusion between Śaur. and Māg. forms, and partly to the ambiguity of the symbol representing the ligature *jj-yy*, PRINTZ'S attempt to bring the treatment of these conjuncts in a line with their treatment in the Turfan fragments and to base thereon chronological conclusions regarding the stage of development of Bhāsa's Prakrit may be regarded as having signally failed. Fifthly, the most important contribution to the subject made by PRINTZ is to have shown that the mss. of our plays contain some instances of the Acc. Plu. *Masc*. ending in *-āṇi* though the instances are not quite as numerous as PRINTZ supposes them to be. Sixthly, besides this noteworthy form the mss. contain a few more instances of genuine Prakrit archaisms; but as these latter are met with also in Malayalam mss. of classical dramas and of even later southern productions, the Prakrit argument is inconclusive and cannot by itself be safely made the basis of chronology. Seventhly and lastly, a satisfactory solution of the Bhāsa question cannot be reached from a study merely of the Prakrits of the plays.

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THE BHĀSA RIDDLE : A PROPOSED SOLUTION*

THE previous history[1] of the discussion centering round the thirteen anonymous dramas discovered by Pandit Ganapati SASTRI and attributed by him to Bhāsa is sufficiently well known, and there is no need to repeat it here in detail. It will suffice to observe that many distinguished scholars, whose researches in Sanskrit literature entitle them to speak with authority, fully agree with the learned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and whole-heartedly support him in attributing these plays to Bhāsa. The theory has not however won entire satisfaction. Prominent among the dissenters are : Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya, BARNETT, Bhattanatha SVAMIN, Rangacarya RADDI, KANE, and (latterly also) PISHAROTI, who all agree in placing the dramas after the seventh century A.D., and in regarding them as the work of some paltry playwright or playwrights. Between these extremes lie the views of WINTERNITZ and myself. We accepted the Bhāsa theory, but not without some reserve ; while recognizing that the propounder and the supporters of the hypothesis had a strong *prima facie* case, we held at the same time that the evidence adduced did not amount to a conclusive proof (see above, vol. 26, p. 232).

* * *

One peculiarity of the Bhāsa problem appears not to have been clearly realized by most previous writers on the subject. This peculiarity is that there is not a single argument advanced on *either side* that may be regarded as conclusive and that has not been, or cannot, be, met by an almost equally sound argument on the opposite side.

Let us consider some individual instances. Take the fact that the title of the work and the name of the author are not mentioned [127] in the rudimentary *sthāpanā* of these plays. This omission is explained by the supporters of the theory on the assumption that in pre-classical times details like these were left to the preliminaries and are therefore not found in the *sthāpanā*.[2] The explanation possesses a certain degree of probability, but nothing more since it involves an unsupported and unproved, though plausible, assumption.—On the other hand those writers who deny the authorship of Bhāsa explain the omission on the ground that the plagiarists or adapters, whose handiworks these dramas are, had very obvious reasons to remain

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* [*JBBRAS* NS. 1. 126-143.]

1 Bibliographical material will be found in my "Studies in Bhāsa (V)", above vol. 26, pp. 230 ff.

2 KEITH, *The Sanskrit Drama* (Oxford 1924), p. 111,

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nameless, an assumption, on the face of it, not less improbable than the other.[3]

Next take the lack of accord with the rules of theorists like Bharata, as seen in the admittance, into our plays, of stage fights and death scenes, which were avoided in the classical drama, and are in part expressly forbidden by Bharata. This has been utilized by the protagonists of the theory as another proof of the antiquity of the plays. But this explanation, like the previous one, has all the appearance of being another subtle attempt at exploiting our ignorance of pre-classical technique, being in the last analysis nothing more nor less than a deduction from the *a priori* assumption that the plays in dispute are pre-classical. The Mahābhāṣya passage enlisted by KEITH (*The Skt. Drama*, p. 110) in this connection does not in any way countenance the assumption ; for WEBER'S theory of mimic killing of Kaṁsa and mimic binding of Bali, which has repeatedly been shown to be inadequate, must, unfortunately, be finally abandoned now, after the conclusive proofs brought forward by Prof. LÜDERS[4] to show that the Śaubhikas and the Granthikas were both merely raconteurs or rhapsodes.—The conflict with the rules of treatises on rhetorics admits of another explanation, which must be pronounced to be quite as plausible as the former, if not still more so. These innovations, it has been urged, have been introduced in quite recent times with a view to producing a more arresting stage effect, to striking a more popular note in the presentation of Sanskrit plays ; and there is ample evidence to show that these plays have indeed been very popular, as stage [128] plays, in Malayalam, where some of them are even now regularly produced by professional, hereditary actors, locally known as Cākyārs and Naṅgyārs (PISHAROTI, *BSOS* 3, 112 f.)

Then there is the argument based on similarities in diction and ideas between these plays and some celebrated plays such as Śakuntalā. These similarities are clearly equivocal. While they can on the one hand be used[5] to prove that the striking ideas of the author of the anonymous plays have been freely borrowed and amplified by others, they can on the other hand be also used, with equal cogency, to support the view that the anonymous compilers of these plays have found in the works of classical dramatists a splendid hunting ground for *bons mots* and happy thoughts.[6] And the protagonists of the theory have to admit that no strict proof of indebtedness is possible. KEITH (op. cit. p. 124) confidently assures us that "the evidence is sufficient to induce conviction to any one accustomed to weighing literary evidence of borrowing." Yes, but what is the test of one's being "accustomed to weighing literary evidence of borrowing"? Presumably, the susceptibility to the conviction being induced !

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3 PISHAROTI, *BSOS* 3, 115. 4 "Die Śaubhikas," *SBAW* 1916, 698 ff.
5 See for instance Ganapati SASTRI in the Introduction to his edition of SV.
6 Cf. RAJA in *Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (*ZII.*) 2, 260.

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Then there are verses in these dramas that are found cited or criticized in different treatises on rhetorics. They have been used by those who favour the Bhāsa theory to corroborate their view that these are works of a very considerable writer, who could be no other than Bhāsa. The rhetoricians being mostly silent on the point, we do not know that the verses quoted were taken from dramas by Bhāsa. It cannot however be denied that the view can claim for itself a certain degree of plausibility.—On the other hand it is also not quite impossible that these verses might have been appropriated for their own use by adapters at a moment when the creative faculty, being too severely taxed, had refused to function further.

Great capital has been made by the opponents of the theory out of certain verses which are cited as Bhāsa's in anthologies of Sanskrit verse, but are not found in the present plays.[7] The ar- [129] -gument is not as sound as it at first sight appears. It is easy to explain their absence on the hypothesis that the supposed author had written further plays or poems which may be the sources of these citations (KEITH, op. cit. p. 105). And if that does not suffice it may, with some plausibility, be urged that these verses have been excerpted from some lost recensions of these dramas. We need only recall the well-known fact that in the third act of the Bengali recension of Śakuntalā one scene is four or five times as long as the corresponding portion in the Devanāgarī recension ; even the names of the *dramatis personae* are in part different in the two recensions.[8] As a last resort one may even enlist the unquestionable facts that in these anthologies the names of authors are frequently misquoted, the same verse is attributed to different authors, and finally verses attributed even to Kālidāsa and other celebrated dramatists are not found in their extant works.

I have so far dealt with some of the minor arguments advanced on either side and tried to show that they are utterly inconclusive. There are however some arguments that are considered by their propounders as decisive in character, and to these we shall now turn our attention.

One of these arguments is that our plays are begun by the Sūtradhāra, in contradistinction to the classical plays, and that this characteristic of the plays by Bhāsa has been pointedly alluded to by Bāṇa in the distich in which he celebrates the great dramatist. This argument on which the supporters of the theory place so much reliance is *doubly* fallacious, and the great effort made to find in this fact a proof conclusive of the authorship of Bhāsa must definitely be pronounced a failure. The verse from the Harṣacarita states merely that Bhāsa's dramas were begun by the Sūtradhāra. It is the perversion of all probability to find in this innocuous statement a *distinguishing* characteristic of Bhāsa dramas, because every Sanskrit play we know of,

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[7] Cf. Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya, *Śāradā*, vol. 1, p. 7.

[8] Śakuntalā ed. MONIER WILLIAMS (Oxford 1876), Preface, p. vii.

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all the dramas by Kālidāsa, Harṣca, Bhavabhūti and other dramatists, were likewise begun by the Sūtradhāra. The latter fact is somewhat obscured by the circumstance that instead of the correct shorter formula *nāndyante* [130] *sūtradhāraḥ*, some northern manuscripts read :

nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ,

these words being placed between the benedictory verse (or verses) with which all dramatic manuscripts begin, and the introductory prose speech of the Sūtradhāra. When the stage direction reads merely *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, there is no question that the Sūtradhāra does *not* enter at the point where this stage direction is inserted, and must be supposed to be on the stage already, for the simple reason that the manuscripts contain no stage direction announcing his entry. Who recites the nāndī follows from the direction of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (Ed. Kāvyamālā, adh. 5, v. 98) :

sūtradhāraḥ paṭhet tatra madhyamaṁ svaraṁ āśritaḥ
nāndīm....

In view of this clear statement of Bharata, can we legitimately draw any conclusion other than that the nāndī of the classical dramas was recited by the Sūtradhāra himself? Thus, according to the testimony of the vast majority of manuscripts and conformably to the rules of rhetoricians, the procedure is that the Sūtradhāra first recites the benedictory stanzas (with which manuscripts of all dramas commence) and then proceeds with the prose speech assigned to his role. The words *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ* of the northern manuscripts then mean : "at the end of the nāndī the Sūtradhāra (continues speaking)". This is the view of the commentator Jagaddhara,[9] and it appears to be perfectly sound. If it is admitted that the plays without exception were begun by the Sūtradhāra with the recitation of benedictory stanzas, it is clear that the position and the wording of the first stage direction has nothing whatsoever to do with the question whether the play is begun by the stage-director or not. The only difference between the manuscripts of the Trivandrum plays and the *northern* manuscripts of classical plays is as regards nomenclature, as has been already pointed out by WINTERNITZ (*Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* 9, 285). Such being the case, it cannot any longer be maintained that Bāṇa had the intention of drawing attention to any distinguishing characteristic of Bhāsa's [131] works by saying that his plays were *sūtradhārakṛtārambha*. Bāṇa's only object is, as KEITH (op. cit. p. 91) has justly remarked, "to celebrate Bhāsa's fame, and to show his wit by the comparison in the same words with some not very obvious object of comparison.' Bāṇa's verse is merely a subhāṣita, as will now be admitted by every unbiassed critic. The discussion whether in this verse from the Harṣacarita there is an allusion to some technical innovation of Bhāsa in shortening the preliminaries,

[9] *Mālatīmādhava*, Ed. Bombay Skt. Series, p. 6.

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combining the functions of the Sūtradhāra and the Sthāpaka, taking the prologue away from the Sthāpaka and placing it in the mouth of the Sūtradhāra and much other vague speculation of the kind (LINDENAU, *Bhāsa-Studien*, pp. 10, 37) is mere verbiage. The Trivandrum plays at any rate offer no occasion for the discussion of these questions and, what is more important, furnish no answers to them.

Our conclusions on this point may be summarized thus : (1) the nāndī, which used to precede all dramatic representations, being invariably recited by the Sūtradhāra, all Sanskrit dramas are *sūtradhārakṛtārambha* ; (2) it is thus wholly inadmissible to regard this attribute as specifying a distinguishing characteristic of Bhāsa's dramas ; and therefore (3) the argument which seeks in the position and the wording, in our manuscripts, of the stage direction *nāndyante* etc. a proof conclusive of Bhāsa's authorship is utterly devoid of cogency. Furthermore, it has now been shown that all Malayalam manuscripts of dramas begin in the identical manner. If it then still be true (as KEITH asserts, *Ind. Ant.* 1923, 60) that " by this decidedly noteworthy fact " (namely, that these plays are begun by the Sūtradhāra,) they are " eligible to be considered Bhāsa's ", then all Sanskrit dramas are likewise eligible to be considered Bhāsa's !

Several efforts have been made to prove in these dramas traces of later date than Kālidāsa ; but most of the arguments,[10] as has in part already been shown, are quite inadequate to support the conclusion. It is also impossible to find cogency in the argument advanced first—to my knowledge—by KANE,[11] and then repeated recently by BARNETT[12] that the *Nyāyaśāstra* of Medhātithi men- [132] -tioned in the Pratimā is the same as the *Manubhāṣya* by Medhātithi (*c.* 10th century). The different śāstras have been mentioned in the Pratimā (v. 8/9) in the following order : the *Mānavīya Dharmaśāstra*, the *Māheśvara Yogaśāstra*, the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, Medhātithi's *Nyāyaśāstra* and lastly the *Prācetasa Śrāddhakalpa*. If the view mentioned above be right, we should, in the first place, be unable to explain satisfactorily why the *Nyāyaśāstra* of Medhātithi should be separated from the *Dharmaśāstras* of Manu ; then there is the difficulty that the *Manubhāṣya* is, strictly speaking, neither a work on Nyāya (Logic) nor a śāstra (KEITH, *BSOS* 3, 295). More important than these is in my opinion the following consideration. There is something so incongruous in citing Medhātithi's commentary on Manu in juxtaposition with such śāstras as the Dharma, Yoga, and Artha, and the *Śrāddhakalpa*, said in this passage to be proclaimed by gods and progenitors of the human race like Manu, Maheśvara, Bṛhaspati, and Pracetas, that, to say the least, the explanation cannot be considered very happy. In fact the context compels the conclusion that the *Nyāya-*

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10 For instance, PISHAROTI, *BSOS* 3, 107 f.

11 *Vividha-jñāna-vistāra*, vol. 51 (1920), p. 100.

12 *BSOS* 3, 35.

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śāstra is a science of the same order as the other śāstras mentioned in the list, and that Medhātithi is an author, real or imaginary, of the same standing as the rest of the authorities mentioned by Rāvaṇa. Whether such a work as Medhātithi's *Nyāyaśāstra* (or at least some notice of it) has come down to us or not seems to me immaterial. Moreover the boast of Rāvaṇa, the primeval giant, that he has studied Medhātithi's commentary on Manu would be such a ludicrous anachronism that we must refuse to credit even an alleged plagiarist of the tenth or eleventh century with such an abysmal absurdity. The only effect of admitting such an explanation of the *Nyāyaśāstra* would be to make the enumeration and the whole boast of Rāvaṇa farcical, which is far from being the desired effect. It is thus impossible to accept the identification of the Medhātithi of the Pratimā with the commentator on the *Manusmṛti*.

Now finally the Prakrit argument. At one time I myself held the view that the archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays would throw some light on their age; but my anticipations have not been realized. It has now been shown that in Malayalam manuscripts of dramas of even Kālidāsa and Harṣa we come across archaisms [133] of the type which are claimed to be peculiar to the Prakrit of the dramas in dispute : most of these alleged peculiarities recur moreover in dramas by southern writers of the sixth and later centuries (PISHAROTI, *BSOS* 3, 109). It should seem that the Prakrit of the dramas is a factor depending more on the provenance and the age of manuscripts than on the provenance and the age of the dramatist. In the course of a lengthy review of *Bhāsa's Prākrit* (1921) by PRINTZ, published elsewhere, I have expressed it as my opinion that the Prakrit archaisms cannot by themselves be safely made the basis of chronology, and that a satisfactory solution of the Bhāsa question cannot be reached from a study of the Prakrit alone (above, pp. 103 ff.). With ponderous dogmatism KEITH insists that "there being evidence of Bhāsa's popularity"—strictly speaking, only of the plays attributed to Bhāsa—"with the actors in Malayalam, it is only necessary to suppose that they modified the Prakrit of the later plays in some measure to accord with the Prakrit of Bhāsa" (KEITH, *BSOS* 3, 296). The explanation would have value if, and only if, all the plays in dispute could on independent evidence be confidently attributed to Bhāsa; but such is not the case. KEITH's argument only begs the question.

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However desirable it may be to obtain a decisive answer to the main question in the affirmative or negative, it is quite clear that neither of the solutions proposed will stand critical investigation. The problem appears to be much more complex than hitherto generally supposed. As is only too often the case, the claims of both sides seem to be only partial truths : in a sense these plays—at least some of them, at present quite an indeterminate number—are Bhāsa's plays and in a sense they are not.

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That they are not original dramas seems to follow with sufficient certainty from the absence of the name of any author in both the prologue of the dramas and the colophon of the manuscripts. The explanation that in pre-classical times the name of the author was not mentioned in the prologue of the plays involves a gratuitous assumption wholly lacking proof. Further no satisfactory explanation has so far been offered by those who regard all these dramas as Bhāsa's why the name of the author should not have been [134] preserved in the colophon of a single manuscript of even one of these thirteen dramas. The Turfan manuscript of one of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas[13] has preserved intact the colophon of the last act, recording the fact that the drama is the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* by Aśvaghoṣa. It cannot, therefore, with any plausibility, be urged that the colophons of the oldest manuscripts of dramas did not contain the title of the work or the name of the author ; and it would be demanding too much from probability to expect the wholesale and accidental destruction of the colophons of all manuscripts of a group of thirteen dramas by one and the same author.

The true character of these plays was partly recognized by Rangacarya RADDI and by two Malayalam scholars A. K. and K. R. PISHAROTI. The main thesis of RADDI[14] was a negative one ; it was to prove that the plays could *not* be by Bhāsa ; and the whole of his lengthy article on the subject comprises practically of a destructive criticism of the arguments of Ganapati SASTRI. He does not however lose sight of the "possibility that these plays may be abridged versions of the original dramas by Bhāsa, prepared by some modern poet or other." The PISHAROTIS also look upon these dramas as compilations, regarding moreover the Trivandrum SV. as "an adaptation of the original Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa." The two scholars were not able to support their claims on more solid ground than that there is a living tradition, preserved in the circle of Malayalam Pandits, to the effect that these "plays are only compilations and adaptations" (PISHAROTI, *BSOS* 3, 116 ; compare RAJA *ZII* 1923, 264). But a substantial basis for this assumption has now been supplied by Sylvain LÉVI's discovery of certain references to Bhāsa's SV. in yet unpublished manuscripts of two treatises on rhetorics.

In a notice of these manuscripts LÉVI (*JA* 1923, 197—217) publishes certain information which throws more light on this perplexing question than anything else that has recently been written on the subject ; but LÉVI appears not to have realized the full significance of his discovery, unless indeed I have misunderstood him, which is easily possible. In the article cited above LÉVI [135] draws attention to the mention of the SV. and the *Daridracārudatta*, as also to certain quotations from these dramas in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*

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[13] *SBAW* 1911, 388 ff.

[14] *Vividha-jñāna-vistāra*, vol. 47 (1916), pp. 209 ff.

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(ND.) by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa* (NL.) by Sāgaranandin. One of these quotations differs in a very important particular from all quotations so far adduced. We have found verses from our dramas cited and criticized in works on rhetorics but without any mention of the source ; we have seen verses cited in anthologies over the name of Bhāsa, but without mention of the work in which they occur ; we have lastly found verses quoted as from a SV., but without specification of the author. Either the name of the author or that of the work, connected with the verse cited, has hitherto been invariably in doubt ; sometimes both have been in doubt. Now for the first time we have some datum which connects a verse with Bhāsa as also with a specific drama by him ; the verse is cited in the ND. with the specific remark that it is excerpted from the SV. by Bhāsa. From the fact that this verse is not found in our play, LÉVI concludes that the latter is not the 'authentic' SV. by Bhāsa (*JA* 1923, 199).

Let us first make it clear to ourselves what is the exact meaning of the little word 'unauthentic' with which we are asked to condemn the drama. Are our editions of the works of Kālidāsa authentic in the same sense as our editions of the works of, say, Goethe? Are they authentic in the sense that the text they present is the text exactly as conceived and finally written down by the reputed author? No one will be prepared to deny that the Prakrit of the dramas may have been gradually modernized in the course of transmission, or that the Sanskrit portion may have suffered a little at the hands of well-meaning 'diaskeuasts,' or that lastly some few verses and even scenes may have been interpolated or omitted. As has already been remarked, a scene in the third act of the Bengali recension of *Śakuntalā* is four or five times as long as the corresponding part in the Devanāgarī version. The play *Vikramorvaśī* has come down to us in two recensions, of which one contains a series of Apabhraṁśa verses that are entirely ignored in the other. Such being the case, what is the justification for considering even one of the shorter versions, which are apparently older than the other, in every detail an exact replica of the original in the form in which it left the hands of the dra-[136] matist who composed it? It seems certain that the tradition fluctuated, and fluctuated at times considerably.[15] Still we do not make such a bustle over the fact that 'authentic' works of Kālidāsa are no longer available.

Be that as it may, there is another aspect of this citation that appears to have a *positive* value. The verse reads :

pādākrāntāni puṣpāṇi soṣma cedaṁ śilāsanam |
nūnaṁ kācid ihāsīnā māṁ dṛṣṭvā sahasā natā ||

(Read *gatā*.)

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15 Compare Sten KONOW, *Das indische Drama*, p. 66 : "Jetzt sind wohl die meisten der Ansicht, dass keine der uns vorliegenden Rezensionen den Uretxt des Dichters [*viz.* Kālidāsa] repraesentiert."

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The king of Vatsa, regarding a stone bench in the pleasure garden, says :

"The flowers are trodden under feet,
The stone bench retains still its heat.
Forsooth some lady who was seated here,
On seeing me, has departed in haste."

Commenting on this verse LÉVI remarks that we find in the Trivandrum SV. 'dislocated' elements of the scene as written by Bhāsa. Such is however not the case. There is no dislocation at all.. All that may have happened is that the ND. verse has dropped out of the text of the Trivandrum version.

The situation in our play is this. In the first scene of the fourth act Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā are promenading in the pleasure garden, admiring the beauty of śephālikā bushes in blossom. Padmāvatī's maid begs her to seat herself on a stone bench in or near the śephālikā bower, and she herself departs to pluck flowers. The ladies seat themselves on the bench indicated and indulge in a tête-à-tête. Presently Padmāvatī, to her consternation, discovers that the King and the Jester are strolling leisurely in the direction of their arbour. She thereupon proposes to her friend that they themselves should move away and hide in a neighbouring jessamine pergola. The King and the Jester approach the śephālikā arbour just vacated by the [137] ladies. At this point there is in our play a small hiatus, all but imperceptible. Standing near the bower the Jester abruptly remarks : "Her Ladyship Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away." We fail to understand why the Jester should make this curious, unmotivated remark. The missing link is evidently the ND. stanza, which furnishes the requisite motive for the remark of the Jester. We are here told that the King, on observing that the surface of the stone bench is warm, surmises that some lady who had been sitting there, on seeing him approach, had hurriedly departed, crushing under her feet, during a hasty retreat, the flowers lying scattered on the ground. The King has no idea who that lady was. But the observation of the King sets the Jester thinking, who shrewdly surmises that it must have been Padmāvatī.

This recapitulation of the situation should make it clear to the reader that there is no great 'dislocation' of the elements of the original scene as far as it may be surmised from the quotation in the ND. All that is needed to restore the text is the replacement of the new verse at the point where there is a hiatus in our version.

In the same article LÉVI has another quotation which also has some bearing on the present question. The other treatise, the Nāṭakalakṣaṇa, gives, without any mention of the name of the author, an extract from a SV. to illustrate a device with which the transition from the preliminaries to the main action of the play is achieved and a character is introduced. The quotation is :

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nepaṭhye sūtradhāraḥ utsāraṇāṁ śrutvā paṭhati | aye kathaṁ tapovane 'py utsāraṇā | (vilokya) kathaṁ mantrī Yaugandharāyaṇaḥ Vatsarājasya rājyapratyānayanaṁ kartukāmaḥ Padmāvatīyajanenotsāryate ||

"The stage director (sūtradhāra) on hearing the order for dispersal shouted behind the scenes repeats : 'How now ! Even in a hermitage people are being ordered to disperse.' (Looking aside.) 'Why, the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, who is seeking to restore to the King of Vatsa his kingdom, is being turned away by the servants of Padmāvatī.'"

[138] It is extremely unfortunate that the name of the author of the play has not been mentioned in the NL. The omission, depriving us of certainty, leaves us to surmise that the author is Bhāsa ; but the conclusion is inevitable unless indeed we postulate the existence of three Svapnavāsavadattās, parallel to the three Kumārasambhavas, now famous in the history of Sanskrit literature

The prologue of the SV. cited by the author of the NL. is evidently worded differently from ours. The elements revealed by the extract are these : there is a stage director, and a dispersal (utsāraṇā) of the crowd behind the scenes (nepathye). The stage director hears the orders shouted out by the servants of Padmāvatī, and sees the crowd being dispersed. In that crowd he notices Yaugandharāyaṇa, who is there to carry out his plans for the restoration of the King of Vatsa. The same elements are present in our play. Here the stage director, on hearing the noise behind the scenes, announces that he will go and find out the cause of the commotion, which he does. Behind the scenes is shouted out the order for dispersal (utsāraṇā). The stage director thereupon explains to the audience that the servants of Padmāvatī are dispersing the crowd of hermits. We observe the repetition of the identical word utsāraṇā, and the similarities between the exclamations of the stage director in the extract and of Yaugandharāyaṇa in the Trivandrum version :

SUTRADHARA (NL.)	YAUGANDHARAYANA (TRIV.)
aye kathaṁ tapovane 'py utsāraṇā |	*katham ihāpy utsāryate |*

Consequently on the evidence of these two extracts, of which one is expressly stated to be from the SV. by Bhāsa, and the other is presumably from the same source, we may safely assume that though the Trivandrum play is not identical with the drama known to Rāmacandra and Sāgaranandin in the 12th century, it does not differ from the latter very considerably : the two are near enough to each other to be styled different recensions of the drama by Bhāsa. My own surmise is that the Trivandrum Svapnavāsavadattā is an abridgement of Bhāsa's drama, with a different prologue and epilogue, adapted to the Malayalam stage.

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[139] * * *

Here follows a summary of the important conclusions arrived at above, to which are added certain auxiliary observations on the character of the present group of plays.

Vitally important are the following facts relating to these plays, which will throw a deal of light on the subject and which may not be ignored in any future investigation of the question, namely, that these plays form a part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors in the Kerala country; that the manuscripts of these plays are by no means rare, though they apparently are the jealous preserve of these actors; and lastly that the latter produce these dramas sometimes as a whole, and sometimes in detached and disconnected parts. Cf. PISHAROTI, *BSOS* 3, 112 f; RAJA, *ZII* 1923, 250 f.

The circumstance that these plays have been traditionally handed down without any mention of the name of the author, whether in the prologue of the plays or the colophon of the manuscripts, is an almost plain indication that they are abridgements or adaptations made for the stage, and they have in fact been regularly used as stage-plays in Malayalam.

These plays show admittedly many similarities, verbal, structural, stylistic and ideological, which suggest common authorship. But in the absence of more information as to the originals, of which these are evidently adaptations, it would be unsafe to dogmatize and postulate, at this stage, a common authorship.

The coincidences in formal technique are almost certainly to be explained as due to the activity of adapters. It has been already pointed out that the professional actors who produce these plays often stage only single acts selected from these plays; and it is reported that in passing from one act of some one drama to another act of a different drama, these actors are in the habit of prefixing—quite naturally, it seems to me—to each act an appropriate introduction consisting of a benedictory stanza and a short prose speech or dialogue announcing the character that is about to enter as well as the business. Our prologues appear to be such introductions, which thus owe their similarity merely to a peculiarity of local histrionic technique. The preliminary benedictory stanzas, which [140] are condemned on all hands as bad verses, have all the appearance of being also the handiwork of these adapters; the short formal bharatavākya seems likewise to be a sort of a formulistic epilogue. It would be a mistake to see in these external coincidences a proof of common authorship of the plays. In order to ascertain whether two or more of these dramas are by the same hand we shall have therefore to employ some other tests, which have not so far been used by any previous writer on this subject. The speculation regarding the identity of the rājasiṁha of the epilogues (KONOW, op. cit. p. 51) is wholly without meaning; the expression seems to have been left intentionally vague so that

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the same stanza could be conveniently used on any occasion and at the court of any king. Significant is the similarity between our epilogues and the hemistich from the MBh. (12. 321. 134):

ya imāṁ pṛthivīṁ kṛtsnām ekacchatrāṁ praśāsti ha,

to which I have drawn attention elsewhere (*JAOS* 41, 117).

The Prakrit archaisms have no probative value for the antiquity or the authorship of the dramas. It is, however, not impossible that some of the plays may have preserved, so to say in fossilized condition, a few really archaic forms inherited from the old prototypes. Of this character seem to be the Prakrit accusative plural masculines in *-āṇi*, noted first by PRINTZ (*Bhāsa's Prākrit*, pp. 3, 26; but see above, p. 111).

Similarly the metrical portions of the dramas appear to have preserved some epic usages (*JAOS* 41, 107 ff.) It seems impossible to believe that a dramatist who normally wrote good Sanskrit could not produce verses grammatically more correct than the following:

smarāmy avantyā 'dhipateḥ sutāyāḥ (SV. v. 5)
jñāyatāṁ kasya putreti (Bāla. ii. 11)
strīgatāṁ pṛcchase kathām (Pañca. ii. 48), or
āpṛccha putrakṛtakān (Pratimā. v. 11)

As regards the stage fights and the representation of a death on the stage in these plays, a plausible explanation is that they are, as suggested by K. R. PISHAROTI (*BSOS* 3, 113), comparatively [141] modern innovations introduced with a view to producing a more striking stage effect. But it is still an open question whether some of these elements may not be survivals derived from an older dramatic technique. This reservation does not hold good, however, in the case of a *final* death scene. The practice of these dramas can form no exception to the general rule prohibiting a final catastrophe; the Ūrubhaṅga is not intended to be a tragedy in one act. It is the only surviving *intermediate* act of an epic drama. This follows from the fact that the play has no epilogue, in which particular it resembles the Dūtaghaṭokaca, which in one of its manuscripts, as reported by PISHAROTI (*The Shama'a*, 4 (1924), 19), is actually and rightly called Dūtaghaṭotkacāṅka. Some slight confirmation of this surmise we find further in the report of C. K. RAJA (*ZII* 1923, 254) that there is extant in Malabar a dramatized version of the Rāmāyaṇa in 21 acts! Even apart from that, there is no doubt that any spectacular representation ending in a death, whether of the villain or of the hero, would be repugnant to Hindu taste, and foreign to Hindu genius,—unless it be an apotheosis, a canonization of the hero as in the *Nāgānanda*.

The verse *Bhāsanāṭacakre 'pi* etc., said to be a quotation from the Sūktimuktāvali of Rājaśekhara proves by itself little or nothing for Bhāsa's author-

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ship of Svapnavāsavadattā, since the authenticity of the former work and quotation is open to criticism. It is not generally known that the preceding verses make out that Bhāsa was not only a contemporary of Harṣa (evidently Harṣa Śīlāditya of Thanesvar) but also a washerman by caste and the real author of the triad, Ratnāvali, Nāgānanda, and Priyadarśikā, a statement which we have every reason to discredit. That the Pre-Kālidāsian Bhāsa did write a Svapnavāsavadattā follows, however, with tolerable certainty from the evidence of the ND. by Rāmacandra (*JA* 1923, 197-217).

The more important reasons for regarding our SV. as closely related to Bhāsa's drama of that name are these. To start with there are the name, and the style, as also the merits of the play, which has won general recognition as a work of high order. The rhetorician Vāmana cites a stanza which not only occurs in our play but fits evidently well in the context. It contains scenes compat-[142]-ible with those suggested by the quotations from Bhāsa's drama cited in rhetorical treatises by Rāmacandra, Sāgaranandin, as also by Śāradātanaya (cf. Ganapati Sastri, *JRAS* 1924, 668). From the second of these it follows that Bhāsa's drama opened like ours with the entry of Yaugandharāyaṇa (accompanied probably by Vāsavadattā) followed by that of Padmāvatī and her retinue.—From Śāradātanaya's summary it would appear that some scenes are wanting in our version.—The *Dhvanyālokalocana* cites apparently a lost verse, *svañcitapakṣma*° etc. It is a mistake to argue that this verse cannot have a place in our play. Even if it does refer to Vāsavadattā, as it appears to do, it may be easily included in a reminiscence of the King.—The statement of Sarvānanda remains, for the time being, unexplained, unless we are prepared to adopt the emendation suggested by Ganapati Sastri, which, it must be admitted, is an *a priori* solution of the difficulty.

There is some reason to believe that the SV. and the Pratijñā. are by the same author. In the concluding act of the SV., it will be recalled, there is an allusion to the fact that in the nuptial rites celebrated at Ujjayinī after the elopement of Vāsavadattā, the parties to be united in wedlock were represented merely by their portraits. There is no reference to this marriage "by proxy" in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* nor in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, and therefore there was probably no reference to it in the *Bṛhatkathā* either ; it appears to be a free invention of the dramatist. It forms, however, an important element in the denouement of our SV. ; it is therefore significant that there is a clear allusion to it in the concluding act of the Pratijñā also.

As regards the Cārudatta I have seen no reason to abandon my former view (*JAOS* 42, 59 ff.) that our fragment is probably the original of the first four acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* ; but if it is not that, it is suggested, it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is based. My conclusions are only strengthened by Morgenstierne's independent study of the relations between the two plays. From references in one of the new

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Sāhitya works utilized by LÉVI it follows that a drama called *Daridracārudatta* was known to the author of this treatise; the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is named separately, which shows that they were two [143] different dramas; both of them had however evidently the same theme. The *Daridracārudatta* had at least nine acts, and the two plays developed to the end on very similar lines. The rhetorician does not tell us anything about the author; so its authorship is still uncertain.

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows. Our Svapnavāsavadattā is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name; the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa may be by the same author; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The Cārudatta is the original of the Mṛcchakaṭika. The five one-act Mahābhārata pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group; they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthy dramatized version of the complete MBh. saga,—a version which may yet come to light, if a search is made for it. The Ūrubhaṅga is *not* a tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

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THE PORUMĀMILLA TANK INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA BHAVADURA : SAKA 1921.*

Inked estampages of the subjoined inscription, which commemorates the construction of a tank, were prepared by the Madras Epigraphical Department in 1903, and it forms No. 91 of the Epigraphist's collection for the year 1902-3. It was briefly reviewed in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903, and it has also received a short notice in an article by the late Mr. VENKAYYA entitled : Irrigation in Southern India in ancient times.[1] The record is incised on two slabs, one smaller than the other, set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple at Porumāmiḷḷa in the Badvēl *Tāluk* of the Cuddapah District, situated in 15° 1′ N. and 79° E. The latter district being very dry, cultivation is in general possible only with the help of artificial storing of water. The irrigation tank at Porumāmiḷḷa is, according to the District Manual, one of the largest in the *Tāluk*. The inscription, apart from its historical importance, presents various other points of interest, not the least important of which is the light it sheds on the tank-building activity in ancient India.

As regards orthography, the inscription follows the same system which is to be observed in other inscriptions from the Telugu and Kanarese Districts. A superfluous anusvāra is inserted (1) before a nasal + consonant, as in *puṁṇya* ll. 13, 46 ; also in ll. 19, 36, 89 : (2) before *h* + consonant, as in *Vijayāṁhvayaṁ* ll. 34, 35 ; also in ll. 57, 65 : (3) before *nn* as in *vijayōṁnnatāḥ* l. 36 : (4) before *rm* as in *kaṁrma*° l. 82. We find also the doubling of a consonant after an anusvāra in *chaṁchcha*° l. 18. As in other inscriptions, we notice the mixing up of the two forms of *visarga-sandhi*, as in °*taḥssaumya*° in l. 23 ; also in ll. 29, 83, etc. ; and the writing of *thth* for *tth* in °*rththana*° l. 100, and of *jhjh* for *jjh* in °*pāyōjhjhitaṁ* l. 12. Other examples of [98] incorrect orthography are the following : l. 113 *ru* for *ṛi* ; l. 39 *ṛi* for *ru* ; confusion of the sibilants *ś* and *s* in ll. 20, 22, 29, 37, 52, 54 and 95 ; *ṇṇ* for *nn* in ll. 66 and 83 ; confusion of *d* and *dh* in ll. 51, 104 and 109 ; sporadic adscript of *y* to an initial vowel as in *yētad* (for *ētad*) l. 21, *yēk* = *aiva* (for *ēk* = *aiva*) l. 105. The aspirates are sometimes distinguished from similarly shaped non-aspirates by means of a short vertical stroke added below the letters, as in the modern Telugu alphabet. There is

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* [*Ep. Ind.*, 14. 97-109].

1 See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, Part II., pp. 202 ff.—A resumé of the contents of the inscription is included in the new edition of the *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*.

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inconsequence in the doubling of consonants after *r* : cf. ll. 7, 10,, etc. on the one hand, and ll. 6, 16, etc. on the other. Rough *ṟ* (doubled) is used once in the nomen proprium *Dēvaṟṟāja* (l. 109). It remains to be remarked that the letters are incised between equidistant parallel lines running along the breadth of the slabs.—It is necessary to add a few words on the language of the inscription. Excepting the benedictory words at the beginning of the record and a few phrases employed further on to introduce some of the stanzas, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The language is extremely meagre Sanskrit, and the verses are devoid of poetic embellishment. The writer is indeed guilty of the gravest mistakes of grammar and syntax, most of which are noticed in the foot-notes to the text and translation. To mention just two of them here : in l. 37 *disi pūrvē pratishṭhitaḥ* is used for *diśi pūrvasyāṁ pratishṭhāpitaḥ* ; and in the first sentence of v. 16 the *verbum actionis* is omitted.—In respect of lexicography the following uncommon words and expressions deserve notice : *kṛiti* (ll. 29, 39) = "composition" ; *taṭāka-mātṛikā* (l. 47 = "tank nourished", on the analogy of *nadī-mātṛikā*, etc. ; *bhramā-jala-gati* (ll. 69, 90) = "sluice" (?) ; *madhya-kūrma* (l. 73) = elevated ground in the middle (?) ; *bhū-vara* (l. 79) = "king' ; *gāṁgēya* (l. 111) = "gold."

The object of the record is, as remarked above, to commemorate the construction of the tank at Porumāmiḷḷa by king Bhāskara alias Bhavadūra, son of Bukka l. (v. 49). The following analysis gives a synopsis of the contents of the record : The grant commences with invocatory and introductory verses (vv. 1-10) : the succeeding stanzas give the genealogy of the donor, Bhāskara Bhavadūra (ll. 11-22) : the next few verses recount the merit attaching to the building of a tank (23-27) : then are given the details of tank construction and the specification of the site of the tank, date of its construction, etc. (28-45) : then the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (46-49) : and lastly, the specification of the *adhikārin* of the tank, and the composer of the record (59-62). The only new facts in the history of the First Vijaya-nagara Dynasty[2] with which the inscription furnishes us are the following : (1) Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadūra (a name which is not known from any other inscription) was the son of Bukka I., and thus the brother of Harihara II. Bhāskara was placed in charge of the eastern provinces—which he ruled from the "top of the sublime Udaya-giri" (in the Nellore District) ; (2) Bukka I. had four brothers, *viz.* Harihara, Kaṁpana, Mārapa and Muddapa ; and (3) Anantarāja was one of the ministers of Bukka I.—The *adhikārin* of the tank was Dēvaṟṟājan, son of the minister (probably of Bhāskara) Kumāragiri-Nātha (v. 50).—The writer, who was

2 A succinct and connected account of the facts in the history of this dynasty, gleaned from stone and copper-plate records, is furnished by Rao Saheb Krishna Sastri in his paper entitled "The First Vijayanagara Dynasty ; its Viceroys and Ministers." (See the *Director-General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II., pp. 235 ff.)

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rewarded with a gift of land, was the poet Liṁgaya-Māchanāryya (*i.e.* Māchana, son of Liṁgaya) of the family of the Kautsas, resident of Niṁdapura (v. 51). On completion of the tank lands under it were handed over to a number of Brāhmaṇas (v. 45).

The question of the construction of the tank is shrouded in some obscurity on account of the unintelligibility of the termini used in the description of the tank.[3] It would be, therefore, as well to start with the facts regarding the tank as it now stands. I have been able to gather the following information through the kind courtesy of Mr. BANERJI, the Collector of Cuddapah, [99] whom I had addressed on the subject.[4] The tank, which is situated about two miles (and as the inscription also tells us) to the east of the village called Porumāmiḷḷa, is elongated in shape, being some 7 miles long and 2½ miles broad. The bund consists of four natural hills connected by three short earthen dams, rivetted with Cuddapah slabs. The western flank thus consists of practically the range of hills which runs north and south between Porumāmiḷḷa and Badvēl. The total length of the artificial bund is about 4,500 ft.; the total length including the hills is about 14,000 ft. At the deepest section the bund is about 12 ft. wide at the top and 150 ft. at the bottom, and about 33 ft. deep. The tank has two sources of supply, one natural and the other artificial. The latter was constructed about 20 years ago. The natural feeder is a stream called the Maldēvī river.—The reservoir is provided with four sluices, two of which have been repaired in recent times and provided with screw-gear, and there are five weirs. This is the actual condition of the tank at present.

From the inscription we learn that in the twelfth century of the Christian era tank-building was looked upon as one of the seven meritorious acts which a man ought to perform during his lifetime. The tank at Porumāmiḷḷa was called Anantarāja-sāgara. It is also stated that for two years 1,000 labourers were working daily on the tank and the dam; and 100 carts were engaged in getting stones for walls which formed a part of the masonry work. The dam was 5,000 *rēkhā-daṇḍas* long, including the hills, 8 *rēkhā-daṇḍas* wide, and 7 high. Besides, the author gives us the twelve *sādhanas* of the Porumāmiḷḷa tank, and six *dōshas* of tanks in general. Much of this latter is clothed in very obscure language. Nevertheless with the help of the description of the tank given in the previous paragraph we are able to get a fairly clear notion of what the author wishes to convey.[5] In the *chatur-bhramā-jala-gati* we have a reference to the *four* sluices; and in the range of hills

[3] To Rao Saheb Krishna SASTRI I am indebted for the explanation of several of the technical expressions.

[4] Some time ago, when I visited the site of the tank, I took the opportunity of verifying and correcting the statements in this report. Some few fresh observations which I made on the spot have also been embodied in the succeeding remarks.

[5] See notes 6-8 on p. 108 and 1-2 on p. 109.

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forming the western flank of the tank we must look for an explanation of remarkable phrase *tad-yōga-khaṁḍō giriḥ*. Again, as the Maldēvī river ends at the tank, the *triyōjana* must needs refer to its length from the source to the point at which it enters the tank.—One fact which may be gleaned from the measurements of the tank preserved in the record is of no small significance. Knowing as we do the dimensions of the bund, in terms of the *rēkhā-daṇḍas* as well as in feet, we are in a position to compute the equivalent of this standard of linear measurement current in the Telugu District in the 14th century. For this purpose it would be safest to compare the values for the height of the bund, which, I imagine, would offer the least variation. In the above-mentioned Report of the Collector, 33 ft. is quoted as the height at the deepest section of the bund. Taking, now, 20 ft. as the minimum height for the bund of any large tank of that size, the average height of the bund in feet works out to be $(20 + 33) \div 2 = 53|2$ ft. This must roughly correspond to the 7 *rēkhā-daṇḍas* of the inscription. The equation will be $53|2 = 7$, and this gives us roughly $1\frac{1}{4}$ yard as the equivalent of the *rēkhā-daṇḍa*, which, by the way, corresponds approximately to the distance from the top of the shoulder of one arm to the tip of the middle finger of the other arm, measured along the chest, for an average man. I mention the latter fact, as it is well known that in primitive times a standardised (but locally varying) value of the lengths of portions of the human body served as units of length ; cf. the Indian measures *aṅguli, hasta, daṇḍa,* and the European *foot.*[6]

One other feature of this record deserves mention here. Early in the beginning of the inscription (vv. 1-3) we find enumerated the characteristics of an edict (*śāsana-lakshaṇa*), which include hints on composition and the significance of the metrical foot (*gaṇa*) with [100] which a *śāsana* commences (v. 2). The latter is a curious specimen of superstition : the *gaṇa ma* (— — —), when standing at the beginning of a *śāsana,* secures bliss ; *na* (⏑ ⏑ ⏑) in the same position secures wealth, etc. ! Further we learn that in a faultless verse the *visarga* should stand at the end of the complete stanza and not at the end of the first half (v. 3) !

The inscription is dated on the 14th of the bright half of the month of Kārttika, in the cyclic year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka 1291[6] (expired) and Kaliyuga 4470. There is some doubt as to the week-day. The syllables *guru* in l. 58, which evidently introduce the name of the week-day, are clear enough ; and the following letters must be read as *pushya,* as the vertical stroke between the aksharas *ru* and *pu* is nothing but an accidental depression in the stone. In that case it would seem that the week-day was Thursday, and the *nakshatra* Pushya. But Dewan Bahadur

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[6] Expressed by the chronogram *bhū-naṁdy-akshya-ēka,* and in numerical symbols.

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Swamikannu PILLAI, whom I had addressed on the subject, informs me that the *tithi* ended on Monday, the 15th October, A.D. 1369, at about 7 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* for that day was Āśvini, which came to an end about 47 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

For purposes of orientation the localities Śrī-parvata (i.e. Śrī-śailam), Ahōbala, Siddhavaṭa, Udaya-giri and Porumāmiḷḷa are mentioned. Of these only Siddha-vaṭa needs to be specially noticed here. Its denomination in the inscription is *deśaka,* i.e. subdivision of a country : therefore the name could well be, I think, linked with the modern *Tāluk* Siddhavaṭṭam in the Cuddapah District, the boundary of which is not far removed from the site of the tank.

A reference to Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa* (which is undoubtedly what is meant by *Hēmādri-kṛiti* in l. 39) shows that that work enjoyed the reputation of an authority in the Telugu country at the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era.

TEXT.[7]

[Metres : v. 1, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; v. 2, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3-4, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; vv. 5-7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 8, *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 9-10, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; v. 11, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 12-13, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*); v. 14, *Upajāti* ; vv. 15-36, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; vv. 37-38, *Śardūlvikrīḍita* ; vv. 39-40, *Upajāti* ; vv. 41-43, *Anushṭubh* (*Śloka*); 44, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 45, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; vv. 46-47, *Śālinī* ; vv. 48-50, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; v. 51, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 52, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka.*)]

First stone.

1 [8]अवि[घ्नम]स्तु ।[।] गुरु[भ्यो] नमः ।[।] पुष्टिम[द्भयो] गणपतिभ्यो नमः [॥*] !!

2 शा[स]नल[क्षणम्]॥ श्रीबीजमादौ वक्तव्यं प्रण[वे]षु च पंचसु । [रु]त्व[9]द्वि[द]-

3 शरुद्दे[षु च]क [टा]हान् [10]विवर्जयेत् ॥[१॥] मो भूमिस्तिगुरु[श्शु]भं ब[हुल]घु-
नोंसौ वि[ध]-

4 [त्ते] धनं [यो] वार्यादिलघुश्च हेम दिनकृत् मध्यें[11]गुरु[र्जो] रुजं ।(।)[12]

[101]5 [रो] ग्निर्मध्यलघुर्भयं लघुयुगप्रा[क्सस्म]मीर[:*] क्षयं खं तोंतेल-

6 घुरीशतां कृतिमुखे भोब्ज[ः*]शमादौगुरुः ॥२॥ अविसर्गा[त]पूर्वार्ध-

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7 From the original stone and a set of inked estampages.

8 At the top of the inscription are engraved from left to right figures of Vighnēśvara with his vehicle, the mouse, the Liṅgam, the Sun and the Moon.

9 Read ऋत्व°

10 The syllable न was inserted later and engraved above the line in the original.

11 Read °कृन्म°

12 Here an empty space in the original showing traces of letters scored out.

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7 मसमस्तपदादिकं । विसर्ग्गसिखरं[13] र[म्यं] शास[नश्लोकलक्षणं] ॥ [३] ॥ [[14]शृतिस्मृ]-

8 तिपुराणेतिहासागमविशारदः [।*] देशकालविसेष[ज्ञ][15][:*] शुभवाक [शा]सनः[16] वदेत् ॥४॥

9 श्रीस्सौभाग्यकरी सदा त्रिजगतां भूयात् कृपारूपिणी हेरंबस्सचराचरा-

10 त्म[क]जगत्संदोहसंदर्भितं [।*] धाता पद्म[स]मुद्भवोपि मनसै[वेदं सु]व[र्नो]ज्व-[17]

11 लं ब्रह्मांडं जलमंडलस्तमसृजत्[18] यस्याः प्रसादो (÷) ऋतेः ॥५॥ वाराहा-

12 कृतिरच्युतस्त्रिभुवनं पायादपायो[ज्झि]तं । दंष्ट्राग्रेण महीं [◡—*] [19]जलनिधौ

13 मग्नां समुधृत्य[20] यः [।*] तलैकत्र निधाय पु(÷)ष्यमतुलं पद्मा[क]र-स्था[प]ना-

14 त् । तादृक् सम्यगभावतः[21] तुलयितं येना[द्रु]तं स्वीकृतं ॥६॥ [स]ख्या-

15 सख्यविलोच[ने] त्रिजगतां वृष्टयोषधीपोष[के] फाले वारिपिता [स]खा ध[नपतिः]

16 श्रीरत्नगर्भो रथः [।*] यस्य श्रीगिरिरालयः स कृपया [हे]माचल[:] कार्मुकः

17 पायाद्वः शिवतातिराश्रितजनानंदैकसंदायकः ॥७॥ स[सद्वी]पावयव-

18 विलसत्रूपिणी[22] मेरुमूर्धा [23]चंच[त्*]क्षीरोदधिवरकुचा भूषि[ता] रो[हणा-द्यैः[ ]।*]

19 [24]राजत्रत्नाकरसुवसना संततं पातु युष्मान ह्रा[दि(÷)न्य]ब्जाकरविलसिता पू--

20 [25]र्नसस्या धरित्री ॥८॥ पुत्रः कृतिस्तटाकश्च निधा[नं [26]सि]वमन्दिरं [।*] वन विप्राग्रहा-

21 रश्च [27]सतसंतानमुत्तमं ॥९॥ [28]येतदादिक(÷)सत्प्रु[ष्य]कर्त्ता भास्करभू[प]ति[:] [।*]

22 भवदूराभिधानश्च तस्य वंशं वदाम्यहं ॥१०॥ [क्षी]रोद[प्र]भवश्शशी विधुसु-

23 त(:)स्सौम्यस्तदीयान्वये । संजातौ च पुरूरवाश्च नहुष(:) [स्तस्माद् य]-

24 यातिनृपः [।*] तत्पुत्रो यदुरत्र याद[वकु]लौ नीलांबर[:*] श्रीहरिः वं-

[102] 25 से[29] तस्य कलौ[30] [◡ –*] समजनि श्रीसंगमक्ष्मापतिः] ॥११॥ स सं[ग]ममहीपालः

26 कृत्वा हरिहरार्चनं [।*] लब्धवान् तत्प्रसा[दे]न पु[त्रं ह]रिहरं विभुं ॥१२॥

27 आपूर्वपश्चिमांभोधिमध्यदेशाधिनायका[:] [।*] पादसेवापरास्तस्य सोमसू-

28 र्यान्वयाधिकाः[31] ॥१३॥ तत्सोदरो वैरिनृपालकंपनादाशीत्क्षितौ[32] कंप[न]भूमिपा-

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13 Read °शेखरं.
14 Read श्रुति°.
15 Read °विशेष°.
16 Read °नं.
17 Read °वर्णोज्ज्व-.
18 Read °डलस्थ°.
19 Read महा° after महीं.
20 Read समुद्धृत्य.
21 Read °वतस्तु°.
22 Read °लसद्रूपिणी.
23 Read चञ्च°.
24 Read राजद्रत्ना°.
25 Read र्णसस्या.
26 Read शिव°.
27 Read सप्त°.
28 Read एत°.
29 Read शे.
30 Read युगे after कलौ.
31 Read °धिपाः.
32 Read क्षसी.

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29 लः। तस्यानुजस्सुस्थिरभूमिभुक् ततो लक्ष्मीपति[र्ब्बुक्क]न[रें]द्रसेखरः[33] ॥१४॥
30 भ्रातरौ बुक्कभूपस्य जातौ मारपमुद्द[पौ।] एवं पंच सुपुत्रास्ते पांड-
31 वांशाः कलौ युगे ॥१५॥ पांडवानां पुरा दौत्यं [सा]रथ्यं भक्तवत्सलः [।*] [वा]-
32 सुदेवोनंतमूर्तिस्तेषां च सचिवोभवत् ॥१६॥ अनंतराजसाचिव्यादखि-
33 लं धरणीतलं [।*] भुंज(÷)न् बुक्कमहीपालो जा[तदे]वेंद्रवैभवः।[।*] [१]७॥ (।)
34 सदाराधनसंतुष्टश्रीविरूपाक्षसन्निधौ [।] तुंगभद्रातटे तस्य नगरं वि-
35 जया(÷)ह्वयं ॥१ [८]॥ पुत्रसंख्या पुरा लोके शशबिंदोस्ति (*sic*) तत्कथा [।*: असंख्य बुक्क-
36 भूपालनंदना विजयो(÷)न्नताः ॥१९*॥ तेन बुक्कनृपालेन तेषु पुत्रेषु भास्कर[:।]
37 सा(÷)म्राज्यविभवोत्तुंगो दिसि[34] पू[र्वे] प्रतिष्ठितः ॥२०॥ स चोदयगिरींद्राग्रं
38 भुंज(÷)न् निष्कं[ट]कां महीं [।*] कुवलयानंद[क]रो भास्करोपि द्विजप्रिय [॥ २१ *॥]
39 हेमाद्रिकृतिमा[र्गे]ण कुर्व्व(÷)न् दानान्यनेकशः [।*] जलदानप्रसंगेन [35]शृतवान्
40 फलमुत्तमं ॥२२॥ आपो वा इदगुं सर्वमित्याम्नायप्रमाण-
41 तः [।*] जलादेवान्नसंभूतिरन्नं ब्रह्मेति च शृतिः[36] ॥२३॥ चरा-
42 चरजगद्बीजं जलमेव न संशयः[।*] किं पुनर्बहु[नो]क्तेन जलाधिक्यं
43 वदाम्यहं ॥२४॥ गंगाधरो हरस्सोपि विष्णुरंभोधिमं[दि]रः [।*] ब्रह्मा जल-
44 जसंभूतस्तस्मात्सर्वाधिकं जलं ॥२५॥ प्रपा कूपश्च वापी च कुल्या पद्मा-
45 करस्तथा [।*] उत्तरोत्तरतस्तेषां कोटिकोट्यधिकं फलं ॥२६॥ चराचर-
46 जगद्रक्षा य[त्त]टाकांबुना भुवि [।*] तस्य पु(÷)ण्यफलं वक्तुमशक्तः क-
47 मलासनः ॥२७॥ इत्युत्तमफलं [37]शृत्वा भवदूरमहीपति [:।*] तटा-
48 कमातृकामुर्वीं धर्मात्मा कर्तुमुद्यतः ॥२[८]॥ तत्क्रमं[॥]
49 श्रीपर्वतमहापु(÷)ण्यक्षेत्रदक्षिणभूस्थ[ले] [।*] अहोबलाख्यती-
50 [र्थ]स्य पूर्वतो योजनद्वये ॥२९॥ श्रीसिद्धवटनाथस्य सौम्य[स्य] कि-
51 ल देशके [।*] स्वस्योदयगिरींद्रस्य पश्चिमे योजनध्वये[38] ॥३०॥ वि[ल]स-
[103] 52 त्पोरुमामि[ळ्*]ळपट्टणप्राग्दिसि स्थिरं[39] [।*] तटाकोद्योगकालस्य क्रमं
53 वक्ष्यामि शासने ॥३१॥ धातोः परार्धकाले च कल्पे श्वेतवराहके [।*] [वै]व-
54 [40]श्वते मनौ तत्र चाष्टविंशतिमे युगे ॥३२॥ दिव्ये [41]तद्द[श]भागे च
55 कलौ प्रथमपादके [।*] चतुस्सहस्रस[÷*]युक्तचतुश्शतस[स]-
56 ति। गतेषु मानुषाब्देषु ।[।*]४४७०॥ भूनंदाक्ष्येकसंख्य[या]
57 ॥३३॥१२९१॥ वत्सरेषु शक[स्ये]वं[42] सौम्याब्दे कार्तिका(÷)ह्व-

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33 Read °शेखरः. 34 Read दिशि. 35 Read श्रुत°.
36 Read श्रुतिः. 37 Read श्रुत्वा. 38 Read °द्वये.
39 Read °शि स्थितं. 40 Read °स्वते. 41 Read तद्देश°.
42 Read ण्येवं.

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58 ये ॥३४॥ मासे शुक्लचतुर्दश्यां [43]गुरु[पुष्य]दिने शुभे [।*]
59 लग्ने कर्कटके चैव शुभे ग्रहसुवीक्षिते ॥३५॥ निर्मित[स्य] तटा-
60 कास्य द्वादशांगानि] शा[स्]लतः [।*] वक्ष्यामि भाविभूपानामु-
61 पकाराय शासने ॥३६॥ धर्माढ्यो धनवान् सुखी स्थिरय[शो] द्रव्याभि-
62 लाषी नृपः पाथश्शास्त्रविदग्रजश्च दृढमृत्संशोभिता चोर्व[रा] [।*]
63 माधुर्यांबुवहत्रियोजननदी तद्योगखंडो गिरि(:)स्सेतु-
64 स्तत्र विनिर्मितो [44]घनसिलाभित्यल्पदीर्घस्थिरः ॥३७॥

Second Stone

65 ॥ [45]शृंगौ बा(÷)ह्यफलस्थिरापरिह-
66 तौ [46]विस्तीर्ननिम्नोदरं रुज्वायाम[47]-
67 दृषत्खनिश्च निकटक्षेत्रं फला-
68 ढ्यं समं [।*] अद्रिस्थानदृढभ्रमा-
69 जलगतिस्तत्कर्ममर्त्यव्रजश्चेदृक्[48]-
70 द्वादशसाधनैश्च सुलभ[:*] स्रेष्ठः[49]
71 स्तटाको भुवि ॥३८॥ सेतोश्च जालं
72 जलमूषरोर्वीं द्विराजसंधा-[50]
73 वथ मध्यकूर्मं [।*] अल्पांबु-
74 भूविस्तरमल्पभूमिस्तोया-
75 धिकं चात्र हि दोषषट्कं ॥३९॥ दो-
76 [षै]र्विहीनो [51]गुणरासिशोभितो [ह्य]-
[104] 77 नंतराजाख्यजगत्प्रसिद्धः [।*] मा-
78 धुर्य्यनीरोयमनंतसाग-
79 र(:)स्सुस्थापितो भास्करभूवरे-
80 ण ॥४०॥ तटाकसेतुकाराश्च दि-
81 ने चैकसहस्रकं [।*] [अ]माभित्तिसि-[52]
82 लाक(÷)र्मशकटानां शतं तथा
83 ॥४१॥ वर्षद्वयेन [53]संपूर्ने(:)स्तटाक-
84 श्रोत्तमोत्तमः [।*] धनधान्यव्यय-
85 स्यात्र संख्या नैव तु विद्यते ॥४[१]॥
86 [54]सेतोरुन्मतविस्तारदीर्घमानमि-
87 होच्यते [।*] रेखादंडप्रमा[णे]न गि[रि]-
88 सेतुसमायुतं ॥४३॥ रेखादंडस-

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43 The vertical stroke in the facsimile between रु and पु appears to be due to an accidental depression in the stone at that point.

44 Read घनशिला°. 45 Read शृगौ wrongly masculine.
46 Read विस्तीर्ण°. 47 Read दरमृज्वायाम. 48 Read °दृग्.
49 Read श्रेष्ठ. 50 Read . probably so. 51 Read राशि°.
52 Read °त्तिशि-. 53 Read °पूर्ण°. 54 Read °रुन्नतिविस्तारदैर्घ्य°.

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89 हस्रपंचकलसद्दीर्घ्यश्च सप्तोंन्नतेः स्से-[55]
90 तुस्तत्र चतुर्भ्रमाजलगतिः[56] तद्विस्तर-
91 श्चाष्टकं [।*] विघ्नेशेश्वरविष्णुभैरवमहा-
92 दुर्गाभिसंरक्षितः क्षेत्रं भूरिसम-
93 स्तकालफलदं साराममत्युत्तमं ॥४४॥
94 [57][दै]वब्राह्मणतृप्त्यर्थं दत्तं क्षेत्रं य-
95 थेप्सितं [।*] [58]यीदृम्भूदानपुण्येन तटाकास्से[59]-
96 खरीकृतः ॥४५॥ यद्वत्सेतुर्ल्लंघनिय्यो[60]
97 न चाब्धेर्भूपांभोधेर्द्धर्मसेतुस्तथैव [।*]
98 तस्मादस्मद्धर्मरक्षार्थमुर्व्यां याचे या-
99 चे पार्थिवान् भा[स्क]रोहं ॥४[६]॥(।) प्राक्तनप्रा-
100 र्थ्थनाश्लोकाः [॥*] सामान्योया[61] [ध]र्म्मसेतर्नृपाणं[62]
101 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि[:] [।*] सर्व्वानेतान्
102 भाविनः पार्थ्यिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो या-
103 चते रामचंद्रः ॥४७॥ दानपालनयोर्म्म-
104 ध्ये [63]थानात्स्रेयोनुपालनं [।*] दानादिंद्रत्वमा-
105 प्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥४८॥ [64]येकैव
[105] 106 भगिनी लोके सर्व्वेषामेव भूभुजां [।*] न भो-
107 ग्या न करग्रा(÷)ह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥४९॥
108 कुमारगिरिना(÷) [था] ख्यप्रथानतनयस्सु[65]-
109 धी[:] [।*] अधिकारी तटाकस्य देवा[66]ꣳ जाभिधानकः ॥५०॥
110 विद्यास्थानचतु[र्द्द]शप्रदनिजाचार्य्या-
111 य कोटिक्रमात् गांगेयं वरतंतवै[67] र-
112 घुनृपात् [68]लब्ध्वा ददौ दक्षिणं[69] [।*] कौत्सस्तत्कुल-
113 [जे]न नंदपुर[वि]प्रा[ग्रे]न रु[70] [ग्वे]दिना श्रीमल्लिं-
114 (÷)गयमाचनार्य्यकविना प्रोक्तं [शु]भं शास-
115 नं ॥५१॥ शालिबीजफला खारी कृष्णभू-
116 मिस्तु खारिका [।*] प्रददौ भास्करस्त[स्मै धा]-
117 रापूर्व्वकमादरात् ॥५२॥*]

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55 Read °दैर्घ्यश्च सप्तोन्नतिस्रो-. 56 Read °गतिस्त°. 57 Read देव°.
58 Read ईदृ°. 59 Read °कश्शे. 60 Read °घनौयो.
61 Read °न्योयं. 62 Read °णां. 63 Read दानाच्छेयो°.
64 Read एकैव. 65 Read °प्रधान°. 66 Read देव°.
67 Read °तवे. 68 Read °पाल्ल° 69 Read °णां.
70 Read °ग्रेण ऋग्वे°. Note this hiatus ! In the original an *i*-sign is also added to *ru*.

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TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) May there be freedom from obstacles! Salutation to the preceptors! Salutation to the (various forms of) Gaṇa-patis[71] who have Pushṭi (for their wives)!

(L. 2) The characteristics (*lakshaṇa*) of an edict (are as follows) :—

(V. 1) Out of the five[72] mystic syllables (*praṇava*) the sacred *bīja*[73] (syllable) should be uttered first. One should avoid (the use of the letters) *cha, ka, ṭa, ha* in the *ṛitu* (6th), *adri* (7th), 10th, and *rudra* (11th) (syllables.)

(V. 2) At the beginning of a composition (the *gaṇa*) *ma*, consisting of three long (syllables and representing) the Earth, brings bliss; *na* with many (i.e. all) short (syllables, which represents) THAT,[74] (brings) wealth; and *ya*, with the first (syllable) short (and representing) Water, (brings) gold; *ja* with the middle (syllable) long, (representing) the Sun, (brings) disease; *ra* with the middle (syllable) short, (representing) fire, (brings) fear; *sa* with two short (syllables) in the beginning, (representing) Wind, (brings) destruction; *ta* with a short (syllable) at the end, (representing) Space, (brings) lordship; (and) *bha* with a long (syllable) at the beginning, (representing) the Moon, (brings) happiness.

(V. 3) Not having a *visarga* at the end of the first half; absence of compounded words at the beginning; and having a *visarga* (at the end as) *śēkhara*: (these are) the best characteristics of an edict-stanza.[75]

[106] (V. 4) He (alone) should frame an edict whose diction is elegant, who is conversant with *Śruti, Smṛti, Purāṇa, Itihāsa* and *Āgama* (and is also) acquainted with the particularities of time and place.

(V. 5) May the merciful Śrī (Lakshmī), by whose extreme grace Hēraṁba (Gaṇēśa) brought about the weaving together (of events) in the entire world of movables and immovables,[76] (and) the lotus-born Creator (Brahmā) by mere volition brought into existence the gold-bright mundane egg, resting on the expanse of water, always bestow prosperity on the three worlds.

(V. 6) May Achyuta (Vishṇu) protect the three worlds, freed from misery, who, in the form of a boar, having extracted with the tip of his tusk

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71 The number of Gaṇa-patis is variously given by different authors. Cf. BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. (*Grundriss d. indo-arischen Philologie*, Band, III, Heft 6, pp. 149 f.).

72 The dictionaries mention only one *praṇava*, namely, the syllable *Ōṁ*.

73 It is the mystic letter forming the essential part of the *mantra* of any deity (APTE's Dictionary).

74 The Earth, Water, Sun, etc. mentioned in this verse are the eight forms of the Ashṭamūrti Śiva; and seven of these agree with those enumerated by Kālidāsa in the introductory verse of the *Śakuntalā* namely, the five *mahābhūtas*, the Sun and the Moon; consequently the remaining one, which is referred to under *na-gaṇa* with the pronoun *asau*, must be the sacrificing priest *hōṭṛi*.

75 Needless to say, the author himself does not follow the rules of versification laid down here.

76 Probably in his capacity of Vighnēśvara.

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the Earth submerged in the ocean, placed (her, i.e. the Earth) in (a corner of) that (ocean) and (on that account) obtained wondrous and matchless merit, (evidently) because there was altogether no such (merit) to compare with (known till then) as (that accruing) from the establishment of a tank.[77]

(V. 7) May the propitious (Śiva), the sole bestower of happiness on persons resorting to him, whose right and left eyes[78] augment the rain and the herbs of the three worlds; on (whose) brow (is *Agni*), borne of the Waters,[79] (whose) friend (is) the lord of riches (*Kubēra*), whose chariot is (the Earth) with jewels in her interior, (whose) abode (is) Śrīgiri (Śrīśailam), (and whose) bow (is) the Golden Mount (Mēru), protect you![80]

(V. 8) May the Earth (bearing) plentiful crops always protect you!—she whose form is resplendent with (her) limbs, namely, the seven continents; with Mēru for her head; the rippling ocean of milk for (her) beauteous breasts; decorated with Rōhaṇa[81] and other (mountains); with the glittering oceans for (her) sumptuous garments; and beautiful with rivers and lotus ponds.

(V. 9) A son, a literary composition and a tank, (hidden) treasure, a Śiva temple, a forest(-grove) a Brāhmaṇa-village: (these) seven (kinds of) offsprings are the best.[82]

(V. 10) A performer of these and other meritorious works was the earth-ruler Bhāskara, surnamed Bhavadūra.[83] His lineage I shall narrate.

(V. 11) The Moon (was) born from the Ocean of Milk. Saumya (was) the son of the Moon. In his race were born Purūravas and Nahusha; from the latter king Yayāti. His son (was) Yadu. In this race of the Yādavas (was born) the azure-robed (Balarāma) and the blessed Hari. In (the age of) Kali was born in his family the illustrious king Saṁgama.

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[77] What is meant is that the exploit of Vishṇu is quite insignificant when compared with the sinking of a reservoir, such as the one sunk by Bhāskara, the patron of the poet.

[78] i.e. the Sun and the Moon.

[79] In the sequence of creation, as described in the Upanishads, Water comes after Fire; hence the latter is fancifully represented to be the father of the former.

[80] This is a reference to the legend of Śiva slaying the demon Tripura.

[81] Rōhaṇa is the name of a mountain in Ceylon. It is not unlikely that a *dhvani* of the sense *drōhaṇa* ('hip') is also intended.

[82] In the Gaṇapēśvara Inscription of Gaṇ-pati (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 88 ff. the seven "offsprings" are thus described:

Sampāditair yathāvat sutakṛitīnidhanavivāhasuragehaiḥ |
saṭaṭākair yaḥ sasaptabhir ētaiḥ saṁtānavān bhavati ||

The Vanapalli plates of Anna Vema (Śaka 1300) also allude to them as *sapta-saṁtati* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 61).

In *Hēmādri-kṛiti-mārgēṇa* (l. 39) we have again the word *kṛti* used in the sense of 'composition'.

[83] As remarked by Dr. HULTZSCH in the report on Epigraphy for 1902-3 (see p. 6, para. 15), Bhavadūra seems to be a Sanskritised form of Bahādūr.

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[107] (V. 12) This king Saṁgama, having worshipped (the gods) Hari and Hara, obtained by their grace a son, king Harihara.

(V. 13) The supreme lords of the Middle Country[84] (*Madhya-dēśa*) extending from the eastern to the western ocean, viz. the celebrated (kings) of the Solar and Lunar races, were occupied in doing "foot-salutation" to him.

(V. 14) From his causing hostile kings to tremble his uterine brother was (known) in the world (as) king Kaṁpana. After him his younger brother Bukka, the crest-jewel among kings, the husband of Lakshmī, was the enjoyer of the Earth, who was perfectly constant (to him).

(V. 15) (Then) were born Mārapa and Muddapa, two brothers of king Bukka. And these five virtuous sons were incarnations of the Pāṇḍavas in the age of Kali.

(V. 16) Vāsudēva, who loves his worshippers and (who had acted) in former times (as) the messenger (and) the charioteer of the Pāṇḍavas, (having countless incarnations), became also minister of these in the form of Anaṁta.[85]

(V. 17) Through having Anaṁtarāja for his minister king Bukka ruled over the whole surface of the earth and acquired the glory of Dēvēṁdra.

(V. 18) His city, Vijaya by name, (was situated) on the bank of the Tuṁga-bhadrā near (the temple of) the blessed Virūpāksha (Śiva), well propitiated on account of steady adoration.

(V. 19) Formerly the number of the sons of Śaśabiṁdu (was very great) in the world. That is but a story! (?) The countless sons of king Bukka were exalted through triumph.[86]

(V. 20) Out of these sons king Bukka had placed Bhāskara, exalted through the gory of independent sovereignty, in the eastern direction (of his empire).

(V. 21) And he, ruling from the top of the sublime Udaya-giri[87] the earth freed from the thorns (of enemies), though Bhāskara, (i.e. the Sun, is still) the delighter of the Earth and beloved of the Brāhmaṇas.[88]

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84 As the early Vijayanagar kings had no claim to sovereignty in any part of India north of the Vindhya, Madhyadēśa cannot have its usual significance, but must refer to the country lying between the eastern and the western ocean, namely, the Dekkhan plateau.

85 One must supply a verb like *kṛtavān* in the first half of the verse.

86 The construction of the first half of the verse is not quite clear to me. In Ch. 65 of the Drōṇa-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, we are told that Śaśabindu had 10,000 wives, on each of whom he begat 1,000 sons. These, it is stated, he gave away to the Brāhmaṇas in the Aśvamedha sacrifice which he performed. The "countless sons" of Bukka are his meritorious acts like the *sapta-saṁtāna* mentioned in v. 9.

87 This must refer to the fortification on the top of the Udaya-giri hill. Even now U. is an exceedingly strong hill-fortress.

88 The pun on the words *kuvalaya* ('night-lotus' and 'earth') and *dvija* ('Brāhmaṇa and Moon') is a very common example of the Virōdhābhāsa.

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(V. 22) Making charities in various ways in keeping with the treatise of Hēmādri,[89] he heard that the merit attaching to the gift of water was the greatest of all.

(V. 23) On the authority of the Vēdas : "Verily all this is water!"[90] And the *Śruti* says that : "From water alone is produced Food ; (and) Food is Brahman!"

(V. 24) There can be no doubt (that) Water alone is the seed of the world of movables and immovables. Why speak more? I shall describe the superiority of water (as follows) :—

[108] (V. 25) Even that (great) Śiva is the bearer of the Gaṁgā ; Vishṇu has the ocean for his abode ; Brahmā is sprung from the water-born (lotus). Hence Water is superior to everything (else).

(V. 26) A shed for distributing water (*prapā*), a well and a reservoir, a canal and a lotus-tank : the merit of (constructing) them is millions and millions (of times) higher in succession.

(V. 27) As the water of a tank serves to nurture both movable and immovable creation on (this) earth, even the lotus-seated (Brahmā) is unable to recount the fruit of merit (attaching) to it.

(V. 28) Having thus heard the supreme reward, king Bhavadūra, the pious soul, commmenced to make the earth tank-nourished (*taṭāka-mātṛikā*).[91]

(L. 48) Its procedure (was as follows) :

(Vv. 29-31) It (i.e. the tank) is situated in the country to the south of Śrīparvata (Śrīśaila), the great sacred place of pilgrimage ; two *yōjanas*[92] to the east of the sacred place (*Tīrtha*) called Ahōbala ; in the division of the gentle blessed Siddhavata-nātha ; two *yōjanas* to the west of his (capital) Udaya-giri ; and to the east of the flourishing city of Porumāmiḷḷa. I shall (now) describe in this edict the sequence of the period of construction of the tank :—

(Vv. 32-35)[93] In the second half of the creator's life-time in the Śvēta varāha *Kalpa*, in (the age of) the Vaivasvata Manu, and in the 28th Yuga,

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[89] Namely, the Dāna-khaṇḍa. Hēmādri was the minister of the two Yādava kings Mahādēva (1260-71) and Rāmachandra (1273-1310). See BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Dekkhan*, pp. 88 f.

[90] The phrase *āpō vā*, etc. is a part of the *mantra* with which water is purified. *Idaguṁ* is the word *idam* as it is pronounced by the Yajurvēdins in the recitation of Vedic texts.

[91] With *taṭāka-mātṛika* cf. the terms *dēva-mātṛika* and *nadī-mātṛika* in a similar sense.

[92] Taking a *yōjana* to be equal to 9 miles, this distance is only approximately correct.

[93] Construe : *dhātoḥ parādhakālē....divyē taddēśa-bhāge nirmitasya taṭākasya dvādaśāṁgani vakshyāmi.*

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—in that divine part of the country—in the first quarter of Kali after the lapse of four thousand, four hundred and seventy—(in figures) 4470—years of mortals, and also after the (lapse) of Śaka years measured by the number of the earth (1), the Nandas (9), the eyes (2), and one (1)—(in figures) 1291—in the (cylic) year Saumya, in the month called Kārttika, on the fourteenth (day) of the bright half, on the auspicious day of Guru combined with Pushya, when there was Karkaṭaka *lagna*, under the influence of well-chosen auspicious planets,—

(V. 36) Of the tank constructed (at the above specified time and place) according to (the requirements of) the *Śāstra* I shall in this edict describe the twelve constituents (*aṁga*[94]) for the benefit of future kings :

(V. 37) (i) a king endowed with righteousness, rich, happy (and) desirous of (acquiring) the permanent wealth of fame, (ii) and Brāhmaṇa learned in Hydrology (*pāthas-śāstra*), (iii) and ground adorned with hard clay, (iv) a river conveying sweet water (and) three *yōjanas* distant (from its source[95]), (v) the hill parts of which are in contact with it, (i.e. the tank),[96] (vi) between these (portions of the hill) a dam (built) of a compact-stone wall, not too long (but) firm, (vii) two extremes (*śṛṁga*) (pointing) away from fruit (-giving) and (*phala sthirā*) outside,[97] (viii) the bed extensive and deep, (ix) and a quarry containing straight and long stones, (x) the neighbouring fields, rich in fruit (and) level, (xi) a water course (i.e. the sluices) having strong eddies (*bhramā*) on account of the position of the mountain (*adri-sthāna*),[98] (xii) a gang of men (skilled in the art of) its construction, —with these twelve essentials an excellent tank is easily attainable on (this) earth.

[109] (V. 39) While (i) water oozing (?) from the dam, (ii) saline soil, (iii) (situation) at the boundary of two kingdoms,[99] (iv) elevation (*kūrma*) in the middle (of the tank) bed,[100] (v) scanty supply of water and extensive stretch of land (to be irrigated), (vi) and scanty ground and excess of water : (these are) the six faults in this (connection).

(V. 40) Devoid of faults and adorned with a multitude of good qualities,

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94 These *aṁgas* are later on called *sādhanas* (l. 70 of the text) and are no doubt identical with the latter.

95 See above, p. 99.

96 This must obviously refer to the range of hills which is utilised to form a part of the dam.

97 I.e. below the tank.

98 This may be taken to be a clumsy description of the fact that at the egress the water is led over a stony bed along a tortuous line, so that it issues whirling round with great force, forming strong eddies.

99 Perhaps as, in this case, the position of the tank might lead to unpleasant consequences during a conflict between the neighbouring kingdoms.

100 The bed ought to form a complete valley.

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renowned in the world by the name Anaṁtarāja, this endless ocean, of which the water is sweet, was founded by king Bhāskara.

(V. 41) (There were) one thousand labourers (working) at the tank and dam every day, and a hundred carts (were employed) for the masonry work of the sluice and wall (*bhramā-bhitti*).

(V. 42) And this most excellent tank was completed in two years. There is, to be sure, no limit at all to the expenditure of money and grain in this (connection).

(V. 43) The measurements in terms of *rēkhā-daṁḍas*[101] of the height, the width, and the length of the dam together with (the portion of) the hill (included in the) dam, are here given :

(V. 44) The dam, having eddying waterducts (i.e. sluices)[102] (and) protected by Vighnēśa, (Gaṇa-pati), Īśvara (Śiva), Vishṇu, Bhairava, and the great Durgā, is one which has the enormous length of five thousand *rēkhā-daṁḍas*, height of seven and its width eight.[103] And the land (is) excellent and yields plentiful crops in all seasons and contains groves.

(V. 45) This land was liberally given for the gratification of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Through the merit of this gift of land the tank was made to be an ornament (of tanks).

(V. 46) Just as the dam of a reservoir should not be injured, so likewise the *dharma*-dam of the ocean of kings. Therefore I, Bhāskara, repeatedly request the kings on earth to protect my charity.

(L. 99 f.) These are the ancient *ślōkas* of entreaty :

[Then follow three of the customary verses.]

(V. 50) The Officer-in-charge (*adhikārin*) of this tank is the clever son of the minister called Kumāragiri-nātha, Dēvarṟāja by name.

(V. 51) Having obtained from king Raghu gold by the crore, Kautsa gave (it as) *dakshiṇā* to his preceptor, Varataṁtu, who had bestowed on him the fourteen branches of knowledge. By a descendant of his (*scil.* Kautsa)[104] the illustrious Liṁgaya Māchanāryya,[105] of Naṁdapura, best of Brāhmaṇas and a follower of the Ṛgvēda, the auspicious edict was composed.

(V. 52) (One) *khārī* (of land) producing paddy and (one) *khārī* of black-soil land,—(these) were out of regard given to him by Bhāskara, preceded by a libation (of water).

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101 A standard of linear measurement roughly equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ yard. See p. 99.

102 For *bhramā-jala-gati* see note 8 on p. 108. [= 98 *supra*.]

103 The pronoun *tad* in *tad-vistara* cannot be taken to refer to the noun immediately preceding, but must refer to the *sētu* of which the dimensions are being given. See l. 86 of the text.

104 The sense is that the poet belonged to the Kautsa *gotra*. There is, however, a confusion in the mind of the poet between Kautsa the patriarch, and Kautsa the pupil of Varatantu alluded to in the *Raghu-vaṁśa*, Canto 5, vv. 1 ff.

105 I.e. Māchana, son of Liṁgaya.

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BHANDAK PLATES OF KRISHNARAJA I. : SAKA 694.*

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja I. were discovered at Bhāndak, *Taḥṣil* Warōḍā, in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. They were forwarded for examination by the Commissioner for the Nāgpūr Division, through Dr. D. B. SPOONER, to the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. I am now editing them from the original plates as well as a set of impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the latter.

The plates are three in number, each measuring roughly $10\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins., and weigh 340 tolas. The margins are folded over and beaten down, so as to serve as rims. The grant is engraved on the inner side of the first and the third plates, and on both sides of the second. The plates are pierced by a circular hole, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, in order to receive the ring and seal, which are, however, missing.—The engraving is deep, but not neat. The letters, which are uncouth in shape, vary in size from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The letters *cha*, *pa* and *ya* have been indifferently incised and are consequently difficult to distinguish from each other; so also the letters *va* (*ba*) and *dha*. The ligature *nta* is often so carelessly written as to be indistinguishable from *tta*. Some letters, again, sporadically show quite strange forms, as, for example, *su* in *rājasu* at the beginning of line 4, *śa* in *śarvarīshu*, l. 3, *lē* in *balēna*, l. 28, etc.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, like those of the Multāī plates[1] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nanda-rāja Yuddhāsura, represent the last phase of the acute-angled variety.[2] The medial *u* is marked by a short stroke slanting upwards, attached to the *mātṛikā* at its right lower end; sporadically by a curve opening to the left, as, for instance, in the *śu* of *śuchi*, l. 3. The sign for the medial *ē* is a short vertical stroke appended to the top of the *mātṛikā* on the left; and, only very rarely, by a stroke above the *mātṛikā*. The central bar of *ja* slants downwards, but is not vertical; the lowest bar does not form a double curve, but merely slants downwards towards the right and only sporadically ends in a small notch. Those corners of the letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa*, which later develop into loops or triangles, are in our inscription marked by small projections or notches.[3] The verticals on the right of the letters are short and project but little below

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* [*Ep. Ind.* 14. 121-130.]

1 BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IV, Col. XX.

2 BÜHLER, *op. cit.* p. 50.

3 E.g. *kha* in *mukhō*, l. 2, *mukhī*, l. 4; *ga* in *gōtra*, l. 8, *vēga*, l. 10; *śa* in *praśāsati*, l. 11, *śikharāṇi*, l. 12, etc.

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the remaining portion of the signs.[4] These palæographic characteristics are sufficient to establish the archaic character of the script and to prove that the plates belong actually to the period to which they refer themselves, viz. the third quarter of the eighth century of the Christian era.[5] Our record contains specimens of initial *ā* in l. 2; initial *i* in ll. 3, 8; initial *u* in l. 37; initial *ē* in l. 53; a cursive form of *ku* in ll. 5, 12, 23, etc.; and the following ligatures, *ṅka* [122] l. 9, *ṅga* l. 36, *ṅghṛi* l. 17, *ñcha* l. 6, *ṇḍa* l. 2, *ṇḍya* l. 27, *ksha* and *kshmā* l. 14 *jña* l. 8, *lpha* l. 16, *shṭvā* l. 4; and lastly final *t* (?) in l. 33.—As regards orthography, the only points worthy of notice are the following: (1) the use of *gha* for *ha* in *rājasighaḥ*, l. 4 (cf. also l. 23); (2) no distinction is made between *b* and *v*; (3) no rule is followed with regard to the use of *anusvāra* in the middle of a *pāda*; (4) wrong conversion of the *anusvāra* into *n* before a sibilant in °*likhit-ānsa*,° l. 14; (5) once the use of *da* for *dha* in *dadatā*, l. 5; (6) the use of the vowel *ṛi* for *ri* in *tṛipishṭapa*° (for °*trivishṭapa*°), l. 7.—The grant commences with a symbol representing *ōṃ*. Then follows the stanza *sa vō = vyād = vēdhasā dhāma*, etc., which stands at the beginning of, I think, all the early Rāshṭrakūṭa records. The rest of the composition is also in Sanskrit: the *praśasti*, the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas being in verse, the grant proper in prose.

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[4] In the *yē* of *yēn = ēyaṁ* (l. 31 we have an instance where the vertical stroke is altogether wanting.

[5] The Sāmāngaḍ grant of Dantidurga (ed. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff.) and the Alās grant of Yuva-rāja Gōvinda (II.) (ed. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 208 ff.) are two Rāshṭrakūṭa records which bear the dates Śaka 675 and 692, i.e. are dated earlier by 19 and 2 years respectively than the grant which is the subject of this article. The palæographic differences between these three grants are worthy of consideration. The alphabet of Gōvinda's grant is wholly different from that of our record. The script is entirely Dravidian in character; the letters are round in appearance, and are akin to those of the grants of the later Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the immediate predecessors of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The difference is clearly a local one and is perfectly consistent with the geographical limits over which the southern alphabet was current. Such is not, however, the case with the other inscription. The alphabet of the Sāmāngaḍ grant belongs to the same category as that of our grant, and represents an archaic variety of the Nāgarī. The difference lies, however, in its showing just those peculiarities which characterise the script of an epoch some decades later than that to which it refers itself. The regular sign for the medial *ē* in this grant is a curved stroke on the top of the letter, while the short vertical stroke on the left appears only occasionally as representing this letter. The right-hand portion of *gha*, *pa* and *sa* shows the development of long verticals on the right of these signs. The letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa* show distinct [122] developments of loops, where our record has only straight projections or notches. The middle bar of *ja* approximates more to the vertical, and the lower portion forms a distinct double curve. These facts are clear indications of a later palæographic epoch and raise suspicions against the *bona fides* of the grant. For this and other reasons I am inclined to entertain the gravest doubts regarding the authenticity of the Sāmāngad grant. But, as I intend dealing with the question at length in a separate article devoted to the subject, I do not wish to enter into details here.

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Most of the verses of this record are repeated with slight verbal differences in one or other of the following grants : the Sāmāngaḍ grant of Dantidurga,[6] the Alās plates of Gōvinda II.[7], the Paiṭhaṇ[8] and the Kāvī[9] grants of Gōvinda III. Of these it approaches closest to the first mentioned, viz. the Sāmāngaḍ grant. The four verses 5, 9, 21 and 22 I have not been able to trace anywhere else. In recounting the exploits of Dantidurga all the early Rāshṭrakūṭa grants repeat the two well-known verses, *Kāñchīśa*° and *sabhrūvibhaṅga*,° etc.[10] Our grant has instead only one stanza, made up of the two half verses belonging to the two stanzas, a deficiency which, I should imagine, is merely due to the negligence of the scribe. In other respects the execution is satisfactory. And with the help of this text we are placed in a position to correct the extremely corrupt text of the Sāmāngaḍ grant with respect to those verses which it has in common with our grant and which do not occur elsewhere.

The grant, as already remarked, is a record of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa-rāja I. and is of particular importance, being the first record of the king to be discovered so far.[11] Another grant which refers itself to the reign of Kṛishṇa I. is the Alās grant of his son Gōvinda II., while yet a *yuvarāja*; it was issued in Śaka 692, that is, two years previous to our record.[12] The genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas given in the present grant commences with Gōvinda I., as in all other early grants of this dynasty, excepting the unfinished inscription from the Daśāvatāra temple at Ellora[13]; and the details regarding his successors Kakka-rāja and Indra-rāja accord well with what we know of them from other records. Here again, as in the Sāmāngaḍ grant, the queen of Indra-rāja is described as being a Chālukya princess, tracing her descent from the Lunar race on her mother's side. But from the new record we gather some more information about her, which in the mangled version of the Sāmāngaḍ grant was distorted beyond recognition. The defective *anushṭubh* half-verse,

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6 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. II, pp. 371 ff.; ed. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff., and Plates.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 208 ff., and Plate.

8 *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff., and Plate.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

10 The Kāvī grant, vv. 8, 9; the Sāmāngaḍ, vv. 18, 17 (in the reverse order!); the Alās, vv. 5, 6; the Paiṭhaṇ, ll. 11-14.

11 Since writing these lines I have come to know of the recent discovery of another record of Kṛishṇa-rāja, viz. the Talegaon (Poona District) plates dated in the year Śaka 690, vide *Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1913, p. 54. [The inscription is published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275-282.—F. W. T.]

12 Ed. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 203 ff.

13 Edited by Bhagvanlal INDRAJI, No. 10 (p. 91) of the separate pamphlets of the *Archl. Survey of West India*,

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Śrīmad-yuvati-gaṇānāṁ sādhvīnām = āpa nā(sā) padaṁ |

of the Sāmāngaḍ grant, stands for some original like

Śrīmad-Bhavagaṇā *ṇāmā sādhvīnām = upamāpadaṁ*

which I translate with : 'Śrīmad Bhava-gaṇā by name, the (*very*) standard of comparison [123] among virtuous and chaste women.' The name of the queen was therefore Bhavagaṇā. Dr. FLEET translates the corresponding half-verse of the Sāmāngaḍ grant as follows : 'She attained the position of honourable young women who are faithful wives.' On comparing my translation with that of Dr. FLEET there will be no doubt as to which reading is to be preferred. Coming to Kṛishṇa himself, in addition to his *birudas* Śubhatuṅga and Akālavarsha, which we know from other inscriptions as well, he appears to have also assumed the title Śrī-pralayamahā-varāha. Besides these three *birudas* this record contains no further historical information about him, and it would therefore appear that it was issued in the early part of his reign : at any rate, before the event of the construction of the Ellora temple, which event is described with such pomp and ceremony in a later record of this dynasty.[14]

With regard to the charge brought against Kṛishṇa by Dr. FLEET[15] that he 'had uprooted his relative Dantidurga, who had resorted to evil ways and appropriated the kingdom for the benefit of his family,' I hope this record of Kṛishṇa-rāja himself will have the last word to say and that too in a decided negative. The weak points of Dr. FLEET'S theory have already been pointed out with sufficient clearness and force by Mr. Devadatta R. BHANDARKAR recently in his article on the Alās plates of Gōvinda II.[16] It is here sufficient to point out that Dantidurga was no licentious weakling, but a very powerful and, probably, also a popular king. In fact, he was the first king of his dynasty to assume the title of *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,* or, to quote the words of Dr. FLEET himself, 'he was the real founder of the dynasty.'[17] In our grant, just as in the Sāmāngaḍ grant, he is called the 'son to the lotus (*which was*) his family'; both these records lay stress on his devotion to his mother in unmistakable terms. It is, therefore preposterous to identify the relative of Kṛishṇa 'who had taken to evil ways' with the founder of the dynasty, Dantidurga, who had merited the epithet *sva-kul-āmbhōja-bhāskara.* Besides, were Kṛishṇa really guilty of the murder, it is inconceivable that he should have tolerated the eulogy showered upon the murdered uncle in a grant of his own and coolly added that he ascended the throne after the victim of the assassination had gone to heaven !

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[14] R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Dekkan* (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II), p. 196.

[15] *Kanarese Dynasties,* p. 391.

[16] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 209.

[17] *Kanarese Dynasties,* p. 389.

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The formal part of the grant records that the king, being encamped at Nāndī-pura-dvārī, granted on the occasion of a *saṁkrānti*, at the request of one Madana, the village of Naganapuri to the Bhaṭṭāraka of the temple of Āditya in the town of Udumvara-manti. The concluding verse gives the name of the writer as Vāmana-[nā]ga.

The grant is dated in the Śaka year 694 expired on the third day of the dark half of Āshāḍha, which was, as remarked above, a Saṁkrānti. Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu PILLAI, who kindly examined for me the details of the date, informs me that the *tithi* mentioned in our record ended on the 23rd June (Tuesday) A.D. 772, at about one *ghaṭikā* after sunrise; the day was also the first day of the solar month Karkaṭaka by the Tamil rule. The Karkaṭaka *Saṁkrānti* fell on June 22nd (i.e. on the previous day) at a little before midnight. We are therefore led to assume that in the present case the first day of the civil month was called Saṁkrānti, though the astronomical *Saṁkrānti* fell on the previous day, a supposition which is countenanced by the practice actually followed in Southern India in certain well-known instances.

TEXT.[18]

[Metres: v. 1, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*); vv. 2-7, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 8, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*); v. 9, *Indravajrā*; vv. 10-16, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*); v. 17, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 18, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 19-24, *Āryā*; vv. 25-26, *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*); v. 27, defective *Āryā*.]

1 ओं[19] [॥*] स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया

[124] 2 कमलंकृतं ॥[१॥*] आसी[द*] द्विषत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो

3 रण[श]व्वरीषु [।*] भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवाप्तदिग[20]न्तकीर्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति रा-

4 ज[सु] राजसिघः[21] ॥[२॥*] दृष्ट्वा च[मू]रभिमुखी[:*] [22]सुभटाट्ट(ा)हासा [उन्ना]मितं

5 सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं। द[ष्टा]धुरेण[23] द[द]ता भ्रुकुटि[ः*] ललाटे खन्भं[24]

6 कुलं च हृदयञ्च निजञ्च गर्व[ः*] ॥[३॥*] तस्यात्मजो जगति वि श्रुतदीर्घकी-

7 र्त्तिरात्तार्त्तिहारिहारिविक्रमधामधारी[25]। [26]भूपस्तपिष्टपनृपानुकृतिः

8 कृतज्ञ[:*] श्रीकक्कराज इति गोत्तमणिर्व्वभूव[27] ॥[४॥*] नाम्नैव यस्य र-

9 मणाङ्कविवर्त्तिनीना[ः*] रोमाञ्चवेपथुभृतामरिसुन्दरीणा[ः*] [।*] अ-

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18 From the original plates and a set of impressions.
19 Represented by a symbol.
20 Read °दिगन्त°.
21 Read °सिंहः.
22 Read समटाट्टहासा.
23 Read °धरेण दधता.
24 Read खड्गं. Note गव masculine!
25 Read °हारिहरि°.
26 Read भूपस्त्रिविष्टप°.
27 Read °र्व्वभूव.

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10 [28][स्तु]णि [29]वाहुवलयानि मनांसि सद्यः संत्रा[स]त्रेगविधुराणि सम[÷*] निपे-
11 तुः ।[।५॥*] यस्मिं[न्प्र]शासति महोन्नरपे द्विजाना[÷*] वैतानधूमनिचयैः परिक-
12 [30]र्वुराणि [।*] स[÷*]ध्यासु सौधशिखराणि विलोक्य केकाः कुर्वन्ति वेश्मशिखिनो
13 जलदागमोत्काः ॥[६॥*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचि-
14 रोल्लिखितान्सपीठः[31] । क्षमापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभू[त्त]नूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूट-

Second Plate; First Side.

15 (ट)कनकद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः[32] [॥७॥*] तस्य द्विजजनाश्रान्तशान्तिवाचनवारि-
16 णा [।*] प्रत्यहं [33]दुल्फदग्नेन जनश्च[र]ति मन्दिरे ।[।८॥*] सेवासमा-
यातवृह-[34]
17 न्नरेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्य[ङ्घ्रि]युगस्य[35] यस्य [।*] अम्लानवक्त्रैस्त्रिजगत्प्रवीणैः[36] स[÷*]
18 [37]गेय्यते श्री[ः*] [38]स्वजनैरजस्रं ॥[९॥*] पूरिताशा शुचिर्ध्वस्तध्वान्तज्यो-
स्त्नेव मातृत[ः ।*]
19 राज्ञी सोमान्वया तस्य पितृतश्च चुलुक्यजः[39] [॥१०॥*] श्रीमद्भवगणा नाम सा-
[125] 20 [ध्वी]नामुपमापदं [।*] रक्षणाद्भरणाल्लोकं या चकार निरापदं ।[।११॥*]
सु(स)नयन्त-
21 नयं तस्यां स लेभे भूभृदुत्तमः ।(।) [40]नीतावर्थमिवाशे[ष]जानता-[41]
22 प्रार्थितायतिं [॥१२॥*] स्पष्टतेजाः[42][स्व]धामौघ(ः)प्रसाधितदिग[न्त]रं [।*] श्री-
23 दन्तिदुर्गराजाख्य[÷] स्वकुला[म्भो]जभास्करं ।[।१३॥*] अस्याजो[43] रणसिंघस्य[44] वि-
24 त्त्रस्ता वैरिवारणाः स्वलज्जास्तम्भमुन्मूल्य ज्ञायन्ते क्वापि [नो] गता[ः*]
।[।१४॥*] [सा]ट्टा-
25 लकानि दुर्गाणि हृदयैः सह विद्विषाम्प[त]न्ति यत्प्रतापेग्रकोपाद्भुकु-[45]
26 रसमुद्भरे ।[।१५॥*] [46]मःतृभक्ति[ः*] प्रतिग्रामं ग्रामलक्षचतुष्टये [।*
ददत्या भू[प्रदा]-

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[28] Read °श्रूणि. [29] Read बाहु°. [30] Read °र्बुराणि.
[31] Read °तांस°.
[32] Read °काद्रिरि°. The *i*-sign of द्रि is appended to the symbol for द्
[33] Read गुल्फ°. [34] Read °बृह.
[35] Read °वन्द्या. The *i*-sign in ङ्घ्रि seems to be appended to the symbol for ङ्घ्र
[36] See note 6 on p. 127. [= 74 *infra*.]
[37] Read सेव्य° [38] Read सजनै°. [39] Read जा.
[40] See note 1 on p. 128. [= 78 *infra*.]
[41] Read °जनता. [42] Read °तेजः°. [43] Read °जौ.
[44] Read °हस्य. [45] Read °तापोय°. [46] Read मातृ°.

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27 नानि यस्य मात्रा प्रकाशिता ॥[१६॥*] कांचीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्य-
श्रीह-
28 र्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डव[ले]न[47] जित्वा
रा[जा]-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

29 धिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१७॥*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसल्लोलो-
30 र्म्मिवेलाचलादाप्रालेयकल[ऽ*]कितामलशिलाजाला[क्तु]षाराचलादापूर्व्वाप-
31 रवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधे[:*] येनेयं जगती स्वविक्रमव[48]लेनैकात-
32 पत्रीकृता ॥[१८॥*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावाधः[49] [।*]
श्रीककरा-
33 जसूनुर्महीपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ।[।१९॥*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषोत्सारि-
34 तारिदिक्चक्रं [।*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥[२०॥] विषमेषु
विषमशी-
35 लो यस्त्यागमहानिधिर्दरिद्रेषु [।*] कान्तासु वल्लभतरः ख्यातः प्रणतेषु शु-
36 भतुङ्गः ॥[२१॥*] सुहृदि धनं रिपुषु शरां[50] युवतिजने काममशरणे शर-
37 णं [।*] यः सन्ततमभिवर्षन्नकालवर्षो भुवि ख्यातः ।[।२२॥*] उल्लं-
घितम-
38 [51]यादे कलिजलधौ व्याकुला निमज्जन्ती [।*] [52]यैनोद्धृता धरत्री[53] श्रीप्रलय
महावरा-
[126] 39 हेण ।[।२३॥*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारं [।*]
क्षितिदानप-
40 रमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो [54]ब्रह्मदायोय[ऽ*] ॥[२४॥*] स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिरा-
41 जपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः सर्व्वानेव रा-
42 ष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिभोगपतिप्रभृतीन्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः [55]सम्विदितं
43 यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृध्ये । शकनृप-

Third Plate.

44 कालातीतसम्बत्सरशतषट्के[56] चतुर्नवत्युत्तरे [57][न्ना]न्दीपुरद्वारीस-
45 मावासके आषाढबहुतृतीयायां[58] स[ऽ*]क्रान्तौ [म]दन(वी)विज्ञापनया
46 उदुंवरमन्तिपत्तने कारितादित्यायतनभट्टारकाय उदुम्बरम-

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47 Read °वले°.
48 Read °बाधः.
49 Read शरान्.
50 Read र्यादे.
51 Read येनो°.
52 Read °रित्री.
53 Read ब्रह्म°.
54 Read संवि°.
55 Read °सवि°.
56 Read नान्दी°.
57 Read °बहु°
58 The *u*-sign (medial) is appended to the symbol for लि.

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47 न्तिपूर्व्वतो गव्यूतमात्रे णगणपुरिनामग्रामो दत्तः बलि(:)च[रु]-
48 नैवेद्यपूजाखण्डस्फुटितस[ꣳ*]स्कारनिमित्तं। तस्य चाघाटनानि लि-[59]
49 ख्यन्ते।[।*] पूर्व्वतः [।][60] नागामाग्रामः [॥*] दक्षिणतः[।*] उम्बरग्रामः [॥*] पश्चिम-
50 तः[।*] अन्तरैग्रामः [॥*] उत्तरतः[।*] कपिद्धो ग्रामः।[।*] एवं चतुराघा-
51 टविशुद्धः पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्ज्यः [।*] तथापरं उम्बरमन्तित-
52 लसीमायां देवतडाकस्योत्तरतः राजिणितडाके[61] पश्चिमतो नदी [।*]
53 एवं निवर्त्तनशत[ꣳ*]।[।*] [62]वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] [63]शकरादिभि[:। *] य-
54 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा [64]ह]लं ॥[२५॥*] स्वदत्तां पर[द]-त्ताम्वा[65] यो
55 हरेत वसुन्धरां। षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाया[66] जायते [कृ]मिः ॥[२६॥*] शासन-
56 मकालवर्षस्यादेशात्श्रीमता[67] लगद्धेण(?) [।*] [68]परहितकृपानुबध्या लिखितं श्रीवामन[ना]गे[न] [॥२७॥*]

TRANSLATION.

OM

(Verse 1.) May he (*scil.* Vishṇu), the lotus on whose navel Brahmā has made (*his*) dwelling, protect you; and Hara (*i.e.* Śiva), whose forehead is adorned by the beautiful moon-crescent.

[127](V. 2.) There was a king called Gōvinda-rāja [I.], a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached to the ends of the regions, (*and who*) pure (*of conduct*), lifting (*his*) scimitar (*and*) facing (*them*), destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the lustrous Moon, whose glory (i.e. *radiance*) penetrates to the ends of the regions raising the tip of (*his*) orb (*above the horizon and sending his rays*) straight forward, dispels at night the darkness.

(V. 3.) Invariably, when he saw on the battlefield the armies (*of the enemies*) confronting him, ringing with the loud laughter of warriors, forthwith he, biting (*his*) lip (*and*) knitting (*his*) brow, elevated (*his*) sword, (*his*) family, (*his*) heart and (*his*) pride.[69]

(V. 4.) His son, the glorious Kakka-rāja [I.], was the gem of the (*Rāshṭrakūṭa*) race, a king who was grateful (*for services rendered*), whose

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[59] Correct, perhaps, to नागामो ग्रा°. [60] Read °कस्य.
[61] Read बहु°. [62] Read सगरा°. [63] Read फलं.
[64] Read °त्तां वा. [65] Read विष्ठायां. [66] Read °छ्रीमता
[67] Read °कपालुबुद्धया°. [68] The last quarter of this Āryā is defective.
[69] Better perhaps to take *garva* in the sense of *gurutā* = 'dignity', 'importance,'

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extensive glory was famed throughout the world, who stilled the sufferings of the distressed, (*and*) possessed the valour and the majesty of the lion, (*thus*) resembling (*Indra*), the king of heaven.[70]

(V. 5.) [71] At the mere (*sound of the*) name of him fell straightway from the wives of his enemies, retreating from the laps of (*their*) lovers with (*their*) hair standing on end and trembling (*the following three things* :) tears, armlets and also (*their*) minds, which were deranged by the impetuosity of their fright.

(V. 6.) While this king was governing the earth, the tame peacocks, eager for the advent of clouds, used to break out into cries (*of delight*), when they in the evenings caught sight of the turrets of his palaces, which were completely gray with the mass of smoke from the oblations of the twice-born (i.e. *Brāhmaṇas*).

(V. 7.) His son was Indra-rāja, as it were the Mount Mēru of the noble Rāshṭrakūṭas, a prince whose expansive shoulders were bright though being scratched through the blows from the tusks of elephants from whose split temples trickled down ichor, and who had destroyed (*his*) enemies on earth.

(V. 8.) Every day people walked about in (*his*) palace ankle-deep through the water (*sprinkled during*) unceasing recitals of *śānti*-texts[72] by Brāhmaṇas.

(V. 9.) [73] The wealth of him, whose pair of feet were worshipped by a large crowd of princes who came to do homage (*to him*), was perpetually shared by virtuous men[74] . . . , with unclouded countenances.[75]

(Vv. 10, 11.) His queen, who had fulfilled (*all*) desires (*of others*);—who was pure like the lustrous moonlight (*which*), filling (*all*) regions, destroys darkness;—who was by her mother's side descended from the Moon[76] and on her father's side from the Chulukyas (Chālukyas), called

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70 All the attributes apply to Indra as well. In his case, however, *hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhārī* is to be understood in the sense, 'one who supports the place (*covered by*) the strides of Hari (*i.e.* Vishṇu)', referring to the form of the latter striding over the heavens in three paces. None of the earlier interpretations of this verse take into account this *ślēsha*.

71 This verse is not found in any other Rāshṭrakūṭa record.

72 These are recited for the averting of evil and the pacification of various deities.

73 This verse does not occur in any other Rāshṭrakūṭa record.

74 *Tri-jagat-pravīṇaiḥ* does not convey any sense to my mind, and appears to be a mistake of the scribe who wrote off *tri-jagat* in place of something less familiar. Read perhaps *tri-gaṇa-pravīṇaiḥ* and translate : 'by those versed in the triad of duties (viz. *dharma, artha* and *kāma*).'

75 i.e. without being made to feel the subservience.

76 The Rāshṭrakūṭas were themselves also *Sōma-vaṁśin*.

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the glorious Bhavagaṇā[77]—was the standard of comparisons among virtuous and chaste women : she freed the world from misery by protecting and maintaining (*the needy*).

[128] (V. 12). He, the best of kings, begat a righteous son from her like unto material well-being (*artha*) from prudence (*nīti*), (*a son who was, as it were*) the future prosperity (*āyati*) prayed for by the whole of mankind.[78]

(V. 13.) (*him*) who was known as the illustrious king Dantidurga, the sun to the lotus (*that was*) his family, who illuminated the spaces between the regions by the flood of his effulgence, the lustre of which was palpable.

(V. 14.) In the battles with this lion of the martial field the affrighted elephants (*which were his*) enemies, having pulled up by the root the posts (*namely, their*) shame[79] have absconded, no one knows where.

(V. 15.) Before the bursting forth of the 'sprouts' of his prowess and (*his*) fierce anger the turreted fortresses of (*his*) enemies fall down along with their hearts.

(V. 16.) His devotion to (*his*) mother was demonstrated by (*the fact of his*) mother's making (*charitable*) donations of land in every village in (*his kingdom of*) four hundred thousand villages.

(V. 17.) Having in no time conquered Vallabha,[80] who was (*even*) able to inflict crushing defeats on the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Kērala, the Chōla, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa by the prowess of his arm (*or arms*), he acquired the state of the 'Supreme King of Kings' and 'Supreme Lord.'[81]

(V. 18.) Through the power of his valour he brought under one (*royal*) umbrella this earth from the Sētu, where the coast-mountain has tossing waves flashing along the line of its large rocks, up to the Snowy Mountain (Himālaya), where the masses of spotless rocks are stained by the snow,[82]

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[77] The corresponding verse of the Sāmāngaḍ grant contains a *varietas lectionis* in the first half-verse. See above, p. 122.

[78] This half-verse occurs also in the Sāmāngaḍ grant. In the *editio princeps* appearing in the *JBBRAS.* this line was read as *nitāvavēmivāśēsha jagataḥ pālitāyati[ḥ]* ; but the editor of the inscription did not translate the phrase *nitāvavēm* =. Dr. Fleet in his article on the same grant some time later (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 112), after examining the plates, corrected the reading to *nitāvadhē*(or *thē*)*m* =,etc., but followed the example of his predecessor in not translating the awkward phrase. The correct reading is evidently supplied by our plates. For the meaning of *āyati*, cf. *Kirātārjunīya* 2, 14 : *rahayaty āpad-upētam āyatiḥ.*

[79] Dr. Fleet's correction of *salajjā* of his text to *salajjāḥ* is obviously wrong, as his translation does not give a good sense.

[80] i.e. the Chālukyan king Kīrtivarman II. See Fleet's *Kan. Dyn.*, p. 391.

[81] See above, p. 122.

[82] For the idea implied by the word *kalaṁkita* cf. Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṁbhava*, Canto 1, v.

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as far as the boundary line beautified by stretches of the sandy shores of the eastern and western oceans.

(V. 19.) When that Vallabha-rāja[83] had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇa-rāja, the son of the illustrious Kakka-rāja who relieved the sufferings of (*his*) subjects,[84] became king.

(V. 20.) The career of that glorious Kṛishṇa-rāja, during which the circle of his enemies was completely swept away by the prowess of his own arm, was as stainless as that of Kṛishṇa (Vāsudēva),—

(V. 21.) [85] who is famed to be of fierce disposition towards the fierce, a mighty repository of generosity towards the poor, most dear to women, and towards the prostrate Most-Highly-Gracious (Śubha-tuṅga),—

(V. 22.) who, constantly showering wealth on friends, arrows on enemies, love on young damsels, protection on the helpless, was famed in the world as the Untimely-Showerer[86] (Akāla-varsha),—

[129] (V. 23.) by which glorious Great-Deluge-Boar (Pralaya-Mahā-varāha) was rescued the frightened Earth, which was sinking in the Kali ocean, which had overpassed (*its*) boundary.

(V. 23.) He, seeing (*that*) life, which is unsteady like the wind and the lightning, is without substance, established this *brahmadāya*, which is particularly meritorious on account of (*its being*) a gift of land.

(L. 40.) And this *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāj-ādhirāja Param-ēśvara*, the illustrious *Akāla-varsha*, the Lord of Prosperity and the Earth (*Śrī-prithvī-vallabha*), King of Kings (*Narēndra-dēva*) commands all the governors of kingdoms (*rāshṭra*), governors of districts (*vishaya*), governors of divisions (*bhōga*) and others (as follows):

(L. 42.) Be it known unto you that,—Six hundred and ninety-four years of the Śaka era having elapsed, on (the occasion of) an eclipse, on the third (day) of the dark half of Āshāḍha, while encamping[87] at Nandi-pura-dvārī,—

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83 A *biruda* of the Western Chālukya kings, probably adopted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas as their successors.

84 BÜHLER'S reading *kṛita-prajōvādha* and translation, 'who did not oppress his subjects' (*Ind. Ant., Vol.* XII, pp. 182, 187), are both unsatisfactory. Why should he oppress them? As no impression is appended to his article, it is not possible to decide if the reading is not a mislection. *Kshata-prajā-bādha* corresponds exactly to the phrase *ārtt-ārtti-hārin* in a previous verse, and does not in the least presuppose that his predecessors had oppressed their subjects. [In the Talegaon Plates (*supra*, Vol. XIII, p. 279) Dr. KONOW read *kṛita-prajā-vādhaḥ*. Perhaps we should here understand °*prajābādha* as °*prajā-ābādha*.—F. W. T.]

85 This and the following two verses do not occur in any other Rāshṭrakūṭa record.

86 To be understood in the sense: "raining in season and out of season."

87 *Samāvāsakē* can only refer to a dwelling-place, and the preceding word ending in *pura* evidently supports the idea of encampment. Nevertheless, the position of this word expressing locality right in the middle of others expressing time, is a little curious.

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in order to increase the religious merit and the glory of (Our) parents and of Ourself the village of Ṇagaṇa-puri, (*situated*) at a distance of a *gavyūti*[88] to the east of Udumvara-manti, has been given by Us at the request of Madana to the Bhaṭṭāraka of the temple of Āditya erected in the town of Udumvara-manti for the (*performance of*) *bali, charu, naivēdya,* worship and (*repairs of*) dilapidations.

(L. 48.) Its boundaries are noted (as under):
to the east the village Nāgāma ;
to the south village Umvara ;
to the west the village Antarai ;
to the north the village Kapiddha,—

thus determined by (*its*) four boundaries, excepting former gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇas ; and also the river along the boundary of Umvara-manti to the north of the Dēva-taḍāka (and) to the west of the Rājiṇi-taḍāka. Thus altogether one hundred *nivarttanas.*

(Vv. 25, 26.) [Two of the customary verses.]

(V. 27.) (*This*) edict was written at the order of Akāla-varsha by the illustrious Vāmana[nā]ga of benevolent and compassionate nature.

* * *

Note by Rai Bahadur HIRALAL, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Jubbulpore, C.P.*

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[88] A *gavyūti* is equal to 4,000 daṇḍas or two *krōśas* (MONIER WILLIAMS).

* On the Localities mentioned in the Bhandak Plates of Kṛṣṇarāja I ; Śaka 694. by K. N. DIKSHIT M. A. [*Second Or. Conf. Proc.* 625-27.]

The Bhandak plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king I have been edited in the XIVth Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, with a note by Rai Bahadur HIRALAL, now Deputy Commissioner in the Central Provinces. The Bhandak grant is the first record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta to be discovered so far north-east of their domains. But the mere fact of the discovery of a copperplate in a particular locality cannot prove that the tract in question formed part of the dominions of the prince, whose record it is. It is necessary that the localities mentioned in the grant should be identified with a degree of certainty, before such a conclusion is arrived at. In the present case, Rai Bahadur HIRALAL has proposed to identify the places mentioned with several places in the Amraoti and Wardha Dts. of Berar and the Central Provinces. The identification is however open to objection and as I did not feel satisfied with it, I consulted a friend of mine from Yeotmal, Mr. Y. K. DESHPANDE who has a good knowledge of the localities concerned and who happened to come here during Xmas. With the help and information received from him I am now able to identify the localities and hope that they will be found completely satisfactory.

The name of the *Samāvāsaka,* i.e. place where the king encamped was Nandīpuradvārī. The modern phonetical equivalent of Nandipura would be Nandura. There is a Nandura in Yeotmal Taluq, which is situated on the river Bembla, a tributory of the river Wardha, and has still got a camping ground and a modern Dak Bungalow. The scarcity of water which must have made itself felt in Berar, then as

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First of all I take Udumvaramatti to be identical with Umravati. Umravati means the town of Umar (*Ficus Glomerata*), the same as the Udumvara of the Sanskrit. That the pronunciation and spelling continue to be Umaravati in the vernacular will be seen from a cutting of a Marathi-Eng-

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now, makes it incumbent on travellers to choose convenient sites on the banks of rivers, as their camping grounds. We can very well imagine therefore, why Kṛṣṇarāja touring in the height of summer (—the grant was issued on the 23rd June) encamped at Naṇḍipura, situated on the bank of a perennial river. The place suggested by Rai Bahadur HIRALAL was Nandora in Wardha Tahsil, which has to be rejected as it has no such natural advantages.

We then pass on to the object of the grant, the village of Ṇagaṇa-[626]-purī, situated at the distance of a *gavyūti* to the east of Udumvaramanti, the donee being the Bhaṭṭāraka or enshrined god at the temple of Āditya erected in the town of Udumvaramanti. The boundaries of the village granted are given as; the village Nāgāma to the east, the village Umvara to the south, the village Antarāi to the west and the village Kapiddha to the north. As Rai Bahadur HIRALAL points out, Umraoti is the modern equivalent of Udumvaramanti, but the modern town of Amraoti, besides being too far from the localities in question, has no pretension to antiquity, as Rai Bahadur claims for it. The old town of Udumvaramanti is the modern village of Rāṇi Umraoti in Yeotmal Taluq, about 5 miles to the south-west of Nandura, the place of encampment. The prefix Rāṇi was added to this ancient village, some three centuries ago, when the village came into the possession of the Rāṇa Rajputs from Udaipur, the present descendants of which family, though converted to Muhammadanism are still the Deshmukhs of the village. The record besides granting the village of णगणपुरी mentions: तथापरं उम्बरमन्तितलसीमयां देवतडाकस्योत्तरे राजिणितडाके पश्चिमतोनदी एवं निवर्त्तनशतं i.e. "a hundred *nivartanas* of land within the boundaries of Umvaramanti, as follows: to the north of Devataḍāka, and to the west of Rājiṇitaḍāka and (to the south and east of) the river." There is still a rivulet running within the boundaries of Rāṇi Umraoti and there are depressions to the south and east at some distance, which may be the silted remains of the tanks mentioned in the grant. My friend expects to locate the site of the ancient temple of the Sun at Rāṇi Umraoti.

The village of णगणपुरी which was a गव्यूति (or two *krośas* or 4 miles) distant from Udumvaramanti is to be identified with the village Gaṇorī, four miles to the east of Rāṇi Umraoti. I cannot recall to my mind any place name beginning with *ṇa* and I presume the initial *ṇa* of Ṇagaṇapurī was either a mistake of the scribe or a pedantic attempt to Sanskritize the name. It will be seen that गणोरी is a correct equivalent of गणपुरी. Rai Bahadur HIRALAL could not identify the village but he tried to identify some of the boundary villages in a locality, 60 miles to the east of Amraoti. A *gavyūti* can never by any stretch of imagination be supposed to cover a distance of 60 miles. His identification of only two villages out of five which he has tried to justify in spite of the discrepancies as regards the direction, have therefore to be completely rejected.

The present boundaries of Gaṇorī are Antargaon (ancient Antarā-[627]-grama) to the west; Umbarda (ancient Umvaragrāma) to the south; Naigām (ancient Nāgāma) to the east; and Bābhulgaon to the north. The ancient village of Kapittha named after a woodapple tree, which bounded Gaṇapurī on the north has apparently disappeared, giving place to a village also named after another tree, the *Babul*.

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lish paper herewith enclosed. Exactly to the east of Amraoti at a distance of about 60 miles there is a village named Antaragaon in the Wardha Tahsil of the Wardha District, to the west of which and contiguous to it is another village Umaragaon. I take these to be identical with Antaraigrāma and Umvaragrāma of the inscription. Ṇagaṇapuri, the subject of the grant, is not traceable nor Nāgāma and Kapiddhagrāma, which bounded it on its east and north. The Umvaragrāma was to the south of Ṇagaṇapuri and Antaraigrāma to its west. If there is no mistake in interpreting the record, I should suppose that the villages have, for some reason or other, changed their sites, causing a confusion in the directions of their original positions.

The donor's camp was at Nandipuradvārī and I take this to be Nandora, 9 miles south of Antaragaon.

The village in the vicinity of Antaragaon and Umaragaon are Jhersi, Borkhedi, Chargaon, Pipalasenda, Wargaon, Echora, Kamthi, Hirora and Giroli, most of them named after trees, as Kapilddhagrāma and Nāgāmagrāma appear to be, and apparently the last two have disappeared, giving place to names derived from trees which later on abounded in the place where Kapiddha and Nāgāma were situated.

[130] Since some four villages give the clue for identification, we may take it that Ṇagaṇapuri was situated somewhere at 20° 51′ N. and 78° 44′ E.

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III.—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SIRI-PULUMAVI*

The subjoined Prakrit record incised in the reign of Siri-Puḷumāvi, 'King of the Sātavahana (*family*),' was discovered by Mr. T. RAJARAO, Kanarese Assistant in the Office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, during his tour of inspection in the Ādōni *Tāluk* of the Bellary District, Madras Presidency. The estampages were prepared under the direct supervision of Rao Sahib H. Krishna SASTRI and kindly placed at my disposal by him for publication. I am indebted to him also for many valuable suggestions in the matter both of decipherment and of interpretation of the record.

The inscription is engraved on the eastern face of a large natural boulder of reddish granite, known to the villagers as Jaṅgli Guṇḍu (Jungle Stone). The inscribed rock, which is firmly buried in the soil, lies midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru at a distance of about eight miles due N. from the *Tāluk* Head-quarters. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised. The written surface, consisting of four lines of the inscription, covers an area of 8′ by 3′, and the height of the average letter is $2\frac{3}{4}$″. The engraving, though bold and neatly executed, is not very deep ; indeed the "ducts" of the letters are so shallow that a superficial examination of the rock discloses hardly any traces of the record. It is worth noting that the words are separated from each other by small gaps, a circumstance which greatly facilitates the deciphering of the record. The fourth and last line of the inscription is considerably shorter than the rest, and commences much farther to the right than these. The closest inspection of the rock did not disclose any distinct trace of letters in the gap at the beginning, caused by the shortness of this line.

The alphabet resembles that of the Jaggayyapeṭa inscription of Purisadata.[1] Characteristic are the hooks with which the elongated verticals of the letters *ka*, *ña* and *ra* terminate, as well as the pedantic semi-circular arc used as the sign for the medial *i*. The signs for medial *ā* and *ē* show a tendency to droop downwards at their free ends. In spite of this similarity with the characters of the Jaggayyapeṭa record, there could be, as far as I can see, no objection on palæographic grounds to their being assigned to an epoch earlier than the third century, to which the Jaggayyapeṭa inscription is hesitatingly ascribed by BÜHLER, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 44.[2]

* [*Ep. Ind.* 14. 153-55.]

1 BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44, and Tafel III, Col. XVII, XVIII.

2 See also his remarks in the *Arch. Surv. of Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 111. Excepting the tendency of horizontal lines which are unconnected at one end to

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The number of epigraphic records belonging to the Sātavahana Dynasty, which had succeeded in holding sway over a large part of southern India for an unusually prolonged period, is remarkably small. In the Madras Presidency, besides the one I am now editing, there are only two inscriptions which refer themselves directly to the reign of a Sātavahana king,[3] and these are both records from the Kṛishṇā district, one of them being certainly a private record. So is the inscription under consideration a private record : it registers the construction [154] of a tank by a certain householder (*gahapatika*). The only other designation besides Puḷumāvi which the king receives here is Raño Sātavahanānaṁ, 'of the King of the Sātavahanas.' One notices here the absence of the metronymic with which the names of the Sātavahana kings are as a rule accompanied, such as Gotamīputa and others.[4] Worthy of note also is the use of the family name Sātavahana, a term of comparatively rare occurrence in inscriptions.[5]

With the scanty information we have in our record about this Puḷumāvi an identification is precarious. There are in fact at least four kings with the name Puḷumāvi (or its variants) known to history ; and the chronology of this dynasty is far from being satisfactorily settled. Mr. Vincent A. SMITH,[6] working upon the Puranic material supplied by PARGITER, gives us tentatively the following dates for the various Puḷumāvis :—

1. Puḷumāvi (I.), the fifteenth king of the dynasty, ruled some time before A.D. 59.

2. Puḷumāvi (II.), Vāsiṭhīputa, came to the throne about A.D. 135, and ruled for something like 28 years.

3. Puḷumāvi (III.), came to the throne about A.D. 163, and ruled for something like 7 years.

4. Puḷumāvi (IV.), came to the throne about A.D. 218, and ruled for something like 7 years.

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curve downwards, there is no difference between the alphabet of our record and those which are figured in Table III, Col. X-XIII of BÜHLER's *Tafeln*, which would justify its being assigned to a later palaeographic epoch. The curving downwards of horizontal lines is, in my opinion, as much an ornamental variation as the hooks at the ends of elongated verticals, which are to be observed as early as in an inscription of Sātakaṇi I. (Col. X), which BÜHLER himself assigns to 1-2 century A.D. With the semi-circular are representing medial *i* cf. *gi* and *vi* in an inscription of Puḷmāvi (Col. XI) ; *di*, *ni* and *hi* in an inscription of Sātakaṇi I. (Col. X) ; *ti* (twice) and *dhi* in those of Ushavadāta (Col. VII, VIII) and others much earlier.

[3] See LÜDERS, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 1248, 1340.

[4] See RAPSON, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. (London, 1908, p. clxxxix.

[5] See RAPSON, *op. cit.*, Index V, *s. v.* Sātavāhana.

[6] *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition (1914), pp. 216 ff.

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For purposes of identification the Puranic king Puḷumāvi (I.), of whom we know next to nothing, may be rejected on palæographic grounds. Further, if the lengths of reigns allotted to these kings in the list supplied by Mr. Vincent A. SMITH happen to be correct, then the last two Puḷumāvis will also have to be rejected, as they are stated to have ruled only seven years each, while our inscription is dated in the eighth regnal year of the king. From this point of view the Puḷumāvi of our inscription will have to be identified with Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi-Sriri Puḷumāvi (II.), the *[Siro]Ptolemaios.* of Ptolemy.[7] A large number of records dated in the reign of this king have in recent years come to light. The year of his accession to the throne is, as remarked above, put down roughly at A.D. 135. Assuming a plurality of kings with the name Puḷumāvi, there is no other criterion in the inscription for identifying him further.

It was mentioned above that the object of the inscription was to record the sinking of a reservoir (*taḷāka*) There is, however, no reservoir or tank to be seen in the neighbourhood, to which the record may apply. But it may be remarked that the soil in the vicinity of the inscribed rock is alluvial, consisting of sand and finely powdered dust ; so that the adjoining land might well at one time have formed the bed of a tank.

Among the localities mentioned in this record Sātavahani-hāra is particularly interesting, as it occurs once again in the Hīra-Haḍagalli copper-plate inscription[8] of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman in the slightly altered form of Sātāhani-raṭṭha I am not aware that the names of places mentioned in this grant of the Pallava have been satisfactorily identified, so that the situation of Sātāhani-raṭṭha has been, as far as I know, a matter of conjecture. The inscribed boulder bearing the present record is, however, a sure landmark, as far as the situation of the locality is concerned. If, now, the find place of the grant, Hīra-Haḍagalli, which is also situated in the Bellary District, be supposed to be not far removed from the subject of that grant, which is described as being located in the Sātāhani-raṭṭha, then the territorial [155] division Sātavahani-Sātāhani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary District. The relation in which the *mahāsēnāpati* and the *gumika* stand to the *janapada* and the *gāma* which appear along with their names, is not explicitly mentioned. But, considering the position of these persons, one might hazard the guess that these military officers were feudal lords of the lands, holding them in the form of *jāgīrs*.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the site of the inscribed rock is an important landmark, fixing definitely a point south of the Kṛishṇā to which the sway of the Sātavahanas extended.

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7 RAPSON, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix.
8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.

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TEXT.[9]

1. [10][Si]dha[ṁ] [||*] Raño Sātavahanānaṁ S[i]ri-Puḷum[ā]visa[ya] sava 8 hēma [2] diva 1
2. [masa][11] mahāsēnāpat[i]sa Khaṁda[nā]kasa janapādē[12] S[ā]tavahani-hārē
3. . mikasa[13] Kumāradatasa gāmē Vēpurakē vathavēna gahapatikēna [Koṁ]tānaṁ[14] [Saṁbē]na taḷākaṁ khānitaṁ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Success ! On the first day of the first (*fortnight of*) second Winter[15] in the eighth year (*of the reign*) of Siri-Puḷumāvi, King of the Sātavahana (*family*), the reservoir was sunk by the householder (*gahapatika*) ... resident in the village (*of*) Vēpuraka, belonging to the Captain (*gumika*) Kumāradata (Kumāradatta), in the country (*janapada*) of Sātavahani-hāra,[16] belonging to the Great General (*mahāsēnāpati*) Khaṁḍanāka[17] (Skandanāga).

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[9] From the stone and a set of impressions.

[10] Traces of the bracketed syllable are visible on the stone.

[11] The consonant signs are almost certain ; the vowel signs are all but obliterated, as at this point the rock has peeled off almost to the depth to which the letters were incised. Perhaps, we have to read *masi*, making with the foregoing numerical symbol 1 the word *paḍhamasi*.

[12] Read *janapadē*.

[13] We have probably to restore *gumikasa* (from Skt. *gaulmika*, 'captain'), which would accord well with the *mahāsēnāpatisa* of the preceding line.

[14] This and the following word must, in my opinion, contain the specification of the *gahapatika* ; the first (*gen. plu.*) is most probably a tribal name, and the second (*inst. sing.*) is the personal name. The reading of the first *aksharas* of the names must however be looked upon as problematic.

[15] This is the season commencing with the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika.

[16] This is a clear case of the use of the word *hāra* in the sense of 'kingdom or district'. See LÜDERS, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Appendix, Index of miscellaneous terms s.v. *āhāra*.—In the Hīra-Haḍagalli copper-plates (LÜDERS' List, No. 1200) this territorial division receives the designation *raṭṭha* (*rāshṭra*). Thus *hāra* must correspond to *raṭṭha*.

[17] Cf. the personal name Khaṁḍanāga-sātaka occurring in a Buddhist inscription at Kaṇhēri (LÜDERS' List, No. 1021).

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IV.—THREE KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS*

These three Kshatrapa inscriptions, which are now exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rājkōt, have been published before, at different times and different places, but are here re-edited in order to have them properly illustrated and render them easily accessible. A comparison of the originals with the facsimiles of the same inscriptions published in the Bhavnagar *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* made us feel the special need of placing before scholars reliable facsimiles obtained by purely mechanical means. These, it is hoped, will enable even those scholars who are not in a position to examine the stones personally to reconsider the previous readings, which, in our opinion, are in many respects defective. Our transcripts, which were in the first instance prepared from ink-impressions and squeezes, were subsequently compared with the originals.

I.—GUNDĀ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE KSHATRAPA RUDRASIMHA : THE YEAR 103.

The inscription was first edited, with a translation, in 1881, by Georg BÜHLER in *Ind., Ant.* Vol. X, pp, 157 f., from an eye-copy and a transcript prepared by Pandit Vallabhāchārya Haridatta of Kaṭhiāvād and submitted to BÜHLER by Major WATSON for publication. Nine years later BÜHLER published some corrections in *Sitzungsber, Wien. Akad, Wiss., Phil. Hist. Kl.,* Vol. CXXII, No. XI, p. 46, note 2, which publication was unfortunately not accessible to the writers of this article. The posthumous papers of Bhagvanlal INDRAJI edited by RAPSON in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* (1890) contain a short note (pp. 650 f.) on this inscription. In 1895, the text and a translation of this epigraph were republished in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions,* Bhavnagar, pp. 21 f., No. 3 and Plate XVII. In 1896 appeared in the *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part I, p. 42, some corrections proposed by Bhagvanlal INDRAJI himself in his earlier readings and interpretation ; RAPSON, in *Jour. Roy, As. Soc.*, 1899, p. 375, also published some fresh corrections. The *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.* (1908), of RAPSON includes (p. lxi a short note on this record, which gives reference to the literature on the subject and briefly summarizes the contents of the inscription. In 1912 Prof, LÜDERS in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. X, No. 963) gave a complete bibliography of the inscription, a reading of the date (it cannot be said whether from the published facsimile or directly from an impression of the stone), and a summary of its contents. And finally, in 1915, Prof. D. R. BHANDAR-

* [By Rakhaldas BANERJI and Vishnu S. SUKTHANKAR—*Ep. Ind.* 16.233-41.]

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KAR published some corrections of previous readings and interpretations in *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, W. Circle,* 1914-15, p. 67.

The inscription was discovered in 1880 by Major WATSON in an old unused well at Gundā in the Hālār District of North Kāthiāvād. It was subsequently removed to the temple of Dvārakānātha at Jamnagar, where, apparently, it was kept until its transference to the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rājkōt.

[234] The epigraph contains five lines of well-engraved writing, covering a space of about 2 ft. 2 in. in width by about 9½ in. in height. The writing is, on the whole, in an excellent state of preservation ; some isolated syllables here and there are, however, seriously damaged. The average size of such letters as *n, m, p,* and *b* is about $\frac{5}{8}$″.

The characters present an earlier form of the southern variety of the Gupta alphabet than that seen in the well-known inscription of Skandagupta at Junāgadh. It differs in a few minor particulars from the Junāgadh edict of the Mahā-Kshatrapa Rudradāman ; to wit, in the form of *y* (subscript as well as uncombined), and in the marking of the medial vowel in *sī* (l. 3), *mi* and *ti* (1. 5). Subscript consonants, excluding *y*, are expressed by the ordinary full forms of the letters. No final consonants occur. Of initial vowels the record has only *ā* (l. 4). Medial *ā* has in various instances been left unmarked, evidently through the carelessness of the scribe ; when engraved—it is (like *ē* and *ō*) denoted by a short horizontal line appended, generally, to the top of the consonant sign ; as an exception we may mention *j*(*ñ*)*ō* in which the sign of *ō* (which is made up of the signs of *ā* and *ē*) is drawn in continuation of the middle bar of the letter. Noteworthy is the form of the medial long *ī*, in the only certain and clear instance of that sign in this inscription, in *sīhasya* (1. 3). In inscriptions of the same period and locality the long *ī* is generally represented by a crescent-shaped arc, with unequal arms and open at the top. In this instance, however, the free end of the shorter arm is attached to, or rather drawn in continuation of, one of the upright verticals of the *mātṛikā*, a peculiarity which gives this letter a somewhat uncommon appearance. This mode of drawing *ī* is probably the origin of the spiral sign of that vowel in the southern alphabets of a later epoch. The medial *u* is marked either by a subscript curved line open to the right, as in *śu* of *-śuddhē* (l. 3), or by one open to the left, as in *pu* of *-putrasya* (1. 2), or lastly by a short horizontal stroke attached to the lower end of a long vertical as in *ru* of *Rudra*° (1. 2). Line 3 includes the numerical symbols for 100 and 3. No sign of punctuation occurs : the letters are engraved in a continuous succession without a break.

The language of the inscription is a mixed dialect, and the whole is in prose. The Prakritisms are *trīy-uttara-* (1. 3), and *bamddhāpita*° (1. 5),

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and besides, perhaps, such irregularities of spelling as cannot be put down to the negligence of the scribe; the rest is in Sanskrit. In passing it may be observed that the Sandhi consonant *y* which we find here inserted between *tri* and *uttara* serves very often the same purpose in Prakrit as may be seen by reference to PISCHEL'S *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 353. [The construction of the genitives is in some cases in all these inscriptions irregular, *e.g. maha-kshatra*[*pas*]*ya*, l. 1 of Inscription No. I.—Ed.]—As regards orthography, we may notice the sporadic doubling of the consonant after *r* in *muhūrttē* (l. 4), *sarvva-* (l. 5); in *sukhārtham* (l. 5) the consonant is not doubled. There is, moreover, no instance of the phonetic doubling in a ligature when *r* forms the second member of the conjunct. The word *bamddhāpita* seems to offer an instance of the doubling of the consonant following upon an *anusvāra*; but the reading of the ligature is not quite certain, and perhaps we have to read the word as *bamdhāpita*, in which case this would be an illustration of the addition of a superfluous *anusvāra* before a nasal, of which there are instances to be met with in inscriptions of all periods.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (and) Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasimha), and gives the following pedigree of the king:—king and Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Chāshtana; his son king and Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman; his son king and Maha-Kshatrapa Lord Rudradāman; his son king and Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasimha). This is a genealogical list and not a dynastic one; that is why the names of several princes who had ruled between Chāshtana and Rudrasimha, but who were not in the direct line of descent, have been left out. The record is dated on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha, during the constellation of Rōhiṇī in the year one hundred and three, which number is [235] expressed both in words and numerical ideograms. There can be little doubt that the era to which the year in this inscription is to be referred is the Śaka era. Accordingly the inscription may be taken to be dated roughly in the year A.D. 181. It will be remembered that the evidence afforded by the dates and the legends on the coins of Rudrasimha lead us to infer that he ruled first as Kshatrapa in the year 102-3, then as Mahā-Kshatrapa from 103 to 110, then again as Kshatrapa from 110 to 112, and lastly as Mahā-Kshatrapa from 113 to 118 (or 119). According to this scheme the present inscription must be taken to refer to the period when he was reigning as Kshatrapa for the first time. The earliest date we have for his reign is the year 102 on a coin belonging to the Cunningham collection.

The object of the inscription was to record the digging and constructing, at the village of Rasōpadra, of a well by the general (*sēnāpati*) Rudrabhūti, son of the general (*sēnāpati*) Bāpaka, the *Ābhīra*.

The village of Rasōpadra, which is the only locality mentioned in this record, remains unidentified.

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TEXT.[1]

1 Siddha[ṁ] [||*|] Rajñō maha-kshatra[pas]ya svami-Chāshṭana-prapautraya rājñō kshatrapasya svami-Jayadāma-pautrasya

2 (sya) rāj[ñō] maha-kshatrapasya sv[ā]mi-Rudradāma-putrasya rājñō kshatrapasya svāmi-Rudra-

3. Sīhasya [va]rshē [tri]y-uttara śatē 100 3 Vaiśākha-śuddhē paṁcham-[i]-dha [t]tya-tithau Rō[hi]ṇi-naksha-

4 tra-muhūrtt([ē] Ābhīrēṇa sēnāpati-Bāpakasya putrēṇa sēnāpati-Rudrabh[ū]tinā grāmē Rasō-

5 [pa]driyē vā[pī] [kha]ni[tō] [baṁddh]āpitaś=cha sarvva-satvānāṁ hita-sukhārtham=iti [||*|]

REMARKS ON THE TRANSCRIPT.[2]

L. 1. GB and BI *rājñō mahā-* and *svāmi* ; but in our estampage the sign of length can be made out in none of these words. L. 2. Over *ma* in *maha*, to its right, is to be noticed a slanting irregular depression, the nature and significance of which is uncertain. L. 3. GB *day-uttara-śatē sa 100 2*, which is clearly inadmissible ; BI and L *tri-uttara-śatē*, differing from our reading in the second syllable, which is, however, unmistakably *yu* and not *u* ; on the other hand, it is uncertain whether the first syllable should be read as *tri* or *tra*. GB, BI and L *-śuddha* for *śuddhē* ; but our estampage shows the sign of *ē* quite distinctly. The estampage does not show any clear trace of the sign of the long *ī* in *paṁchamī* as read by GB, BI and L. The projection on the left of the sign of *cha* is abnormal. GB, BI and L *-dhanya-* ; but an examination of the back of the estampage removes all doubt as to the correctness of our reading of the second syllable. Most probably we have to correct *dhattya* to *dhanya* ; the former gives no sense. Mr. BANERJI would read *ēttya* regarding the latter as equivalent to *asyām* or *ētasyām*, and cognate with the Pkt. *ētiya* found in Kushan inscriptions. GB *Śravaṇa-* for *Rōhiṇi-*. L. 5. GB *padrē hradārtthē*, and BI *padrē hradaḥ* ; L accepts the sense, adding *hrada* in brackets with a query. DRB speaks of *Rasōpadriya* and *garta* in giving the contents of the inscription. The syllable *vā* is quite clear in the estampage, especially on the back of it ; *dā* or *dō*, which [236] are made quite differently, are out of the question ; cf. *dā* in *-Jayadāma-* in l. 1, and *-Rudradāma-* in l. 2. The estampage will also show that the reading *hra* for the first doubtful syllable is utterly impossible. The *anusvāra* in *baṁ°* is well

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1 From a set of estampages.

2 Explanation of the abbreviations :—GB = George BÜHLER, *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157 ; BI = *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 21 f. ; L = LÜDERS, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 963 ; DRB = D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. of W. Circle*, 1914-15, p. 67.

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marked; but it is impossible to say with certainty whether we have to read °*ndhā*° or °*ddhā*° ; the latter seems to us more probable.

TRANSLATION

Hail! On the [auspicious[3]] fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha during the auspicious period of the constellation of Rōhiṇī, in the year one hundred and three[4]—100 3—(during the reign) of the king, the Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasiṁha), the son of the king, the Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Rudradāman (and) son's son of the king, the Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman, (and) grandson's son of the king, the Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Chāshṭana, the well was caused to be dug and embanked by the general (*sēnāpati*) Rudrabhūti, the son of the general (*sēnāpati*) Bāpaka,[5] the Ābhīra,[6] at the village (*grāma*) of Rasōpadra, for the welfare and comfort of all living beings.

II.—Gaḍhā (Jasdan) Inscription of the time of the Mahā-Kshatrapa Rudrasēna : the year 127 (or 126).

The inscription was first edited, with a translation and lithograph, prepared probably from an eye-copy, in 1868, by Dr. Bhau Daji in *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 234 f., and Plate. After that it remained unnoticed till 1883, when Hoernle published a revised transcript and translation of it in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 32 f. The posthumous papers of Bhagvanlal Indraji, edited by Rapson in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1890, p. 652, contain a short note on it. In 1885 the text and a translation, based upon the *editio princeps* of Dr. Bhau Daji, were republished in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 22 f., No. 4, and Plate XVIII. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 43, contains a very short note on it, originating from the pen of Bhagvanlal Indraji. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.* (p. lxii, No. 42), includes a short summary of its contents, and a reference to the literature of the subject. Prof. Lüders in his *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X), No. 967, gives a complete bibliography of the inscription,

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3 The rendering 'auspicious' presupposes that we have to correct *dhaṭṭya* to *dhanya*; see the remarks on the transcript above.

4 The form *tri-y-uttara* is a Prakritism; the *y* is a *sandhi* consonant inserted in order to avoid the hiatus; cf. Pkt. *duyāhēṇa* (*dvyahēna*), *tiyāhēṇa* (*tryahēṇa*) in Pischel's *Prakrit Grammatik*, § 353.

5 Bāpaka is a variant of Bappa(ka), which name occurs in a number of later inscriptions.

6 It is worth noting that the Ābhīras were employed as generals under the régime of the Kshatrapa dynasty. Among the inscriptions in the Pāṇḍu Lēnā at Nāsik we have an inscription referring itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king Iśvarasēna, which shows that some of these generals had eventually succeeded in replacing the sword of the commander by the sceptre of the sovereign.

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a reading of the date (it cannot be said whether from the published facsimiles or directly from an impression of the stone), and a summary of its contents. Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR refers to the inscription *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, W. Circle*, 1914-15, pp. 67-68, and suggests certain corrections.

The inscription is said to have been found at Gaḍhā, about two miles north of Jasdan, Kāṭhiāvāḍ, engraved on a thick irregular slab standing upright on the margin of a lake. Subsequently the inscribed stone was transferred to the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot, where it is now exhibited.

[237] The inscription contains six irregular lines of varying length and uncouth writing, covering a rhomboidal space of about 3 ft. 7 in. in width by about 1 ft. 10 in. in height. The engraving, which is shallow, is on the whole in a fair state of preservation. The average size of such letters as *n*, *m*, *p*, and *b* is about 1½″.

The characters of the inscription are of the same general type as those of other Kshatrapa inscriptions, and the above remarks on the palæography of the Gundā inscription are, with a few exceptions, applicable to this one also. The letters of this epigraph lack, however, all regularity and finish; they have a decidedly cursive character. Observe, for instance, the form of the uncombined *m*, which is sometimes denoted by the older X-shaped form of the earlier inscriptions and sometimes by a more advanced form which is met with, regularly, only in the records of the Gupta dynasty. The letter *t* appears to have been drawn with prongs of unequal length, both curved, one of them being slightly longer than the other. In *tra* the subscript *r* is marked by drawing the free end of the right prong to a little distance to the left; thus this ligature and the uncombined *t* are indistinguishable from each other when either of them is badly drawn. Of initial vowels the inscription contains *i* (l. 5) and *u* (l. 6). Subscript consonants, excluding *r* and *y*, are expressed by the ordinary full signs of the letters, as in the Gundā inscription described above. No final consonants appear in this record. Sporadically one notices the flattening out of the *serif* of the letters into a thin horizontal top line, so that in some cases it becomes extremely difficult to say whether the top-stroke is only a *serif* or the sign of *ā*, *ē* or *ō*, which is marked by a slight prolongation of the *serif*. The length in *sī* (l. 5) is denoted by a distinct spiral, which is a further development of the form which was met with in the Gundā inscription. To judge by the instance of *bhātṛabhiḥ* (for *bhrātṛibhiḥ*) in line 6, no distinction was made in writing between the subscript *r* and the medial *ṛi*. The diphthong *au* is marked by the addition of an upward stroke, slanting to the right, to the sign of *ō*. On two occasions the engraver has omitted the syllable *tra* in writing *Kshatṛapas(y)a*. Lastly it may be observed that the first line of the inscription contains four numerical symbols, 100, 20, 5 and another about the reading of which there is some doubt; it may be either 6 or 7.

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The language of the inscription is a mixed dialect. In this specimen the Prakritisms are slightly more numerous than in the Gundā inscription. One may notice the frequent use of *sa* for the termination of the genitive singular in ll. 1 and 2 in addition to the verbal form *utthavitia* [*ṃ*] in l. 6. The sense of the record, as it stands, is incomplete, and, to judge by the two final syllables *sva*[*rga*] in 1. 6, it should seem that a few syllables or words, in an additional line which is now lost, are missing. [Regarding the irregular genitives (*e.g. mahakshat* [*r*]*apasa*, 1. 1) see remarks on Inscription No. I. —Ed.]—As regards orthography the only point worth drawing attention to is the sporadic doubling of the consonant before *r* in *papau*-[*t*]*trasya* in l. 2; but it should be added that the reading of the ligature is not absolutely certain. Of words not found in dictionaries the inscription contains one, *viz. śatra*, of which, moreover, the meaning is not known. Prof. LÜDERS hesitatingly identifies it with the Prakrit word *sata* in an inscription from the Kanhēri caves (LÜDERS' *List*, No. 985), for which he, also doubtfully, suggests the meaning 'seat.'

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (and) Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasēna and records the erection of a *śatra* (meaning ?) by the brothers of Khara[r]-pattha, the son of Pratāśaka of the Mānasa *gōtra*. Previous editors of the inscription have read in 1. 6 Pranāthaka instead of Pratāśaka and Khara-pautra instead of Khara[r]pattha. Our reasons for adopting the reading which we have will be found in the remarks on the transcript, below, p. 238. The inscription gives the following pedigree : king and Mahā-Kshatrapa *bhadramukha* Lord Chāṣṭana ; his son, king (and Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman ; his son, king and [238] Mahā-Kshatrapa *bhadra-mukha* Lord Rudradāman ; his son, king and Maha-Kshatrapa *bhadramukha* Lord *Rudrasīha* (Rudrasiṁha); his son, king and Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasēna. This is the longest pedigree of the Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Mālava contained in a single record. It will be noticed that the title *bhadra-mukha*, 'of gracious appearance,' is added before the names of some of the Mahā-Kshatrapas, but not before the name of the only Kshatrapa mentioned in the record, or before that the last Mahā-Kshatrapa named here, *viz.* Rudrasēna, in whose reign the inscription was engraved. The reason for the omission in the last case is not apparent ; it would seem, however, that the title was used with the names of Mahā-Kshatrapa only. The names of Dāmaysada I. and Jīvadāman, who had reigned before Rudrasēna, but who were not in the direct line of descent, are not included in this list, which is purely genealogical.

The inscription is dated in the year 127 (or 126) on the fifth tithi of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada. The era to which the date is to be referred is undoubtedly the Śaka era ; accordingly the date of the record may be taken to correspond to 127 (or 126) + 78 = A.D. 205 (or 204).

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The record contains no geographical name.

TEXT.[7]

1 [Va]rshē 100 20 [7] [Bhā]drapada bahulasa 5 [|*] R[ā]jñō mahakshat[r]apasa

2 bhadra-mukhasa svam[a] Chāshṭana-putra-papau[t]trasya rājñō Ksha[tra*]pasa

3 svāmi-Jayad[a]ma-putra-pautrasya rajñō maha-Kshatrapasya bhadra-mukhasya

4 [sva]ma-Rud[r]adāma-pau[tra]sya rājñō ma[ha]-Ksha[tra*]pasya bhadra-mukhasya svā[m]i-

5 Rudrasīha [-putra*]sya rājñō maha-Kshatrapasya swāmi-Rudrasēnasya [|*] idam śatram

6 Mānasa-sa-got[r]asya Pra[tā]śaka-putrasya Khara[r]patthasya bhātrabhih utthavita[m] sva[rga]

7 . . . . . .

REMARKS ON THE TRANSCRIPT.[8]

L. 1. The reading *7* is uncertain; it may be *6*. DRB reads *5*. L. 2 D and H *-mukhasya svāmi-*. The slanting lines below the *sa* of the first word is an abrasion and not the subscript *y*. L. 3. D and H *Jayadāma. bhadra-mukhasya* is continued in a slanting direction above the level of the same line. L. 4. No trace remains of the *i* in *svāmi*, if it was marked at all. L. 5. D and H *mahā-*. DRB *Śakri* (for *śatraṁ*), which is very doubtful. L. 6. HOERNLE'S reading *-māna[ṁ]tu Tuṁgōtras[y]a* is out of the question, and need not be discussed here. D *pranāthaka-* (the previous syllable is read by him as *Su-*), and H *Pratā[ra]thaka* (for *Pratāśaka*), both of which are inadmissible. The second syllable may, perhaps, be *nā*; but the third one cannot be *tha*, as *tha* does not contain the vertical bar in the centre which our letter shows; the shallow stroke at the lower end of the letter is an accidental mark, of which the rock has many. D and H *Khara-pautrasya*, but the fourth syllable is clearly *ttha* and not *tra*; cf. the same ligature in a subsequent word of the same line. DRB *Kharapītthasya*. D and H *bhrātṛibhiḥ* (for *bhātrabhiḥ*). It is doubtful if the medal *ṛi* would be marked [239] differently from the subscript *r* by the writer of this inscription. DRB *bhāttrabhiḥ*. D *utthavitāsva* and H *utthavitāst[i]*. The top of the fourth syllable is no doubt somewhat thick; nevertheless the sign of the length

[7] From a set of estampages.

[8] Explanation of abbreviations :—D = Bhau DAJI, *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 234 f.; H = HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 32 f.; DRB = D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, W. Circle*, 1914-15. pp. 67-8.

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cannot be looked upon as having been marked. A part of our bracketed [*rga*] is lost in the crack and not distinguishable on the facsimile. DRB ends line 6 with *utthavita sva-*, and then gives an additional (seventh) line [*rggasukhartha*], which we were not able to trace on the stone.

TRANSLATION.

On the fifth (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 100, 20 [7], (during the reign) of the king, the Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasēna, [son*] of the king, the Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasiṁha) of auspicious appearance (*bhadra-mukha*[9]) ; (and) son's son of the king, the Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Rudradāman of auspicious appearance (*bhadra-mukha*) ; (and) grandson of the son of the king, the Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman ; (and) great-grandson of the son of the king, the Mahā-Kshatrapa Lord Chāshṭana of auspicious appearance (*bhadra-mukha*) ;—this *śatra*[10] was erected by the brothers of Khara[r]pattha, the son of Pratāśaka of the Mānasa *gōtra* ..... heaven .....

III.—JUNĀGAḌH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE GRANDSON OF THE KSHATRAPA JAYADĀMAN.

This inscription was first edited, with a translation and a photograph, in 1876, by BÜHLER in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 140 f., and Plate XX ; the block is rather small and almost useless for purposes of study. In 1895 BÜHLER'S text was republished, with a few minor alterations accompanied by a facsimile of an inked impression, and a translation of the text in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavanagar, p. 17, No. 1, and Plate XV. RAPSON gives an abridged bibliography of the inscription, and summarizes briefly its contents in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. lxi, No. 40. The most recent notice is by Prof. LÜDERS in his *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*,

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9 *Bhadra-mukha* literally means 'lucky-faced,' but is here used specifically as the title of some of the Mahā-Kshatrapas.

10 This word has not been met with elsewhere and its meaning is uncertain. Bhau DAJI renders it with 'tank' without assigning any reason for doing so ; the dictionaries do not support this meaning. HOERNLE suggests that it is a Prakrit form of *satra*, which denotes 'a kind of expensive Sōma sacrifice extending over many days' ; to *śatra* of our text he assigns accordingly the derivative meaning of 'liberality, munificence,' which does not convince us. It was remarked above that Prof. LÜDERS refers in this connection to the word *sata* (? seat) occurring in a Buddhist Cave inscription. Mr. R. D. BANERJI looks upon the word as a Prakrit form of *satra* and would translate it as 'almshouse,' which meaning that word has in most of the dialects of North India. Mr. D. R. BHANDARKAR reads the word as *Śakri* and, connecting it with the following *-mānasa-*, regards Śakrimānasa as the *gōtra*-name, an explanation which does not commend itself to us. It may be noted that *utthavita* clearly implies that we have here to deal with a structure that was raised, elevated, erected, and not dug or sunk.

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Vol. X (1912), No. 966), where we find a complete bibliography of the inscription, a reading of the date (probably from the facsimile in the Bhavnagar *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*) and a summary of its contents.

The inscription was discovered, during excavation, in front of one of the cells of an extensive complex of caves situated to the east of Junāgaḍh, close to a modern monastery known as Bāvā Pyārā's Maṭh. Regarding the mischances that fell to its lot after its discovery we have the following account by BURGESS. While extricating it, he writes, "the workmen damaged one end of it, but, to add to the misfortune, some one carried it off to the palace in the city, and in doing so seriously injured it at one corner. When I went to photograph it, I had a difficulty [240] in tracing it; at length, however, it was found lying in a verandah in the circle in front of the palace."[11] For some time previous to its transference to the Museum the stone used to be kept in the State Printing Press at Junāgaḍh. The misfortunes which have fallen to the lot of this stone since its recovery did not end with those described by BURGESS. As a result of some fresh accident, it is now in two halves, probably having split along the fissure which is noticeable in the facsimile publishing in the Bhavnagar *Collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, and referred to in the letterpress accompanying the facsimile.

The inscription is engraved on one of the faces of a dressed slab of soft calcareous stone about 2 feet each way and 8 inches thick. The epigraph contains four lines of writing, covering a space of about 1 ft. 9 in. in width by about 6 in. in height. The average size of such letters as *n*, *m*, *p*, and *b* is about $\frac{1}{2}$". Much of the writing is seriously damaged. The two middle lines are in a fair state of preservation; but the greater part of line 1 and a good bit of line 4 are illegible. Moreover the inscription is fragmentary. The slab has lost a large fraction of its length: how much it is not possible to say. BÜHLER assumes that lines 2-4, at their left ends, are almost intact, only a couple of syllables being necessary in each to complete them. This is, however, far from being certain. As far as we can judge, there is nothing to show how much is missing on either side of the preserved portion. We can only say that the lost portion of ll. 2 and 3 must have contained, at least, the names of the son and grandson of Jayadāman as well as the year in which the record was dated, expressed possibly both in words and numerical ideograms.

The characters closely resemble those of the Gundā inscription of the time of the Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha, which have already been minutely described above. It will, therefore, suffice to draw attention here only to a few outstanding features of the alphabet of this inscription. The syllable *mē* in l. 3, it will be noticed, shows that the sign of *ē* in *mē* was attached to the con-

11 *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

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stricted part of the letter. The same line offers a specimen of the numerical figure 5. The sign of the medial *u* in *su* (l. 1) is seen to open towards the left; in *śu* (l. 3), on the other hand, it opens towards the right; of the medial *u* marked by a short horizontal stroke appended to the long vertical of a letter this inscription contains no specimen. We have here only one initial vowel, namely *i* (l. 3); it is denoted by three dots, of which two are placed in a vertical line on the left side of the remaining one. In *ś* the middle bar, which is attached only at one end, is almost vertical. The letter *y* shows the simple bipartite form. [In regard to the language we may note the irregular genitives (*e.g. ksha*[*trapa*]*sya*, l. 2 as in Inscriptions Nos. I and II.—Ed.]—As regards orthography the only point worth noting is that the inscription offers no instance of the phonetic doubling of consonants.

The inscription must belong to the reign of a Kshatrapa or Mahā-Kshatrapa who was the grandson (or rather son's son) of the king, Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman, and great-grandson of Chāshṭana; the name of the ruling prince is lost with the portion of the record which is missing. This Satrap to whose reign the record referred itself was therefore either Dāmaysada I or Rudrasiṁha I (the brother and successor of the former). The purport of this fragmentary inscription cannot be determined, as the portion containing the object of the record is lost. It may be added that from the occurrence of the expression *kēvali-jñāna-saṁ*[*prāpta*] ('who had arrived at the knowledge of the *kēvalins*') in l. 4 it may be surmised that the inscription probably had something to do with the Jainas, since the word *kēvalin* occurs most frequently in Jaina literature.

The inscription is dated on the fifth (5th) day of the light half of Chaitra in a year which, like the purport of the record, cannot be ascertained, as it is lost in a *lacuna* of the text.

[241] The only locality which the record mentions is the well-known Giri-nagara, which was the ancient name of Junāgaḍh, and which survives in that of the adjacent hill of Girnār.

TEXT[12]

1 . . . . . s = tathā sura-gaṇ[a] . [kshatrā]ṇāṁ pratha[ma] . . . . . .

2 . . . . . Chāshṭanasya pra[pau]trasya rājñaḥ kshatrapa]sya-svāmi-Jayadāma-p[au]trasya rājño ma[hā] . . . . . .

3 . . . . . [Chai]tra-śuklasya divasē paṁchamē 5 i[ha] Girinagarē dēv āsura-nāga-ya[ksha]-rā[ksha]s-ē . . . . . .

[12] From a set of estampages.

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4 . . . . . -thap[u]ram = iva . . . . kēvali-[jñā]
na-saṁ . . . nāṁ . . -jarā-maraṇ[a] . . . . . .

Remarks on the Transcript.

L. 1. GB reads in the first line . . . . *ktṛi* . *raga* . . *kshatrapa* . . . . ; BI *stathā suraga* . . . . *kshatrapa*. L. 2. GB adds *svāmi* in square brackets before *Chāshṭanasya*. The bracketed syllable in *-p[au]trasya* has broken away and become illegible. GB *pōtrasya*; BI *pautrasya*. The medial vowel of the first syllable is quite uncertain. L. 3. GB, BI, and L read *pakshasya* after °*śukla*. The mistake had its origin in Bühler's faulty transcript. GB, BI, and L read *pañchamē* for *paṁchamē*. We do not see the *ñcha*; the sign below *cha*, we believe, is only an abrasion; in any case *ñcha* is by no means certain. GB and BI °*rākshasēndri* . . . . L. 4. GB. *praka*(?)*miva pa* . . . . . *kēvali-jñāna-saṁprāptānāṁ jita-jara-maraṇānaṁ* (?).

Translation.

. . . . . Also . . . . the divine hosts . . . . the first among warriors (*kshatra*) . . . . . On the fifth (5th) day of the light half of Chaitra in the year . . . . (during the reign of) . . . . . king Ma[hā-Kshatrapa] . . . . , son's son of the king Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman, the great-grandson of . . . . Chashṭana. Here in Giri nagara . . . . . the gods, *asuras*, *nāgas*, *yakshas*, and *rākshasas* . . . . city (?) . . . . who had arrived at the knowledge of the *kēvalins* . . . . . old age and death . . . . . .

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V.—TWO KADAMBA GRANTS FROM SIRSI*

The copper-plates bearing the subjoined inscriptions, which are now edited for the first time, belong to Mr. Subbaya Nagappa HEGDE of Ajjibal in the Sirsi Taluka of the North Kanara District. They have been in the possession of Mr. HEGDE'S family for a very long time; so long, in fact, that nothing is now known as to when and under what circumstances the plates came into the possession of the family. I obtained them on loan through the good offices of Mr. Shankarrao KARNAD, High Court Pleader, Bombay, who, at my request, kindly induced his colleague Mr. V. G. HEGDE, B.A., LL.B., Sirsi (a son-in-law of the owner), to send the plates to me for inspection and to allow me to take impressions from them. I am thus editing the grants from the original plates, which were on loan with me for about six months during 1918, and from a set of inked impressions prepared from them in the office of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle. The annexed facsimiles were subsequently prepared under the supervision of the Government Epigraphist from the impressions supplied by me. The transcript given below has been carefully compared (in manuscript) with the originals before the latter were returned to the owner. My sincere thanks are due to Messrs. KARNAD and HEGDE for this opportunity of offering here a description of these interesting records of the reigns of the Kadamba kings Ravivarman and Kṛishṇavarman of Vaijayantī (Banavāsī). Their chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated. The grant of Ravivarman was made (if my reading of the date is correct) in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and that of Kṛishṇavarman in the nineteenth year.

A.—PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN : THE [3]5TH YEAR.

These are three copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures roughly $5\frac{3}{8}$″ long by 3″ broad. They are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised as rims. Although the plates are fairly thin, the engraving, not being very deep, does not show through on the reverse sides. The letters show evident traces of the working of the engraver's tool. The entire inscribed surface of the first plate is more or less corroded, but only at a few places has the engraving thereby been so far affected as to have become quite illegible. The second plate is, in a sense, in a worse condition, as three of its edges are eaten away; and with them the greater part of l. 6, about a third of l. 17, and some syllables in ll. 11 and 16 are completely lost. The third plate is

* [*Ep. Ind.* 16. 264-72.]

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fortunately quite untouched ; and the engraving on it is in almost perfect state of preservation. The most deplorable part of the havoc wrought on these plates by the destructive agency is that in line 11 some of the letters comprising the words expressing the date are damaged in such a manner that the reading of the date (which is by far the most important element of the record) has to be based on a conjectural restoration from which the element of uncertainty cannot entirely be eliminated. Of no great consequence is, on the other hand, the damage to line 6 ; for from the preserved fragments of letters we may, I think, safely conclude that the line contained nothing more than a eulogistic phrase or two, which, even if restored, would have added nothing of importance to our stock of knowledge concerning the history of the Kadambas. The plates are pierced by a circular hole so as to receive the ring and seal which are attached. The weight, including the ring and seal, is 38½ tolas. The ends of the ring are securely soldered on to the back of the seal. About an eighth of an inch of the edge of the latter is raised so as to form a rim ; the recessed space, which is oblong in shape, is devoid of legend or emblematic design.

The characters, which show great uniformity throughout, belong to the southern variety, and have close affinities with those of other grants of the Kadamba kings, especially with the [265] Halsī[1] plates of the Kadamba Ravivarman, published by the late Dr. FLEET. The letters *t* and *n*, alike whether used singly or in conjunction with other consonants, are devoid of loops : nevertheless they are clearly distinguishable from each other. For in *n* the right limb of the letter is regularly drawn in continuation of the slanting (or vertical) stroke ; whereas in *t* the upright stroke is much shorter and distinct from the lower part of the letter, which forms a horse-shoe (sometimes with unequal arms), and to which the short vertical stroke is attached at the top. It may be added that owing to this characteristic even the *upper half* of the letter *t* is sharply distinguished from the corresponding portion of *v*, in which the vertical stroke is regularly drawn in continuation of the right limb (as in *n*), a fact whose importance will be apparent when we shall turn our attention to the subject of the reading of the date of the record. The difference between the forms of *t* and *v* may be studied in the following examples : *Hāritī*° and *pratikṛiti*° in line 3, °*pati-pratimaḥ* l. 7, *tithau* l. 12, °*rakshati* l.19, *bhavati* l. 20 ; and °*vijaya*° l. 1, °*vipula*° l. 8, and °*vinaya*° and °*viśārada* l. 9. In ll. 7 and 10 occurs an initial *a* ; in ll. 10, 12 *ā* ; in l. 20 *u* ; in l. 19 final *k* ; in l. 14 final *t* ; and in ll. 17, 21 final *m*. For final consonants, as is usual in these records, the full forms are used in reduced size, written on a slightly lower level than the rest of the letters of the line. The medial vowel in *ṇā* is written by bending back the last downward stroke in an upward direction, e.g. in lines 2, 3, etc.—The

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 25 ff.

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language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the imprecatory and admonitory verses at the end (ll. 20-23), the text is in prose. The document, it may be added, begins and ends somewhat abruptly. The grant proper is couched in very terse language. The preamble does not mention any of Ravivarman's ancestors, and the epithets coupled with the name of Ravivarman himself, which are of the stereotyped form, are, relatively speaking, few in number. They contain no new historical information regarding the royal donor. In its brevity the record resembles closely the Nilambūr[2] plates of the Kadamba king of the same name.—The orthography does not call for any particular remarks.

The inscription is one of the *Dharma-Mahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. We have already the Halsī and Nilambūr plates of a Kadamba Ravivarman. The highest regnal year recorded in these grants is the eleventh. The present grant records (ll. 10-19) that on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārttika in a specified regnal year (the reading of which is uncertain and will be discussed later on) Ravivarman granted to the Mahādēva temple of his beloved physician, the *dēś-āmātya* Nīlakaṇṭha,[3] four *nivartanas* of land in the village of Sārē (or Sāra), of which further specifications will be found in the appended translation. In this portion of the record (ll. 16, 17) there is a *lacuna*, in which some further details of the donation are lost.

The genealogy of Ravivarman is not given. But, as the writing of the present record does not differ in any essential points from that of the Halsī and Nilambūr grants of the Kadamba king of the same name, we may on palæographic grounds tentatively identify him with Ravivarman, the son of Mṛigēśavarman and grandson of Śāntivarman.

The reading of the regnal year is, as stated above, uncertain. The year is expressed in words only (as in all the records of this dynasty that have come under my notice), which I read as *pañcha* [*trim*]*śat*[*tamē*], 'in the thirty-fifth.' The compound indubitably contains the element *pañcha-*, which is clear, and another word, expressing a multiple of ten, which is obliterated. The *second* syllable of this partly defaced word contains again unquestionably a *ś*. The choice, therefore, lies between *-viṁśē* and *-viṁśatitamē*, or *-triṁśē* and *-triṁśattamē*. As, moreover, the sign of *ē* does not appear to have been added to *ś*, the intended *akshara* must be taken to be *śa*. This circumstance further reduces the possible alternatives at our disposal to *-viṁśatitamē* [266] and *-triṁśattamē*. Further, the remnant of the *akshara* after *śa* appears most to resemble a deformed *t*, very faint, indeed, but still distinguishable on the plate, a conclusion which is in harmony with the above supposition that the longer form of the ordinal (*viṁśatitama* or *triṁśattama*) has been

2 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 147, and Plate.
3 See below, p. 268, foot-note 10.

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used here, and not the shorter (*vimśa, trimśa*). Let us now turn our attention to the syllable preceding *śa*. The preserved portion appears to consist of the medial *i* and a short vertical stroke added at the top of a mutilated horse-shoe. Therefore, from what I have said above regarding the shapes of *v* and *t*, it follows that this defaced *akshara* can only represent a *vi* and not *ti*. This result also fits in with our former observation that the third missing syllable is a deformed *ta* (and not *ti*) ; for an initial *t* requires the restoration *-trimśattamē* (containing *ta* in the third syllable), while an initial *v* would necessitate the reconstruction, *-vimśatitamē* (with *ti* in the third syllable). I have, therefore, for my part, no hesitation in reading the preserved portion of the first damaged *akshara* as *ti*, and supplementing the lost subscript *r* under it. The second syllable is, as already remarked, *śa* beyond doubt. Then I read *t*[*t*]*a*, after which there is just sufficient space for the inclusion of *mē*, which syllable, however, is completely obliterated. The complete restored regnal year would, therefore, be *pañcha-trimśattamē*[4] 'in the thirty-fifth year.' It may be added that, if the reading proposed by me is not accepted, the only possible alternative is *pañcha-vimśatitamē*, which in my opinion is extremely doubtful.

The village Sārē (or Sāra), which is the object of the grant and which is mentioned without any specification of its whereabouts, remains unidentified.

TEXT.[5]

[Metre of two verses in ll. 20-23 : *Ślōka* (*Anushṭubh*).]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिमहासेन-
2 मातृगंणानुध्याता (ना ?) भिषिक्तानां (॥) मानव्यस[गोत्रा]-
3 णां हारितीपुत्राणां प्रतिकृतिस्त्वा[ध्या]-
4 यचर्च्चापराणाम[6] कदम्बानां श्रोरवि[वर्म्मं][7]-
5 धर्म्ममहाराजः प्रतापप्रणतस [कल] . .[8]

Second Plate ; First Side.

6 [9]. . . [य्यशास्त्रविज्ञानादिकृत] . . . . .

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[4] [The form *trayas-trimśatimē* occurs in a Telugu record from Drākshārāma : No. 349 of the Epigraphical Collection (Madras) for the year 1893.—H. K. S.]

[5] From the original plates and a set of impressions.

[6] Read म्

[7] The bracketed letters are conjecturally added ; at this point the plate is worn almost to the depth to which the letters were incised.

[8] The last two or three syllables of line 5 have worn away and become completely illegible.

[9] The upper edge of this side of the middle plate is eaten away ; and, with it, the upper portions of the letters in l. 6 are either effaced or completely lost. It is needless to add that the vowel signs are almost all completely obliterated, and, in the reading given above, only conjecturally supplied.

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7 कदम्बमहासेनापतिप्रतिमः[10] अनेकजन्मा [न्त]-
8 रोपार्जितविपुलपुण्यसंपादितशरीर [:][11]
[267] 9 नयविनयविशारदः [12]परमधार्म्मकात्यन्त-
10 पितृभक्तः [13]अनयानुपूर्व्या आत्मायुरै [श्व-]
11 र्य्यप्रवर्द्धमानकरे संवत्सरे पञ्च[14] [त्रिं] श [त्तमे]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

12 क [ा] र्त्तिकमासशुक्लपक्षे पञ्चम्यां तिथौ आत्मनः[15]
13 प्रियवैद्यस्य नीलकण्ठ[16] ख्यदेशामात्यस्य महा-
14 [दे] वायतनाय [17]सारेग्रामे दासतडाकस्य [ा*] धस्तात्[18]
15 बंबारेतडाकस्योपरि [19]बंदुपुक्रो [पि][20] क्षेत्रे
16 . . . नेन निवर्त्तनचतुष्टयन्दत्तवान्तस्य द्विभागं .
17 . . . पोषण [ा] र्थम् देवायत [न*] प [र्य्यन्त] . . . . .

Third Plate.

18 काश्यपसगोत्रभरद्वाजसगोत्रार्य्यस्वामिपाशु-
19 पताख्याश्याञ्च[21] [॥*] योभिरक्षति तत्पुण्यफलभाक
20 भवति [॥*] उक्तञ्च [ा*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु-

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10 Here, and in other places below, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

11 The sign of the *visarga* is defaced.

12 Read धार्म्मिका°.

13 I can make no sense of the syllables अनयानुपूर्व्या. Read अन [पा*] या°?

14 The lower portion of all the remaining letters of this line are more or less defaced. Of the bracketed syllables, the preserved portion of the first, I am fully persuaded, can be nothing but *ti* (see above, pp. 265-6); the next syllable, *śa*, is quite distinct and unmistakable, both on the plate and in the impression ; furthermore, I believe, it is possible to discern on the plate very faint, but unmistakable, traces of a diminutive *t* (which must be a part of a ligature) and somewhat uncertain traces of *m*. I have, therefore, no hesitation in supplying the missing subscript *r* below the *ti*, and I may say that I look upon the reading *triṁśa* as more or less certain.

15 The subscript *ma* is rather faint, and appears to have left no trace on the impression paper.

16 Read ण्ठा°.

17 Or सारे ग्रामे.

18 The final *t* (for which the full sign is used), written below the line, is faint ; but it can be made out on the original plate quite unmistakably.

19 Or बंड°?

20 The sign of the medial *i* in the bracketed syllable appears to have been crowned out of its natural position (which is a little more to the left, over the hollow of *pa*) by the subscript *ya* of the ligature immediately over the syllable in question. [Possibly the reading is बंदुपुक्कूलि. —H. K. S.]

21 A short space is left between श्च and यो.

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21 न्धराम् [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते [22]त सः [॥*]

22 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*]

23 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [॥*]

[268] TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! At (the city of) victory, the glorious Vaijayantī, the *Dharma-Mahārāja*,[23]—(of the family) of the Kadambas, anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers; belonging to the Mānavya *gōtra*; descendants of Hāritī: studying the requital (of good and evil) as their sacred text,[24]—the glorious Ravivarman before whose prowess (are) prostrate all[25] .... similar to the great leader of the armies of Kadamba,[26] (the excellence of[27]) whose body had been produced by great religious merit acquired in numerous births, well-versed in (rules of) statesmanship and decorum, highly righteous and deeply devoted to his father, on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārttika in the [thirty]-fifth[28] year, in uninterrupted succession,[29] augmenting his life and sovereignty, has given[30] .... four *nivarttanas* (of land) in the plough-land called Bamdupukro[pi] (or Bamḍu°) below Dāsa-taḍāka (and) above Mambārē-taḍāka,[31] (situated) in the village of Sārē or (Sāra), to the temple of Mahādēva (Śiva) of his beloved physician named Nīlakaṇṭha, the *dēś-āmāt̤ya*[32]; two parts of it (are given) .... for maintenance .... up to the temple .... to Ārya-svāmin and

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[22] Read तु.

[23] Here used as a title. Its literal meaning is: the *Mahārāja* who is devoted to the performance of duty (*dharma*).

[24] I have adopted KIELHORN'S rendering of the difficult phrase *pratikṛti*°-, and I may refer the reader to his note on the subject, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 15, note 3.

[25] The rest of the sentence is lost.

[26] Compare the epithet *Kadamba-sēnānī-bṛihad-anvaya-vy*[*ō*]*ma-chandramāḥ* ('the full moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the Kadamba leader of armies'), applied to Kākusthavarman in the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman, ed. KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 31.

[27] I suppose we have to supplement here some such words as these.

[28] See above, p. 267, note 3. [I = 14 *supra*].

[29] I propose to amend the text and read *ana*[*pā**]*y*[*a*] = *ānupūrvyā*. The uninterrupted succession refers naturally to the king's regnal years. I have not come across the phrase elsewhere; but the emendation gives, in my opinion, quite a satisfactory sense.

[30] There is a *lacuna* in the text here.

[31] The expressions *adhastāt* and *upari* may have been used with reference to the level of the field under description.

[32] *Dēś-āmātya* literally means 'the minister of the country (or province),' but it may have a more specific meaning here. Cf. with this expression the modern surnames Deshmukh, Deshpande, which are undoubtedly derived from original titles of functionaries. Or should we take Nīlakaṇṭha as the name of country?

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Pāśupata belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (respectively).

(Line 19.) He who protects it will have a share in the merit accruing from it.

(Line 20.) It has also been said :—

[Here follow two of the customary admonitory verses.]

B.—PLATES OF KṚISHṆAVARMAN II : THE 19TH YEAR.

These plates, which are in a much better state of preservation than the foregoing, are also three in number. They measure roughly 6½″ long by 2⅜″ broad. They are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The plates are thin ; but the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The letters show the characteristic marks of the working [269] of the engraver's tool. The grant is engraved on the inner side of the first and last plates, and on both sides of the middle one. The plates are pierced by a circular hole in order to receive the ring and seal, which are attached. The ends of the ring are, as in the case of the plates of Ravivarman, soldered on to the back of a seal, which, in this instance, is oval in shape and bears a device. The seal has a raised rim, and inside this there is shown in low relief the figure of a quadruped (perhaps a horse) facing left. The weight of the plates, including the ring and seal, is 52 tolas. Each engraved side contains four lines of writing ; there are thus sixteen lines in all. Excepting isolated letters which are worn away and now become partly illegible, the record is in a perfect state of preservation, and can be deciphered without any uncertainty.

The characters belong to the southern variety, and have close affinities with those of other grants of the Kadamba kings. They differ palpably from the characters of the grant of Ravivarman described above and appear to belong to a later palæographic epoch. The vowel *ā* in *ṇā* is written by bending back the last downward stroke in an upward direction ; e.g. in ll. 2, 3, etc. One notices the tendency of the vertical lines to slope, a feature which later develops into the spiral formation of Haḷa-Kannaḍa letters. Noteworthy is also the doubling of the left limb of *g* (ll. 1, 2, 6, 8, etc.) and *ś* (ll. 4, 7, etc.). This record contains the earliest specimen hitherto known, in a southern alphabet, of the initial *ṛi* (l. 8). Initial *a* occurs in l. 5 ; initial *ā* in ll. 4, 6 ; initial *u* in ll. 11, 13 ; initial *ē* in l. 7 ; the sign of final *t* in l. 7, and final *n* in l. 11. One ligature, with the word containing it, has remained undeciphered in l. 10 ; I have never come across the sign anywhere before and can suggest no reading for it.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the imprecatory and admonitory stanzas at the end, the text is in prose. The main part of the text (ll. 1-11) forms a single sen-

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tence and states, like the foregoing grant of Ravivarman, without much circumlocution the object of the record. The attributes of the donor are of the stereotyped form. In its brevity this record resembles the grant of Ravivarman described above.

The inscription is one of the *Dharma-Mahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman of the Kadamba family. The hitherto known records of the Kadamba dynasty have revealed the existence of two Kṛishṇavarmans in the family. And, as the present record neither gives the genealogy of this king nor mentions any circumstance which would help to establish his identity, it is difficult to affirm with certainty whether he is to be identified with either the one or the other Kṛishṇavarman already known, or whether he is a new king altogether ; but on palæographic considerations this king may tentatively be identified with the second Kadamba king of that name, whose Bannahaḷḷi (now (Haḷḷēbīḍ) grant,[33] dated in the seventh year of his reign, has already been published. The grant proper records (ll. 6-11) that on the full moon day in the month of Kārttika, in the nineteenth year of his reign, Kṛishṇavarman granted Kalmakapalli in the Girigaḍa village (*grāma*) of the Karvannāḍ district (*vishaya*) to a Brāhmaṇa of the Vārāhi *gōtra*, named Sōma-svāmin, who was a student of the Ṛig-vēda, and a performer of the Sōma sacrifice, making the village free from all taxes and dues.

To the proposed identification of the Kṛishṇavarman of our record with the Kṛishṇavarman of the Bannahaḷḷi grant it may be objected that the title *Dharma-Mahārāja,* which is here used along with the name of the donor, is not found coupled with the name of Kṛishṇavarman II. in any other record ; thus, for instance, in the Bannahaḷḷi grant itself, which is dated in the seventh year of the reign, only the shorter title *Mahārāja* is prefixed to Kṛishṇavarman's name. On the other hand, the earlier Kṛishṇavarman is invariably styled *Dharma-Mahārāja* in the preambles of the later Kadamba grants. The objection is not valid ; for it should be noted that Kṛishṇavarman I. was, according to all accounts, performer of a [270] horse-sacrifice. If our Kṛishṇavarman is to be identified with this king, how are we to explain the silence of the record regarding the sacrifice said to have been performed by him? On the other hand the expression *aśva-mēdh-ābhishikta,* herein applied to the Kadambas as a class, shows that in the time of our Kṛishṇavarman the epithet *aśva-mēdha-yājin* had become a hereditary title of the Kadamba family, a fact which can be explained only on the assumption that some prolonged interval of time separates the actual performer of the sacrifice from our Kṛishṇavarman. Moreover, there is at least one other instance of the indiscriminate use of the titles *Mahārāja* and *Dharma-Mahārāja,* namely, in the case of Mṛigēśavarman. Both titles are found used in connection with this king in epigraphic records.[34]

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[33] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 18 and plate.

[34] KIELHORN'S *List of Inscriptions of Southern India,* Nos. 604 and 605.

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A word may be added regarding the localities mentioned in the record. The object of the grant is stated to be Kamakapalli, situated in the Girigaḍa village (*grāma*) of the Karvannāḍga district (*vishaya*). None of these places can be identified with certainty. Mr. HEGDE, owing to whose good offices the plates were made available for publication, is a resident of Sirsi and has favoured me with the following topographical details, which throw some light on the question. He writes : "Sirsi *tālukā* (which used to be called Suṇḍā *tālukā*) was formerly divided into a number of *māgaṇe*, each of which consisted of a number of villages. One of such *māgṇe* went by the name of Karūr *māgaṇe*, deriving its name from Karūr, a village included in the *māgaṇe*. Another such village was called Girigaḍḍe. Both these villages still bear the same names." The proximity of Girigaḍḍe to Sirsi favours the identification of the former with the Girigaḍa of the plates, which, as stated above, come from Sirsi itself. Also, in regard to the great and often inexplicable changes which many place-names have undergone, the identification of Karvannāḍga with Karūr is not an impossible proposition.

TEXT.[35]

[Metre of the two verses in ll. 14-15 : *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubha*).]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयवैजयन्त्या[36] स्वामिमहासेनमा[37]तृग-
2 णानुध्याता (ना ?) श्वमेधाभिषिक्तानां[38] मानव्यासगोत्राण [ा][39]
3 हारितिपुत्राणा[40] प्रतिकृतस्वाद्धयायचर्च्चापाराणा[41]
4 आश्रितजनाम्बाना[42] कदम्बाना[42] श्रीकृष्णवर्म्मधर्म्ममहा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

5 राज [:*] अनेकजन्मा [न्त] रोपा [र्जि] तविपुलपुण्यस्कन्ध[:*] बहुसम [र]-
6 विजयसमधिगतयशोराज[43] श्री [:*] आत्मनः[44] [45]प्रविर्द्धमानविज-

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35 From the original plates and a set of impressions.

36 Read न्त्यां. [The author may have meant this word to be in the ablative case. Cf. *Vijaya-Skandhāvārāt* of other inscriptions.—H. K. S.]

37 The length of *mā* is added at the top of the *akshara*.

38 Read °क्तानां मानव्यस°.

39 The length of *mā* is added to the constricted part of the *akshara*. Read °मानव्यसगोत्राणां.

40 Read णां.

41 The Ravivarman plates above read प्रतिकृति. Read पराणां. Here, and in other places below, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

42 Read नां.

43 Read ज्य.

44 The insertion of the *visarga* is an afterthought.

45 Read प्रवर्द्ध°.

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[271] 7 यसंवत्सरे[46] [47]एकूनविंशे कार्तिकपौर्णमास्या[48] वारा-

8 हिसगोत्राय ऋग्वेदप [।*] रगाय यमनियम-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

9 पराय सोमस्वामिने सोमयाजिने कर्व्वन्नाङ्गंविषये[49]

10 गिरिगडग्रामे कमकपल्लिं सर्व्वपरिहारं सम . .[50]

11 सहिरण्यं स्वमातृपितृपुण्यार्थं उदकपूर्व्वं दत्तवान्[51] [॥*]

12 योस्याभिरक्षिता स पुण्यफलभाग्भवति यश्चाप-

Third Plate.

13 हर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति [॥*] उक्तञ्च [।*] [52]वहुभि [:*]

14 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि [:*] सगरादिभि [:।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू-[53]

15 मि [:*] तस्य तस्य तदा फल[54] [॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता[55] वा यो हरेत

16 वसुन्धरा[56] [।*] षष्टि[57] वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठाया[58] जायते क्रिमिः [॥*].

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail ! At (the city of) victory, Vaijayantī, the *Dharma-Mahārāja*,[60]—(of the family) of the Kadambas, anointed during a horse-sacrifice[61] after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers ; belonging to the Mānavya *gōtra* ; descendants of Hāriti ; studying the

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[46] The final *t* is written below the line. [47] Read एकोनविंशे.

[48] Read स्यां. The length of *mā* is added at the top of the *akshara*.

[49] [The last syllable of the name of the district appears to be ङ्ग, not ङ्ग. —H. K. S.]

[50] The last but one *akshara* remains undeciphered ; the very last one of the line is either *va* or *cha*, with or without an *anusvāra*. [In my opinion the unread letter is *ḷkā* ; and *maḷkāva*, like *hiraṇya*, must be a technical term indicating some source of village income. In the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman (text l. 8) the same term occurs in the form *maḷkāvu*, and Mr. T. A. Gopinath RAO has taken it as the name of a hamlet.—H. K. S.]

[51] The final *n* is written below the line. [52] Red व°.

[53] The sign of the secondary *ā* seems to have been also added erroneously to *bhū*.

[54] Read फलं. [55] Read °त्तां. [56] Read °रां.

[57] Read षष्टिं. [58] Read °यां. [59] Read कृमिः.

[60] Here used as a title. Its literal meaning is 'the *Mahārāja* who is devoted to performance of duty (*dharma*).'

[61] An ancestor of the donor of the present grant is spoken of as having performed a horse-sacrifice ; cf. the Bannahalli plates of Kṛishṇavarman II., ed. KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 18, l. 5

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requital (of good and evil) as their sacred text[62] ; and looking to the Mothers of Mankind for protection,—the glorious Kṛishṇavarman, who during countless births has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, who has gained fame and the fortune of royalty by virtue of successes in many battles, in the nineteenth year of his prosperous [272] (reign) of victory, on the full-moon (day) of Kārttika,[63] for the religious merit of his father and mother, has given with pouring-out of water, with gold, (*income*) and .... (and) with every exemption, Kamakapalli in the village (*grāma*) of Girigaḍa in the district (*vishaya*) of Karvvannāḍga to the Sōma sacrificer Sōma-svāmin, belonging to the Vāṛāhi *gōtra*, who has completely studied the Ṛg-vēda and who follows (the moral and ethical duties known as) *yama* and *niyama*.

(Line 12.) He who shall protect this (charity) will share in the merit (attaching to the making of it); and he who shall confiscate it will be (guilty) of the five great sins.

[Here follow two of the customary admonitory verses.]

62 I have adopted KIELHORN'S rendering of the difficult phrase *pratikṛita*°, and may refer the reader to his note on the subject, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 15, note 3. [The next attribute अश्रितजनाम्बानां has been translated by Mr. Gopinath RAO, perhaps more correctly, 'who were (*like unto*) mothers to people (*who were*) dependent (*on them*)', above, Vol. VIII, p. 148.—H. K. S.]

63 The full-moon day of Kārttika, as a day on which donations were made by the Kadamba kings, is mentioned also in the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 145) and the Halsī plates of Migēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 24).

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VI.—A VAKATAKA INSCRIPTION FROM GANJ*

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, was discovered by my friend Babu Rakhaldas BANERJI, Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, in 1919, during one of his tours of inspection in Central India. The excellent estampages from which the accompanying blocks have been prepared were made under his direct supervision, and very kindly placed by him at my disposal for publication.

The inscription, Mr. BANERJI tells me, is engraved on a detached slab of stone which he found lying at the bottom of a *doṅgā*, adjoining a hill called Maluhā-ṭongi near Ganj in the Ajayagaḍh (Ajaigarh) State in Bundelkhand. Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the *doṅgā*. The find-place of the record is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuṭhārā, where CUNNINGHAM discovered in 1883-84 the Nāchanekī talāī inscription, which was first brought to notice by him, in 1885, in *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97 f. and re-edited by FLEET in *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 233 ff. and Pl. xxxiii B. The Ganj inscription, like the one discovered by CUNNINGHAM, is one of the oldest records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and as such is worthy of being carefully preserved.

From the subjoined transcript it will be seen that the text of our inscription is practically identical with that of the Nāchanē-kī-talāī record of the reign of *Mahārāja Pṛthivishēṇa*, edited by FLEET in *Gupta Inscriptions*; it differs from the latter only in the length and the number of lines, and in the spelling of a couple of words. But our inscription is in a much better state of preservation than that edited by FLEET; at all events the stone has yielded an impression far superior to the one from which the block accompanying FLEET'S article was prepared. Consequently we can study the forms of the letters in the subjoined facsimile much better than in that of the Nāchanē-kī-talāī version. Moreover, the writing of this inscription being perfectly distinct, we can give a transcript which is more reliable, and which at the same time discloses certain minor inaccuracies in FLEET'S transcript, errors which even then could have been avoided by a more patient study of the available material.

The writing covers a space about 25″ broad by 12″ high. In the centre of the first line of the inscription there is a sculpture of a wheel, of which only a part is visible in the facsimile. The average size of such letters as *m*, *p* and *v* is about 2″.—The characters belong to the 'southern' variety of alphabets,

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* [*Ep. Ind.* 17-12-14.]

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of which the distinguishing features, in our inscription, are the hooks at the lower ends of the verticals of *k* and *r*. In particular, we may say that the letters are a specimen of the Central Indian alphabet of the period, which on account of the peculiar 'box-headed' tops of the letters is known as the 'box-headed' sub-variety of the southern alphabet.[1] In our specimen the boxes are very conspicuous, and uniformly hollow. The letters are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance. It may be added that they betray a conscious effort to substitute angles for curves in the configuration of letters. The letters *t* and *n* are sharply distinguished from each other : the latter has always a knot at its lower end.—The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose.—As regards the orthography the only point calling for remark is the phonetic doubling of the *d* of *dh*, in °*d-ā(ṁ)nuddhyātō*° (l. 2), before *y*, and of the *t* of *th*, before *r*, in *punyā-rtthē* (l. 3).

[13] The inscription, which is a record of the reign of *Mahārāja* Pṛithivishēṇa (I.) of the Vākāṭaka family, states merely that a feudatory of his, Vyāghradēva by name, had made something or other for the sake of the religious merit of his parents. The exact nature of this act of piety has been left unspecified, just as in the other version discovered by CUNNINGHAM. The silence of these records on the point leads us to infer that the slabs on which the inscriptions are inscribed must have been built into that the making of which they were intended to record.

Our information regarding the Vākāṭaka dynasty is unfortunately very scrappy. All the important events in its history known to us have been succinctly summarized by KIELHORN[2] in his article on the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II.; we can even now add nothing of consequence to what has been said there. We do not possess exact dates for any of the kings of this family, nor can we form any clear idea of the extent of the country ruled over by them. Regarding Pṛthivishēṇa I. we know that he was the son of Rudrasēna I. and the great-grandson of Pravarasēna I., the latter being either the very first king or one of the early kings of this house. It should seem that the Vākāṭaka king at whose hands the 'lord of Kuntala' had suffered defeat, as recorded in the Vākāṭaka stone inscription at Ajaṇṭā,[3] was this same Pṛithivishēṇa. Beyond these few facts we know nothing of much consequence regarding the king referred to in our record.

About Vyāghradēva, the feudatory of Pṛithivishēṇa, we know still less. Indeed, Vyāghra appears as the name of chieftains in several well-known inscriptions ;[4] but it is not possible to identify our Vyāghradēva with any of them.

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1 See BÜHLER, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 62.
2 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 268 f.
3. *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 124, verse 8.
4 KIELHORN'S *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 270, 387 and 509.

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BÜHLER[5] assigns the copper-plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II., the grandson of Pṛithivishēṇa I, to the fifth or sixth century A.D.; it is not known to me on what grounds. I have examined the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the Guptas,[6] of the kings of Śarabhapura,[7] of Tīvara,[8] of Kōsala and of the early Kadamba kings,[9] without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. BÜHLER'S date, however, appears to me to be far too early. My impression is that there can be no objection, on palæographic grounds, to assigning this record of the Vākāṭakas to as late an epoch as the seventh century A.D. I conclude this short notice by drawing attention here to the remark of KIELHORN that the Bālāghāt plate of Pṛithivishēṇa II., who was the son of the great-grandson of the Pṛithivishēṇa of our inscription, "may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the eighth century A.D."[10]

TEXT.[11]

1 [12]Vākāṭakāṇā mahārāja-śri[13].
Pṛthivishēṇa-pād-ā(ṁ)nuddhyātō Vyāghradē-
3 vō mātāpitrō[ḥ*] [14]puny-ārtthē [15]kṛtam = iti [||*]

[14] TRANSLATION.

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārāja* the illustrious Pṛithivishēṇa, (of the family) of the Vākāṭakas, has made (this) for the sake of the religious merit of (his) parents.

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[5] *Indische Palæographie*, pp. 62 f.
[6] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, Nos. 2-3.
[7] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 40-41. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 81.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35-7. [10] Above, Vol. IX, p. 270.
[11] From a set of estampages prepared and kindly lent to me by Mr. R. D. BANERJI.
[12] Read *Vākāṭakānāṁ*. FLEET in his transcript has wrongly spelt this word with the dental *n* in *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 53-54.
[13] Read *śrī*.
[14] Read *puṇy-ārtthē*. Here also FLEET has wrongly transcribed the word, both as regards the dental *n* and the case-ending. In CUNNINGHAM'S version the word is spelt exactly as here.
[15] The construction is faulty. The verb should be in the active voice.

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VII.—TWO NEW GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA [I.] FROM PALITANA*

I edit here two new Valabhī copper-plate grants (one complete and one incomplete) which were presented, in 1918, to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, by the Bhāvanagar Darbar, which is ever ready to further the cause of epigraphic research by placing ungrudgingly the materials, as they are discovered, in the hands of students of Indian history for investigation and publication, and, when possible, by having them exhibited in centrally situated museums. The plates under reference were discovered at the bottom of a small tank outside the Śatruñjaya Gate at Pālitānā while the tank was being drained during the time of the late Thakor Saheb of that State.[1]

A.—Plates of Dhruvasena I.; [Valabhī]-Sam[vat] 207.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring roughly 11½″ broad by 6¾″ high. The edges are just slightly raised in order to protect the writing, which (excepting portions of ll. 1-4) is in a state of perfect preservation. The plates are of fair thickness; but the letters, being deep, show through on the reverse sides. The engraving is well executed. Each of the plates has two holes bored in it. A ring of copper passing through one pair of them serves to hold the plates together at one end. The seal, which is an invariable accompaniment of such plates, is missing. The aggregate weight of the plates is about 102 *tōlas*. Each plate contains twelve lines of writing; the last line but one of the second plate contains the date.

From the foregoing description of the plates, as well as from the facsimiles of them appearing with this article, it will be evident that this record does not differ in any striking particular from any of the hitherto published records of the same king. Only in the portion dealing with the grant proper does the text of this inscription differ, for example, from that of other plates of this king which were discovered some years back also at Pālitānā, and have been edited by Dr. Sten Konow in a former issue of this Journal.[2] The royal donor, Dhruvasēna, as well as the *dūtaka* Mammaka and the writer Kikkaka, are names well known to the Indian epigraphist. It will,

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* [*Ep. Ind.* 17, 105—110.]

1 My friend Pandit Girijasankar Vallabhji of Rajkot, Curator, of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, informs me that the five Pālitānā plates edited by Prof. Konow (above, Vol. XI, pp. 104 ff.) were discovered at the same place and at the same time as the plates here described.

2 Above, Vol. XI, pp. 104 ff.

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therefore, be unnecessary to go here into a minute description of the characters and orthography of this inscription. It will suffice to observe that the alphabet offers a specimen of final *t* (l. 15), final *m* (l. 23) and the numerical ideograms 200, 7, and 5, and that the name of the founder of the dynasty is spelt a *Bhaṭakka* (l. 3). At the end of line 12 is to be found a horizontal stroke, about ¼″ long, evidently drawn with a view to fill up the empty space remaining at the end. The reason for leaving the space vacant appears to be that the writer did not wish to commence, at the end of the line, a long word the whole of which would not have been contained in the short space that was left over.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna [I.] of the Maitraka dynasty, and the grant contained in it is issued from the city of Valabhī. The object of the inscription appears to be to record the confirmation by Dhruvasēna of the donee, a Brāhmaṇa named Mādhava, of the Śunaka *gotra*, student of the Chhandōga School, and resident of the village of Jyēshṭhānaka (stated to be Akshasaraka-*prāvēśya*) in the Hastavapra-haraṇī in the possession of some [106] land already enjoyed by him in the village of which he was a resident. Besides Hastavapra, which is the modern Hāthab (6 miles south of Gōghā in the Bhāvnagar State), and Valabhī, which is commonly identified with the modern Valā (situated in 21° 52′ N. and 71°57′ E.), none of the places can be located. The date of the record is the year 207 (given as usual in numerical ideograms), and the 5th (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha. The year when referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era yields A.D. (207 + 320) = A.D. 527.

There are two expressions in this inscription, both occurring in the portion dealing with the grant proper, which deserve some comment : they are *Akshasaraka-prāvēśya-* (l. 12) and *sa-śaibaram* (l. 16). The latter we will consider first.

Being mentioned along with the well-known technical expressions *sa-hiraṇy-ādēyam* and *sa-bhāta-vāta*,° *sa-śaibaram* must be a term of like nature, i.e. a technicality of the lawyers ; but what its significance may be I am unable to surmise. There can be no question regarding the correctness of the reading ; the letters are perfectly distinct. The word *śaibara* is not to be found in dictionaries ; nor have I come across it elsewhere. I can only think that it may be, as it stands, a clerical error ; but I am unable to suggest any plausible emendation for it.

The word *prāvēśya* in the other expression referred to above is also one that presents some difficulty to the interpreter. Here it is used in a compound with Akshasaraka, evidently a place-name, and serves to locate more definitely the village Jyēshṭhānaka situated in the Hastavapra-*haraṇī*. As far as I know, the word *prāvēśya* has been met with only twice before : once in another Valabhī grant, occurring there in a compound with the same place-

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name Akshasaraka, and once again in the Khariar grant of Mahāsudēva, compounded with the word Navannaka, which is also a place-name.

The former record forms one of the five Valabhī grants from Pālitānā[3] edited by Prof. Sten KONOW, and is a grant of Dhruvasēna I., dated in *Samvat* 210. In that connection Prof. KONOW rightly points out that the phrase Akshasaraka-*prāvēśya* of the grant corresponds to the Akshasaraka-*prāpīya* in a third Valabhi grant,[4] viz. the Ganēsgad (Baroda) plates of Dhruvasēna, dated Saṃvat 207. HULTZSCH, when editing the latter grant, translated the phrase by 'which belongs to the Akshasaraka-*prāpa*.' Prof. KONOW, who regards *prāvēśya* and *prāpīya* as synonyms, rejects HUTZSCH'S rendering of Akshasaraka-*prāpīya* and advances the suggestion that *prāvēśya* in this connection means the same thing as in the phrase *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya* and accordingly translates the phrase by 'which can be entered from (i.e. which borders on) Akshasaraka.' I cannot, in the first place, admit that the expressions *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya* and Akshasaraka-*prāvēśya* correspond exactly. For in the former the first member of the compound comprises the logical subject of the verb contained in *prāvēśya*; but such cannot be the case with the second expression, even if we assign to it the meaning which Prof. KONOW does. Secondly, I do not understand what is meant by saying that a village could be 'entered' from such and such a place. If, moreover, *prāvēśya* meant the same thing as 'bordering on,' as Prof. KONOW asserts, I cannot help thinking that the writer would have employed a simple word like *samīpa* or *pārṣva-vartin*, which lie at hand, to express that simple idea of proximity rather than use the circumlocution of *prāvēśya* or *prāpīya*. HULTZSCH, on the other hand, appears to me to be -undoubtedly on the right track. He looks upon *prāpīya* as a derivative of *prāpa*, which he takes to be a word denoting a territorial division smaller than an *āhāra*. Similarly the analogous term *prāvēśya* should also be looked upon as a *taddhita* of *prāvēśa*. That this derivation is correct may be seen from the Khariar plates of Mahāsudēva, in which a village is described (l. 4) as *Kshitimad-āhāriya* and *Navannaka prāvēśya*. No one will dispute that *āhārīya* is derived from *āhāra* (-district,' 'province') by the addition of the suffix *-īya*. That supplies us with the clue to the explanation of the other words under consideration here. All these words are derived [107] by the addition of the secondary -(*ī*)*ya* to the strengthened forms of the roots *ā-hṛi*, *pra-*(*ā-*) *viś* and *pra-*(*a-*)*āp* ('bring to,' 'carry to'), words with only minute differences of meaning. I feel, therefore, constrained to reject the interpretation of Prof. KONOW in favour of the other. *Prāpīya* I take to be 'that which belongs to the *prāpa*,' and *prāveśya* 'that which belongs to the *prāvēśa* (or *pravēśa*)'; both *prāpa* and *prāvēśa* I regard as territorial divisions smaller than the *āhāra*.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 104 ff., and Plates.
[4] Above, Vol. III, p. 320, and Plate.

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TEXT.[5]

Plate A_1.

10 [6]परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्या(ध्या)तो महाराजध्रुवसेनः कुशलो सर्व्वानेव स्वानायुक्त-
कवि नियुक्तकचाट-

11 भटद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशिकादोनन्यश्च[7] यथासंबद्धयमान-
[8]कननु-

12 दर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया हस्तवप्रहरण्यामक्षसरकप्रावेश्य[9]

Plate A_2.

13 ज्येष्ठानकग्रामे उत्तरसीम्नि पादावर्त्तशतं षष्ठ्यधिकं तस्मिन्नव[10] ग्रामव[11]व्यशुनकः

14 सगोत्राणां छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारीणां[12] ब्रह्मणमाधवपूर्व्वभुज्यभुज्यमानक[13](:) मातापित्रा-

15 पुण्याप्यायनायात्मना[14]श्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावाप्तिनिमित्ता[15]माचन्द्रार्का-
र्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्-

16 पर्व्वतस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य[16] सशैबरं सहि[र*] ण्यादेयं सभूतवा-
तप्रत्यायविशुद्धा[17]

17 उदकातिसर्गेण ब्रह्मदेयं निसृष्टं[18][।*] यतः एषां ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुजता[19]
कृषतां प्रदिशताश्च[20]

18 स्वल्पाप्याबधा[21] विचारणा वा न कार्य्यास्मद्वंशजैर[22]गामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्च[23] नित्या-
न्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं

19 सामान्य[24] च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य [:।*] (उ) यश्चच्छिन्द्या-
दच्छिद्यमानं[25] वानुमोदे-

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[5] From the original plates, and a set of estampages.

[6] Up to this, the text is practically identical with the text of the Pālitānā plate of Dhruvasēna I. (dated *saṃvat* 206), published above, Vol. XI, pp. 106 ff. The only *variæ lectiones* are unimportant mistakes of orthography, which it would be unnecessary to register individually as the facsimiles are there for reference.

[7] Read °न्यांश्च. [8] Read °काननु-.

[9] In the original a short horizontal stroke after य. [10] Read त्रैंव.

[11] A short vacant space between व and व्य. Read ग्रामवास्तव्य°.

[12] Read °चारिणां ब्राह्मण°.

[13] Read °पूर्व्वभुक्तभुज्यमान°. The *anusvāra* is written over the line between क and मा. The letters *pūrvvā-bhujyā-bhujyamānakaḥ* have been engraved over some faintly incised letters.

[14] Read न. [15] Read त्त. [16] Read ज्य.

[17] Read द्धं. [18] Read ष्ट. [19] Read भंजतां.

[20] Read तांश्च. [21] Read °बाधा. [22] Read रा.

[23] Read श्चा. [24] Read न्यं. [25] Read यश्चाच्छिन्दादाच्छि.

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[108] 20 त्स पंचभिः महापातकैस्सोपपातकैस्संयुक्तस्य[26]दपि चात्र व्यासगीताः श्लोका
भवन्ति [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा
21 भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[ः ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत
22 वसुन्धरां [।*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तु[ः*] [27]प्राप्नोति किल्बिषां[28] [॥*] पूर्व्व-
दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्वक्ष युधिष्ठर(ः) [।*]
23 महिं[29] महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् [॥*] दूतकः प्रतीहारमम्मकः [॥*]
सं २०० ७ वैशाख[30] ब ५ [॥*]
24 स्वहस्तो मम महाराजध्र[व*]सेनस्य [॥*] लिखितां किक्केनति[31] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[Ll. 1-11 contain the usual preamble; for translation, cf., for instance, that of the opening lines of the Pālitānā plates, No. 1, edited by Prof. KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 108.]

(Ll. 12-16.) Be it known to you that for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) mother and father, and for the sake of the attainment of the desired reward both in this world and in the next, I have confirmed, as *brahma-dēya*, with libation of water, (the enjoyment of) one hundred and sixty *pādāvarttas*, on the northern boundary of the Jyēshṭhānaka village belonging to the Akshasaraka-*prāvēśya* in the Hastavapra-*haraṇī*, which had (formerly) been and are (still) being enjoyed (by the donee[32]), for (the benefit of) the resident of the same village, (namely,) the Brāhmaṇ Mādhava of the Śunaka *gōtra*, a student of the Chhandōga School,—to last for the same time as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of his sons and sons' sons,—with (?) *śaibara*, with gold (and) *ādēya*, with *bhūta*, *vāta*, and (?) surety of holding (*pratyāya*).

(Ll. 17-19.) Wherefore, no enquiry should be made or obstruction caused (to him) by any one, while he is, according to the proper conditions of a *brahma-dēya*, enjoying, cultivating, or assigning (it to others). And this our gift should be assented to by those born in our lineage, and by future good kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common. And he who

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26 Read स्म्या.

27 Over प्रा there is a peculiar sign, the meaning of which is not apparent. [I think it is *upadhmānīya*.—Ed.]

28 Read षं. 29 Read हीं. 30 Read वैशाख.

31 Read नेति.

32 The construction of line 14 is somewhat confused; it is not clear who the donee was, or who, at the time of the grant, was in possession of the land which is the object of the grant. As it stands, the text does not make any sense; my rendering is conjectural.

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confiscates it or assents to its confiscation incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor ones.

(Ll. 20-22.) There are also two verses sung by Vyāsa about this.

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 23.) The *dūtaka* is the *pratīhāra* Mammaka. (Dated the) 5th (*tithi*) of the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha (in the) year 200 7.

(L. 24.) (This is) the sign-manual of me *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna [I.]. Written by Kikkaka.

B.—ANOTHER PLATE OF [DHRUVASENA I.].

This plate, which contains only the opening portion of a land-grant of the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna I., is inscribed on one side only and measures roughly $10\frac{3}{4}''$ broad by $6\frac{1}{2}''$ high. The [109] edges are just slightly raised, in order to protect the writing, which is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The letters, which are deeply incised, show through on the reverse side of the plate. The engraving is well executed. The plate has a pair of holes bored at two adjacent corners and intended for receiving the ring and seal, which are missing. Its weight is 56 *tōlas*. It contains fifteen lines of writing. The letters are of the period to which the plate refers itself, and of the type met with on other plates of the Maitraka dynasty. In short, this record is exactly like any of the large number of grants of Dhruvasēna I, that have latterly been brought to light. A detailed description of the characters, language and orthography of these plates, or even an English rendering of the text, seems superfluous. We may take it for granted that the *dūtaka* of this grant was the *pratīhāra* Mammaka, and the writer Kikkaka.

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna [I.] to the Brāhmaṇa Śāntiśarman of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, [a student of] the Vāji[sanēya] School and a resident of Nagaraka, either bestowing upon him or confirming him in the possession of one hundred *pādāvarttas* of land on the south-eastern boundary of the village of Bhadrēṇikā, situated in Surāshṭrā.

I am unable to identify Bhadrēṇikā. Nagaraka is probably Vaḍnagar, the home of the Nāgar Brāhmans.

TEXT.[33]

Plate B.

12 . . . [34]महासामन्तमहाराजध्रुवसेनङ्कुशली सर्व्वानेव स्वानायुक्तक-

13 विनियुक्तकमहत्तरद्रांगिकध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणिकादीनन्यांश्च यथासंबद्धयमानकान-

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[33] From the original plate, and a set of estampages.

[34] Up to this the text is practically identical with the text of the Pālitānā Plate of Dhruvasēna I. (dated 206), published above, Vol. XI, pp. 105 ff. In l. 6, read °*t-pād-ābhipranāma*° for °*t-pābhīpraṇāma*; and *Manvādinā* for °*dinā*.

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14 नुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा सुराष्ट्रायां भद्रेणिकाग्रामस्य पूर्व्वदक्षिण-
सिन्नि[35]

15 पादावर्त्तशतं नगरकवास्तव्यब्राह्मणशान्तिशम्मण आत्रेयसगोत्राय वाजि[36]-

POSTSCRIPT.

A PLATE OF DHRUVASENA DATED SAM. 206.

Since writing the above I have come across a new Valabhī plate containing the concluding portion of a grant of Dhruvasēna dated in *saṁ*. 206, about which I should like to add a few words in continuation of the above note on the Bhavnagar plates. This new plate was placed in my hands for decipherment by Mr. J. C. CHATTERJEE, Dharmādhyaksha (Secretary in the Ecclesiastical Department) to the Government of His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda. It was sent to him, he told me, officially from Kathiawad for decipherment : that is all that I could elicit from him regarding its previous history. The plate is $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad ; the edges are raised to protect the writing, which is in a state of perfect preservation ; and the characters belong to the period to which the plate refers itself : in one word, the grant is similar in every respect to the records of the Valabhī king that have hitherto came to light. [110] The inscription is one of *Māhārāja* Dhruvasēna [I.] and records the grant of a village (of which the name must have occurred in the missing portion of the grant and is therefore now lost) to a Brāhmaṇa named Rotghamitra of the Vrajagaṇa *gōtra*, a student of the Chhandōga School, and resident of Siṁhapura, for the maintenance of certain sacrifices. The grant is dated saṁ. 200 6, Āśvina śukla 3. The *saṁvat* year, when referred to the Valabhī era, yields A.D. (206 + 319) 525. The *dūtaka* was Mammaka, and the writer Kikkaka, as usual.

The only point worthy of notice in this grant is the village-name Siṁhapura, which is mentioned in it as the residence of the grantee. It is tempting to identify it with Sīhōr in the east of the Kathiawad peninsula, a junction on the Bhavanagar-Wadhwan Railway, not far from Valā, the ancient Valabhī.

[KATHIAWAD PLATE OF DHRUVASENA [1.]

TEXT.[37]

1 rṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sthiti-samakālīnaṁ putra-pautr-ānvaya-
bhōjyaṁ bali-

2 charu-vaiśvadēv-ādyānāṁ kriyāṇāṁ samutsarppaṇ-ārtthaṁ Siṁha-
pura-vāstavya brāhmaṇa-Rōtghamitrāya

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35 Read सीम्नि

36 The rest of the inscription is missing.

37 From the original plate and a set of impressions.

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3 Vrajagaṇa-sa-gōtrāya (Ch) Chhandōga-sa-brahmachāriṇē brahma-dāyaṁ nisṛishṭaṁ [*] yatō = sy = ōchitayā brahma-

4 dēya-sthityā bhuṁjataḥ kṛishataḥ pradiśatah = karshāpayataś = cha na kaiś = chit = svalpāpy = ābādhā vichāraṇā vā

5 kāryy = āsmad-vaṁśajair = āguṁmi[38]-nṛipatibhiś = ch = ānityāny = aiśvairyyāṇy = asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ ch = āvēkshya sāmānyaṁ cha

6 bhūmi-dāna-phalam = avagachchhadbhir = ayam = asmad-dāyō = numantavyō yaś = ch = āchchhindyād = āchchhidyamānaṁ v = ānumōdēt

7 sa pañchabhir = mahā pātakais = s-opapātakais = saṁyuktas = syād = api ch = ātra Vyāsa gītan ślōkau

8 bhavataḥ [|*] shashṭiṁ [*] varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ[|*] āchchhettā ch = ānumantā cha tāny = ēva narakē

9 vasēt [|| *] sva-dattāṁ para-dattā[ṁ*] = vvā yō harēta vasun-dharāṁ [|*] gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya hantu[ḥ*] prāpn ti

10 kilbisham[||*] = iti sva-hastō mama mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [||*] dūtakaḥ pratīhāra Mammakaḥ [||*]

11 likhitaṁ Kikkakena [||*] saṁ 200 6 Āśvayuja śu 3 [||*]

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38 [Read *āgami*.—Ed.]

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VIII.—ON THE HOME OF THE SO-CALLED ANDHRA KINGS*

It is many decades since the discovery of certain Brahmi inscriptions, belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, led to the recognition of a dynasty of kings claiming to belong to the Satavahana family or tribe.[1] The inscriptions themselves yield very little direct information regarding the home or the sphere of influence of this family of ruling princes. But it was soon discovered that the names that were gleaned from these inscriptions (agreeing in part with those inscribed on certain coins which were almost simultaneously brought to light) had their analogues in the names of certain other kings who, in the Puranic geneologies, are called Andhras.[2] And as there was no *a priori* reason why the Satavahanas should not be Andhras, scholars, who were assiduously collating every scrap of information bearing on the history of this dynasty, were not slow in availing themselves of this help, meagre as it was; straightway they adopted the Puranic nomenclature and labelled these kings Andhras. That proved to be a good starting-point for further speculation regarding their history. The name Andhra suggested at once a connection with the land of the Andhras, which roughly corresponds to the modern Telugu country, and with the Andhra people, of whom there are notices in yet older inscriptions, and in the chronicles of foreign travellers and historians. Round this fragile frame-work, connecting the Satavahanas with the Andhras, was built up an edifice of Satavahana-Andhra history, and a dogmatic version of it (for instance, the account of the Andhra dynasty in Vincent SMITH's *Early History of India*)[3] was placed before the public as an authentic account of the fortunes of [22] the family. So long as a historical narration does not contradict the few directions that are enclosed by a limited number of indisputable records, and contains no inherent improbabilities, there is every chance of its passing muster and of its being accepted as a fact. Thus it comes about that after its formulation it has never occurred to any one to challenge the Andhra affinities of the Satavahanas set forth in the text books, based as it is on the flimsiest of foundations. Here and there it is quite

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* [*Annals BORI*, 1. 21-42].

1 The following list gives all the inscriptions that can with greater or less degree of certainty be ascribed to these kings. LÜDERS, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, Appendix) Nos. 346, 987, 994, 1001, 1002, 1024, 1100, 1105, 1106, 1112-18, 1122-26, 1141, 1144, 1146, 1147, 1248, 1279, 1340, 1341.

2 See RAPSON'S *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., (B. M. 1908), Introduction; and PARGITER'S *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age* (Oxford 1913) under the Andhras.

3 *Early History of India* (1914), p. 206 ff.

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patent to the reader of these accounts, that the author is stretching a point; but a little latitude is always allowed to the constructive historian for the play of his imagination. Now and again he comes across an unsupported assertion that on reflection may be found to fall considerably short of the truth : as, for instance, Vincent SMITH's view that Sri-Kakulam (on the lower course of the Krsna) was the capital of these 'Andhra' kings, a view which is based on a piece of thoroughly worthless evidence, as is shown by P. T. Srinivas IYENGAR in his article entitled 'Misconceptions about the Andhras.'[4] But there are yet larger discrepancies which only a rigorous and unbiassed examination of the entire material—epigraphic, historical, numismatic, and legendary—will disclose, such as I had to undertake in connection with the editing of a new inscription of Vasisthiputra Sri-Pulumavi,[5] discovered in 1915 in a little-known village in the Bellari District. In that connection I was confronted with the question whether the facts of the Satavahana history necessarily demanded that the home of the Satavahanas should be placed, as has hitherto been done, in (what was later called) the Andhradesa. The results of the investigation and the successive steps by which I arrived at them are set forth in the sequel.

The Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate grant[6] which was issued by the Pallava Siva-Skandavarman for the purpose of confirming and enlarging a donation made by the *Maharaja* Bappasvamin to certain Brahmanas, incidentally supplies us with a very interesting place-name, to wit, Satahani-rattha, which *rattha* (province) is there said to include the settlement named Cillareka, of which the Brahman donees were *bhojakas* (i.e. probably, freeholders). BÜHLER, [23] who edited the grant, did not succeed in identifying the localities mentioned in it.[7] Indeed the villages remain still unidentified. But we can now claim to be able to locate the province named in the grant, which we are enabled to do on account of the discovery, already mentioned, of an inscription incised in the reign of Sri-Pulumavi, which contains another place-name having evident affinities with the name under reference. This inscription[8] of Pulumavi (referred to in the sequel as the Myakadoni inscription) is incised on a boulder situated midway between the villages of Myakadoni and Cinna-Kadaburu at a distance of about eight miles from Adoni in the Bellari District. The object of the inscription is to record the sinking of a reservoir by a certain householder (*gahapatika*), who was resident of the village of Vepudaka situated in the province (*janapada*) called Satavahani-hara, a name which at once recalls to our mind the Satahani-rattha of the copper-plate grant mentioned above. The inscribed boulder is a perfectly sure landmark fixing a point situated in the ancient province (*janapada*) of Satavahani-hara,

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4 *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, pp. 276 ff.
5 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, p. 153 ff.
6 LÜDERS' *List* No. 1200.
7 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 2 ff.
8 For transcript and translation see the Appendix to this article.

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a point which roughly corresponds to the modern Adoni, the headquarters of a Taluqa of the same name in the Bellari District.

From the copper-plates themselves we can elicit nothing regarding the situation of the province mentioned in them; for, as already stated, the village-names also, which might have given us an indication regarding the location of the province containing them, have hitherto defied all attempts at identification. But we shall bring to bear on this question the scrap of topographical information gleaned from the Myakadoni inscription, namely, that the modern Adoni was included in the province of Satavahani-hara, and see what result the comparison yields.

At the time when the plate were edited the signification of the word Satahani-rattha had remained obscure. But now it is quite evident that this name stands in close agreement with the Satavahani-hara of the inscription. Satahani and Satavahani mean one and the same thing: the former is only a corruption of the latter. Both place-names are derived from the tribal name of the so-called [24] Andhra kings, who, as was stated above, all claimed to belong to the family or tribe of the Satavahanas (or Sātavāhanas.[9] Whether the *areas* Satavahani-hara and Satahani-rattha are identical or not is a question more difficult to answer. *Rattha* (*rastra*) is generally used to denote a province, realm, empire, or even a country (as in Maharastra, Surastra, etc.) The word *hara* (i.e., *ahara*), on the other hand, which is often used indiscriminately to denote a district or country, applies, as a rule, to a smaller territorial division than what we understand by a kingdom or province; that is, it generally refers only to a district. Apparently therefore, the geographical names in the two records, as they stand, do not correspond exactly with each other. But the precise connotation of the word *ahara* in the Myakadoni inscription appears to be given by its being specifically called a *janapada*; and a *janapada*, I think, very nearly conveys the same meaning as *rattha* (*rastra*). Moreover, it should be remembered that Hira-Hadagalli, the village where the plates were purchased, is also situated in the Bellari district; and it is probably not a matter of mere coincidence that the find-place of the copper-plate charter and the spot where the Myakadoni inscription stands, should both be included within the small compass of the Bellari district. If the find-place of the grant may now be supposed to be not far distant from the object of the grant (which is by no means invariably the case), then the modern Hira-Hadagalli may be taken to mark approximately another point situated within, or in the neighbourhood of, Satavahanihara-Satahanirattha. We should at any rate not go far wrong in assuming that the two place-names are terms which, if not synonymous, were the names of areas situated within or close to each other.

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[9] In the sequel I have adopted the spelling Sātavahana.

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However that may be, we have here an unquestionable proof of the existence of a proviso called after the Satavahanas, a country that extended at least as far west as Adoni, and perhaps even further up to the western boundary of the modern Bellari district. The province must evidently have been so called on account of some intimate connection between the land and the people concerned. Of what nature can this relation be? A glance at any map of [25] ancient India will supply the answer. It will show us how common at one time the practice of naming the country after its early inhabitants was. The Matsya lend their name to the Matsya country, the Magadhas to Magadha, the Kosalas to Kosala, the Ratthas (or Rastrakutas) to Maharastra. The kingdoms of the Kalingas, the Colas, the Pandyas and the Keralaputras, which owe their names to the early inhabitants of those countries, preserve these names up to quite modern times. Examples of this usage may be indefinitely multiplied, not only from the history of India but from that of other countries as well. The intimate connection referred to above must, therefore, be one of original occupation. And we may, on ground of the evidence so far considered, not unreasonably surmise that the country had taken its name from the Satavahanas because these people had since very early times, probably already in the pre-historic period, established themselves there. As an alternative solution it may, conformably to the theory of the Andhra origin of the Satavahanas, be proposed that the early kings of this dynasty had proceeded thither from their home in (what in mediæval times was known as) the Andhradesa, made themselves master of the country, and renamed the land of their conquest after themselves. The answer to it is that there is no precedent to justify such an assumption. The Satavahanas had carried their conquest far and wide in India, both to the north and south of the Narmada. In the Nasik inscription[10] of the Bala-Sri, Sri-Satakarni is called the king of Surastra, Aparanta, Vidarbha, Akaravanti; many other lands and mountains are named besides; but all of them retain their names known to us from other sources. The Satavahanas had not ventured to alter the names of the countries of their conquest. These considerations lead us to look upon the province known then as Satavahani-hara (or in later times as Satahani rattha) as the *original* habitat of the Satavahanas, a conclusion which, I fear, will not find favour with scholars as it militates strongly against the accepted view on the subject. It is customary to interpret the history of the Satavahanas as though it were a migration from the east to the west. Thus Vincent [26] SMITH,[11] apparently voicing the unanimous verdict of scholars on the point, says: 'The Andhras [i.e. the Satavahanas] ..... set up as an independent power under the government of a king named Simuka. The new dynasty extended its sway with such *extraordinary* [italics mine] rapidity that, in the reign of the second king, Krishna (Kanha), the town of Nasik, near the source of the Godavari in the western ghats, was

[10] LÜDERS' *List* No. 1123.

[11] *Early History*, p. 207.

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included in the Andhra dominions, which thus stretched across India.' It may not be superfluous to point out that these two heroes, Simuka and Kanha, 'whom eternal night holds unwept and unhonoured,' owe the resuscitation of their glories purely to the inventive genius of a historian. For, if the truth be told, nothing more is known about these kings beyond the bare fact that the name of the one occurs in an inscription at Nanaghat and of the other at Nasik !

Owing to the heterodox nature of the above conclusion regarding the home of the Satavahanas which is arrived at merely from a consideration of certain topographical information supplied by two inscriptions, it will be necessary for me first to refute the established theory of the 'Andhra' affinities of the Satavahanas from an independent standpoint. This I shall do by showing that the hypothesis is in entire disagreement with the other known facts about the Satavahana kings, facts which fall into their correct perspective only when we assume that the Satavahanas formed a tribe which was originally not even remotely connected with the Andhra country.[12]

In order to avoid every misunderstanding on the point I must state at the outset that I am not here concerned with the larger question of the home of the Andhra people. My contention is merely that the home of Simuka, Krsna and their descendants was not the Andhradesa, which is commonly and rightly identified with the country of the basins of the Godavari and Krsna. The attempt [27] to seek (as one writer[13] does) in the passage from the *Aitareya Brahmana* in which the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, and Pulindas are referred to as Dasyu tribes living on the fringe of the Aryan civilisation, an indication of the Andhras' being a Vindhyan tribe appears to me to be a vicious circle. For, neither do we know the habitat—at least not the original habitat—of the Pundras, Sabaras, and Pulindas, nor have we any information as to the exact limits of Aryan domination in those days. The Andhras have, on the other hand, in literature, been far oftener associated with the Kalingas, Colas and Pandyas ;[14] and as these appear to have from time immemorial occupied approximately the same geographical positions in which we find them at the dawn of history, it is not unlikely that the Andhras might have done likewise. Everything *points* to their having occupied from very early times the same place as in the time of Varahamihira[14a] and Hiuen Tsiang[14b] (ca. A.D.

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12 Here I emphasise the point that the arguments set forth in the sequel to discredit the Puranic statement are *absolutely independent* of the above hypothesis that Satavahanihara-Satahanirattha was the *home* of the Satavahanas and that it lay outside the Andhradesa ; in no way do they imply or necessitate its assumption.

13 P. T. Srinivas IYENGAR, *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, pp. 276 ff.

14 See for instance *Sabhaparva*, Chapter 31, and the passage quoted by Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR from the *Ramayana* on p. 4 of the *Early History of the Deccan*.

14a *Brhatsamhita* (ed. KERN) Chapter 14, v. 8.

14b BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Trübner's Oriental Series, Popular Edition), ii. 217 ff.

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630, when for the first time we come across a definite statement regarding the situation and extent of the Andhra country), but one cannot be absolutely certain. It is true that in the Asoka inscriptions the Andhras are once (Edict XIII) placed in a class different from their Dravidian neighbours, and reckoned with the Bhojas, Pitinikas, and Pulindas. That does not help us further. For, the habitat of the Bhojas is unknown, that of the Pitinikas doubtful, and of the Pulindas (which appears to be a name used vaguely for savage hill-tribes) uncertain. Moreover it should seem that the principle underlying the grouping of these people in the passage under consideration is administrative,—in other words, one depending on the degree of independence enjoyed by the rulers of these countries—and not topographical.[15] The classification is therefore for our purpose without significance.

[28] We shall now turn our attention to the genesis of the assumption that the Satavahanas are Andhras. The very earliest source that connects the Satavahanas with the Andhras is the Puranic literature; and it may be added that outside the Puranas there is not a single independent authority that asserts, or in any way implies, this relation. One thinks confusedly of Greek authorities in this connection. It may therefore be emphatically stated that nothing that the Greek historians have to say on the matter can be looked upon as lending colour to the Puranic statement, as any one who takes the trouble of examining the original text may without difficulty convince himself. The fact of the matter is that those passages from Greek authors which explicitly mention the Andhra country and the Andhra people contain no reference to the Satavahanas; while on the other hand, those in which certain Satavahana kings are mentioned teaches us that the Satavahana kings have nothing to say about the Andhras. It is only constructive history which teaches us that the Satavahana kings mentioned in one place are the same as the Andhras spoken of in another, a fiction at the bottom of which lies the very same Puranic authority. Of the Chinese pilgrims, I believe, only Hiuen Tsiang describes the Andhra country at length; but he has nothing to say about any one of the so-called Andhra kings, an omission which is immaterial as it may satisfactorily be explained on the ground that the Buddhist pilgrim visited the country more than three centuries after the extinction of this line of kings. The Andhra (Telugu) literature is also easily disposed of. We learn with surprise that the Andhras themselves have preserved no memory, not in any shape whatsoever, of those illustrious 'Andhra' kings whose dominions stretched across India and who had succeeded in holding sway over a large part of Southern India for the unusually prolonged period of nearly four centuries.

Regarding the Puranic material itself a word may be added. 'A glance at the formidable list of *variae lectiones* published with the text of extracts

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[15] See RAPSON's *Catalogue*, p. xvi, foot-note 2.

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collected by PARGITER[16] will convince anyone of the futility of trying to get a reliable and in every way satisfactory text. I shall not dwell on the variant lists of kings, nor on the divergent [29] figures given for the lengths of their reign; nor, lastly, on the ingenious attempts made by scholars to reconcile these discrepancies,[17] as it is not necessary for my purpose. It is amusing, however, to note that there is no unanimity among the Puranas even as to the name to be applied to this line of kings. Some of the Puranas call these kings Andhras; others call them Andhrabhrtyas; and there are others still that call them by both names.[18] The majority of the Puranas, however, distinguish between the Andhras and the Andhrabhrtyas and state that the Andhrabhrtyas succeeded the Andhras; most of them agree in applying the term *bhrtya* to them, implying that these kings were originally feudatories of a paramount power. The hopeless confusion on the point whether the Satavahanas were Andhras or Andhrabhrtyas will be made still more apparent when it is remembered that while, on the one hand, Sir Ramakrishna BHANDARKAR calls these kings Andhrabhrtyas throughout his account of that dynasty in the *Early History of the Dekkhan*,[19] on the other hand, Vincent SMITH never so much as mentions that name in his *Early History*.[20] RAPSON is undecided. Sometimes he uses the term Andhrabhrtya to denote the main branch of the Satavahana family, and sometimes the feudatories of these! Thus p. xv footnote 1, while referring to the Satavahana dynasty he says that it 'was called also Andhrabhrtya or Satavahana'; and subsequently while speaking about certain coins from the Chitaldrug district, he observes that these may 'have been struck by the feudatories of the Andhras (*Andhrabhrtyah*) who rose into power in the western and southern districts after the reign of Sri-Yajna"![21]

Now if the term Andhrabhrtya is taken to mean 'dependents or feudatories *of* the Andhras,' there is evidently a deal of difference in meaning between the epithets Andhra and Andhrabhrtya: the feudatories of the Andhras need not necessarily be Andhras. But the ambiguity of the expression covers the difference of meaning, as [30] the compound may be equally well treated as a Karmadharaya (as is done by Sir Ramakrishna)[22] and then taken to mean 'Andhras who were feudatories,' naturally of some other power. However, this ingenious way out of the difficulty does not appear to have appealed to other scholars; and with due deference to the veteran Orientalist, it must indeed be admitted that, though from the point of view of the gram-

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16 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 35 ff.
17 Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Deccan*, (1884), p. 23 ff.
18 See PARGITER *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, l. c.
19 See p. 17, and *passim*.
20 See the Index.
21 RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. lxxxiii, foot-note 2.
22 *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

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marian the solution proposed by Sir Ramakrishna is unexceptionable, it would be more natural to treat the compound as a Dependent Determinative (Tatpurusa), especially in regard to the parallel phrase Sungabhrtya[23] applied to the Kanvas and occurring also in the Puranic genealogies, in which Sir Ramakrishna[24] also sees a pointed reference to the Kanvas being the servants of the Sungas.

Having established that the theory of the Andhra connection of the Satavahanas rests upon the uncorroborated, and at the same time equivocal, statement of the Puranas, we shall now turn our attention to other facts of their history with a view to ascertain if the statement of the Puranas is borne out by these facts.

We shall in the first instance turn to the epigraphic material. The first thing we notice is that in none of the inscriptions (about two dozen in number) engraved during the régime of these kings is there any reference to their alleged affinity with the Andhras. In these records they are invariably referred to by their *kula* name Satavahana or a variant of it. The Hathigumpha inscription[25] of Kharavela, the Girnar inscription[26] of Rudradaman, and the Talagunda inscription[27] of the Kadamba Kakutsthavarman, which are among the contemporary records mentioning various Satavahana kings, never refer to them as Andhras. If the Andhra nation, which was reputed 'to possess a military force second only to that at the command of the king of the Prasii Chandragupta Maurya,' [31] had evoked the admiration even of foreign chroniclers,[28] one naturally wonders at this conspiracy of silence regarding this illustrious lineage on the part of the contemporary documents. The inevitable conclusion might still be ignored by some critics on account of the negative character of the evidence on which it rests. Let us therefore also examine some positive evidence and see what that yields. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela tells us that the Kalinga king, 'without entertaining any fear of Satakani, sent a large army *to the west*,[29] evidently with a view to invade the dominions of his powerful enemy. Were we now to take a map of India in hand and try to explain why Kharavela should send a large army to the *west* when his enemy, who is alleged to be the king of the Andhra country, lay due *south* of him, the incongruity of the Andhra theory will become manifest. Provided that Kharavela was at war with the Andhra king, the fate of the invader who indulged in the quixotic attempt of sending his army *to the west*, would not have been a matter worthy of glorification. In any such attempt the invader would inevitably have exposed his flank to

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[23] Vayu Purana : *catvarah Sungabhrtyas te nrpah Kanvayana dvijah.*
[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.
[25] LÜDERS' *List* No. 1345.
[26] LÜDERS' *List* No. 965.
[27] Ed. KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 24 ff.
[28] ELLIOT, *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 9 ff.
[29] LÜDERS' *List* No. 1345.

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a murderous attack all along the contiguous frontier of the enemy king; and it will not be seriously suggested that he could have advanced by a circuitous northern route to attack an outlying western possession of his southern neighbour. That would have been equally disastrous. The expedition of Kharavela, I maintain, can only be explained on the assumption that, in Kharavela's time at least, the kingdom of the Satavahanas lay entirely, or at any rate principally, to the *west* of the Kalinga country.

The next point to be considered in this connection is the geographical distribution of the inscriptions of the Satavahanas. By far the largest number of their inscriptions is at Nasik, where there are eight records engraved in the reigns of different kings: there are five at Kanheri, three at Karle, two at Amaravati, one large and several very short ones at Nanaghat and one each at Bhelsa, Myakadoni, Cina, and Kodavolu. Of the nearly two dozen records mentioned here there are exactly *four* from the Andhradesa! Thus the [32] topographical distribution of the inscriptions hitherto discovered supports, in my opinion, emphatically the view that the centre of gravity of the power of the Satavahanas lay in the *west* of India.

A study of the distribution of these inscriptions in point of time relative to the locality is still more instructive. The following is a list (approximately chronological) of the inscriptions of the Satavahana dynasty, giving the find places and the regnal years. All but three (viz. Nos. 6, 20, and 21) of these inscriptions are such as either were engraved by order of a ruling prince of this dynasty or refer themselves to the reign of one of them; the three inscriptions which are mentioned as exceptions were engraved by persons in the employ of these kings.

[33] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SATAVAHANA DYNASTY

Name of king or queen.	Find-place.	Regnal year	Remarks. (The numbers refer to LÜDERS' List, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, App.)
1. Simuka Satavahana	Nanaghat	(No date)	No. 1113. An image of king Simuka.
2. Krsna[30]	Nasik	"	No. 1144.
3. Sri-Satakarni; Devi Naganika, queen of Sri-Satakarni and mother of Vedi-sri and Sakti-srimat (Hakusiri).	Nanaghat	....	Nos. 1112, 1114, and 1117. Along with these are to be taken the inscribed images of Kumara Satavahana and others.[31]

[30] Krsna appears to have ruled before Sri-Satakarni. See RAPSON, *Op. cit.*, p. xix.

[31] These have not been enumerated separately, as it is not certain whether the persons concerned had actually reigned.

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[34] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SATAVAHANA DYNASTY—(*Continued*)

Name of king or queen.	Find-place.	Regnal year	Remarks. (The numbers refer to LÜDERS' List, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, App.)
4. Sri Satakarni	Bhelsa	....	No. 346. Probably an early king. His place in the chronological list is uncertain.
5. Madhariputra-svami	Kanheri	8	No. 1001. The name is read as Sakasena, which is probably a mislection.[32] The first part of this word is probably *siri*. Chronological place doubtful.
6. Do.	„	(Year lost)	No. 1002. See the remarks against No. 5.
[34] 7. Gautamiputra Sri-Satakarni	Nasik	18	No. 1125.
8. Do.	Karle	1 [8]	„ 1105.
9. Do.	Nasik	24	„ 1126.
10. Vasisthiputra - Sri - Pulumavi	„	2	„ 1147.
11. Do.	„	6	„ 1122.
12. Do.	Karle	7	„ 1100.
13. Do.	Myakadoni[33]	8	*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, p. 153 ff.
14. Do.	Nasik	19	Nos. 1123, 1124.
15. Do.	„	22	No. 1124.
16. Do.	Karle	24	„ 1106.
17. Do.	Amaravati	(Year lost)	„ 1248.
18. Vasisthiputra - Sri-Satakarni	Kanheri	....	No. 994.[34] The king mentioned therein is *not* to be identified with the previous king. Chronological place doubtful.
[35] 19. Sri-Sivamaka Satakarni	Amaravati	....	No. 1279.
20. Gautamiputra Sri-Yajna Satakarni	Nasik	7	„ 1146.
21. Gautamiputra Sri-Yajna Satakarni	Kanheri	16	„ 1024.
22. Gautamiputra Sri-Yajna Satakarni	Cina (Krishna Dist.)	27	„ 1340.
23. Gautamiputra Sri-Yajna Satakarni	Kanheri	(Year lost)	„ 987.
24. Vasisthiputra Sri-Chanda (or Chandra) Satakarni	Kodavolu	? 13	„ 1341.

[32] RAPSON's (*Op. cit.*, p. xlvii) correction is extremely doubtful.

[33] For transcript and translation of this new inscription see the Appendix at the end.

[34] The connection in which the queen is named in this inscription is not apparent. Vasisthiputra-Sri-Satakarni is commonly identified with the famous Vasisthiputra-Sri-Pulumavi, see RAPSON, *Op. cit.*, p. li. But to me it is extremely doubtful whether one and the same king can be assumed to bear both the names Satakarni and Pulumavi ; it appears to me that the terms are mutually exclusive.

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[36] Of course the discovery of new inscriptions in unexpected quarters might scatter to the winds all the fine theories based upon our present knowledge. But the above list, as it stands, it seems to me, supports my contention in an unmistakable manner. The earliest inscriptions are all from Western India; and it is not until the time of Vasisthiputra Sri Pulumavi, the [Siro]-Ptolemaios of Ptolemy (ca. A.D. 150), that we meet with an inscription of any king of this dynasty from the Andhradesa. Bhelsa, it may be remarked, stands high in the list; then follow Amaravati, Cina (Krishna Dist.) and Kodavolu. The Satavahanas had undoubtedly overrun and conquered the Andhra country; but their earliest possessions were, the inscriptions seem to tell us, in Western India. I have suggested above that the tribe to which this line of kings belonged must be regarded as the autochthons of the inland province named Satavahani-hara, a tract of land which has not yet been identified with certainty but which lay, probably, considerably to the west of the Andhra country. We may now proceed one step further and say that the Satavahanas, who were settled in Satavahani-hara, had first made themselves masters of the northern portion of the western Ghats, and even subdued some part of Malava before turning their attention to the conquest of the Andhradesa.

It might have been expected that in that highly interesting inscription[35] from the Nasik Pandu Lena of Bala-sri, the mother of Gautamiputra, we should find definite information regarding the extent of the Satavahana dominions. Unfortunately the topographical information to be gleaned from it is very meagre, partly on account of our inability to identify satisfactorily all the place-names mentioned in it, and partly because the terms in which the relation between the lands named and their overlord is couched leave it doubtful whether the list is intended to represent the extent of Gautamiputra's entire possessions or that of his conquests merely. Moreover, on account of the ambiguity attaching to the term Daksinapatha, which in its widest significance includes the whole of the peninsula south of the Vindhyas, and in its narrowest the country between the Narmada on the north and 'a variable line [37] along the course of the Krsna exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east,'[36] the geographical data of the inscription remains for us enveloped in an impenetrable mist of vagueness. Indeed it is not possible to identify with certainty even the country round Nasik (where the inscription itself) with any of the countries named in the record unless it be included in the capacious folds of Daksinapatha; it is probably intended to be conveyed by the mountain name Sahya (Western Ghats). It may, however, be remarked that the kingdoms recognising the suzerainty of this Satavahana king, so far as they can be identified, are all in Western India, and include not a

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35 LÜDERS' *List* No. 1123.

36 BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 1 ff.

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single country definitely identifiable with any portion of the Andhradesa,—again with the exception of the Daksinapatha, which, as remarked above, may indeed imply any part, or even the whole, of the Indian Peninsula south of the Vindhyas.[37]

A word may be added here regarding the language of these inscriptions, which is either Sanskrit or some form of Prakrit ; no Satavahana inscription written in a Dravidian tongue has yet come to light. This fact has the appearance of supporting my contention that the Satavahanas were not Dravidians. Such is however not the case. The earliest Telugu epigraphic record known, I understand, is an inscription of the Eastern Calukya king Jayasimha I and dates from the sixth century A.D. It may therefore be that, at the period under consideration, Telugu was not yet raised to the dignity of a literary dialect, a fact which would sufficiently account for the use of Prakrit or Sanskrit in the inscriptions of the Satavahanas even though the latter had been unquestionably Dravidians.

The conclusions regarding the home and the movement of the Satavahanas to which we are led by a consideration of the epigraphic material are corroborated in a remarkable manner by the numismatic evidence. The earliest coins of this dynasty, we find, were all picked up in Western India. If we open RAPSON'S *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty, etc.*, the very first coin on the register [38] will be seen to be that of Sri Sata (identified by RAPSON with Sri-Satakarni of the Nanaghat inscription) of which we are told that it shows the Malava fabric and was picked up in Western India. Coin No. 2 which is of the same type as coin No. 1 was found in Western India ; No. 3 was also picked up in Western India, but it is doubtful if it belongs to this series. Then follows a coin (No. 4) which will be discussed presently. The subsequent coins (Nos. 5—32) are like Nos. 1—3 from Western India. Thus all the early coins (Nos. 1—32) with the exception of No. 4 were picked up in Western India and presumably were current only there. The exception is a coin of—Vira found in the Andhradesa. Why RAPSON should have placed this coin here more than anywhere else is a mystery, unless the reason be supposed to lie in RAPSON'S reluctance to leave the Andhradesa entirely unpresented in the early period of the Satavahana régime. The obverse of the coin is perfectly plain ; on the reverse is figured lion standing 1. The inscription has not been completely deciphered. So far as it can be made out it reads : *rano* [——] *va(?)rasa*, and is therefore unlike any Satavahana legend. Vincent SMITH,[38] we are told by RAPSON, 'attributes these coins provisionally to Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni' ! Further comment seems unnecessary. We can proceed to the next lot of coins (Nos. 33—46), which are stated to be found in the Andhra-

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37 RAPSON, *Op. cit.* p. xxxv, foot-note 4.

38 *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 625.

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desa ; they are hesitatingly ascribed by RAPSON to a king for whose name the alternatives Sakasada and Sakasena are proposed. A careful study of RAPSONS' remarks concerning the inscriptions of these coins will repay the trouble. About coins No. 42—46 he confesses that it is not always easy to distinguish them from certain coins attributed to Sri-Pulumavi. That leaves a balance of only ten coins of this doubtful species ; in none of them has the inscription been completely read. Of these ten, only four coins show 'uncertain traces' of three or four *aksharas* each, the inscription on the remaining six being completely illegible. With this datum RAPSON reads the legend as being either Sakasada or Sakasena. It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sakasada is an incredible name ; and I may add there are reasons for believing [39] that the Sakasena of certain Kanheri inscriptions on the strength of which RAPSON puts forth the other conjectural reading, is probably a mislection ; however, I do not wish to add a third conjectural reading, especially as I personally have seen neither the coin nor the inscription. With the material at our disposal, namely four coins with uncertain traces of three or four syllables on each and five similar coins which cannot be distinguished from certain others attributed to Pulumavi, it would be hazardous, to say the least, to attempt identification. In any case it will have to be admitted that there is nothing to show that the coins in question have to be attributed to any of the *early* Satavahanas. Thus it becomes evident that of the coins from the Andhradesa, the earliest that can with assurance be assigned to a known king of this dynasty are those of Vasisthiputra Sri-Pulumavi (RAPSON'S *Catalogue* Nos. 88—89), he is the same king of whose inscriptions it was noticed above that they are the earliest of all Satavahana inscriptions to be found in the Andhra country, a significant fact which, it should be noted is in entire harmony with my surmise arrived at on independent evidence that the field of activity of the early Satavahanas was confined to the west of India.

At this stage it may be conveniently pointed out that the Jainas have preserved a very clear recollection of the connection of the early Satavahanas with Western India. For in Jaina legend, Paithan (the ancient Pratisthana) on the Godavari in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, is the capital of Salivahana and his son Saktikumara, who have been rightly identified with Sri Satakarni and his son Haku-siri of the Nanaghat inscriptions.[39] We know, moreover, that Paithan continued to be the capital of the Satavahanas, at least until the time of Sri-Pulumavi. The Greek geographer Ptolemy is, as is well known, our authority for this supposition. His words (vii. l. 82) *Baithana, Basileius* [*siro*]— *tolemaiou* can only be taken to convey that Paithan was the capital of Sri-Pulumavi.

The arguments set forth above and the conclusion to be drawn from them may be briefly summarized as follows :

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39 RAPSON, *Op. cit.* p. xxxix.

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[40] The Myakadoni inscription of the time of Sri-Pulumavi mentions the *janapada* Satavahani-hara, and the Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate grant of the Pallava Siva-Skandavarman supplies us with the place-name Satahani-rattha. These places, which are possibly identical, point definitely to the existence of a province or kingdom situated in the neighbourhood of the modern Bellary District, and named after the Satavahanas, which must have been so called on account of its being the original habitat of this tribe. The latter conclusion is at variance with the orthodox view that the Andhradesa is the home of the Satavahanas. This view, however, appears to be based merely upon the fact that in the Puranic genealogies the kings Simuka, Krsna, and others succeeding them are called Andhras.—It was also pointed out that while some of the Puranas styled these kings Andhras, there are others which called them Andhrabhrtyas. The latter term is commonly regarded as synonymous with Andhra, but may clearly also mean the 'feudatories of the Andhras,' which is quite a different thing.—The Puranas are, it was submitted, our only authority for the assumption of the Andhra origin of the kings in question; there is nothing in the writings either of the Greek or of the Chinese chroniclers that may be adduced in support of this.—The oft-quoted passage from the Greek geographer Ptolemy has undoubtedly rightly been interpreted to mean that Paithan (the ancient Pratisthana) was the capital of the Satavahana Sri-Pulumavi. This statement not only finds partial corroboration in the Jaina legend that makes Pratisthana the capital of the king Salivahana (Satavahan) and his son Saktikumara, but fits in better with what we may surmise regarding the habitat and activity of the Satavahanas from a consideration of the geographical distribution of their inscriptions and the provenance of their coins. We are, therefore, led to conclude that the connection of this dynasty of kings with the Andhradesa has been considerably antedated; properly regarded it is the result of a migration *from the west to the east*; the home of the Satavahanas has to be placed in the south-western parts of the Dekkan plateau. On this assumption it becomes intelligible why Kharavela, who boasts that he was not afraid of Satakarni (evidently a Satavahana king), should send a large army to the *west*; on the same assumption it becomes still clearer why the Maharathis [41] (a western tribe)[40] should be often closely connected by family ties with the ruling princes of this house. When we place the capital of the Satavahanas at Paithan, we can also understand better why the Buddhist *caityas* at Nasik, Nanaghat, Kanheri, and Karle (which on this hypothesis would naturally lie in their home provinces) should monopolise the patronage of these princes to the exclusion of Amaravati, the classic *tirtha* of the Andhra Buddhists, situated in the heart of the Andhradesa.

If we admit the above conclusion (i.e. if the activity of the *early* Sata-

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[40] *Contra* RAPSON (*Op. cit.* p. xxi) and others.

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vahana kings be regarded as being restricted to the south-western and western corner of the Deccan plateau, and if they are supposed to have no connection with the land which, in later times, is called the Andhradesa), how are we to reconcile with this view the Puranic statement that the Satavahanas were Andhras? There are two possible ways of answering the question. If the Puranic statement be literally correct and the Satavahanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Andhras, then we must assume : either that this branch had separated itself early from the main stock of the Andhras (which was settled in the region of the deltas of the Godavari and the Krsna), even before the time of Simuka and Satakarni, and settled in the west : or that the Andhras themselves had at first occupied the part of the plateau surrounding the province named Satavahani-hara, and then migrated before the historic epoch, from that centre, towards the west and towards the east. But it is after all conceivable that the Satavahanas may not have been Andhras ; and it is quite probable—this is the alternative explanation referred to above—that the correct designation of this dynasty is really Andhrabhrtya (which was later wrongly abbreviated by some of the Puranas into Andhra), a germ of genuine history being preserved in the appellation Andhrabhrtya. In this case, however, the latter compound is properly regarded as a Sasthi-Tatpurusa, and taken to mean 'the feudatories of the Andhras.' For there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the founders of Satavahana dynasty were originally the vassals of the Andhra sovereigns, of whom it may with assurance be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Satavahanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Dekkan.

[42] *APPENDIX*

TEXT OF THE MYAKADONI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SRI-PULUMAV I

1. [Si]dha[m] [11*] Rano Satavahanam S[i]ri-Pulum[a]-visa sava 8 hema [2] diva 1
2. [masa] mahasenapat[i]sa Khamda[na]kasa janapade S[a]-tavahani hare
3. mikasa Kumaradatasa game Vepurake vathavena gahapatikena [Kom]tanam [Sambe]na
4. talakam khanitam [11*].

TRANSLATION

Success ! On the first day of the second [fortnight of] winter in the eighth year (of the reign) of Siri-Pulumavi King of the Satavahana (family) the reservoir was sunk by the householder (*gahapatika*) .... resident of the village of Vepuraka belonging to the Captain (*gumika*) Kumaradata (Kumaradatta), in the province (*janapada*) of Satavahani-hara belonging to the Great General (*mahasenapati*) Khamdanaka (Skandanaga).

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IX.—BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION OF HELIODOROS*

Ever since the providential discovery by Sir John MARSHALL of the writing hidden beneath the thick crust of vermilion covering the shaft of the Garuda column of Besnagar, that little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars interested in Indian history,[1] and their patient research has succeeded, it may now be confidently asserted, in elucidating completely the import of the inscription. The scholarly edition of the text from the pen of Dr. (now Professor) J. Ph. VOGEL, published in an issue of the *Annual* of the Director-General of Archæology in India,[2] contains a succinct review of the readings and interpretations proposed by different scholars in their articles and notes on the subject, and in this edition the labours of previous workers in the field may be said to have culminated. Respecting the investigations of these scholars it may be remarked that the historical interest centring round the name of the Græco-Indian king Antialkidas, and the fact of the conversion of a Greek ambassador in India to the cult of Vasudeva, preponderates in them so far over every other consideration, that the language and textual criticism of the inscription have not received that share of attention and scrutiny which they deserve. It may, therefore, be permitted to me to supply the want by adding to what has been already accomplished a few observations on this topic, and incidentally to elucidate a new aspect of this—in many senses—unique record.

The text (A) given by Dr. VOGEL in the article just alluded to reads as follows : †

1. Dēvadēvasa Vā[sudē]vasa Garuḍadhvajē ayaṁ
2. kāritē.....Hēliōdōrēṇ Bhāga-
3. vatēna Diyasa putrēṇa Takhasilākēna
4. Yōnadūtēna āgatēna mahārājasa
5. Aṁtalikitasa upa[ṁ]tā sakāsa[ṁ] rañō
6. Kāsīputasa Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa
7. vasēna catudasēna rājēna vadhamānasa.[3]

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* [*Annals BORI* 1. 59-66].

[1] See LÜDERS' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* Nos. 669 and 670 (Appendix pp. 63, 64 and 176). To the literature given there is to be added, as far as I know, only : 1912 VOGEL, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1908-9, pp. 126 ff. and Plate ; and 1914 RAPSON, *Ancient India*, p. 156 f. and Plate VI.

[2] Above, 1908-9, p. 126 ff.

† [Diacritical marks restored from original typescript found in SUKTHANKAR'S *Analecta*—Ed.]

[3] As the following remarks refer chiefly to this inscription only, it is unnecessary to reproduce here the Gatha (commonly designated as text B) incised below it.

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Now, in the first place, with respect to the reading *kārite* (in line 2 of the text), which is adopted by most of the previous interpreters and accepted by Dr. VOGEL, it may be remarked that it is not altogether free from objections. According to it, in this dialect the Nominative Singular of a thematic stem would end in—*e*, a conclusion which is *a priori* inadmissible in the case of a Western dialect. Furthermore, the facsimile appended to the various editions of the inscription all show quite distinctly that the final syllable of the word in question is *to*, as correctly read by Dr. BLOCH in the *editio princeps* :[4] the two inked impressions filed in the office of the Archæological Superintendent, Western Circle, which were examined by me, also show on their reverse sides a deep dent corresponding to the sign of length (*ā-kāra*) in that *akshara*. There can be, therefore, no doubt that the short horizontal stroke appended to the right of the vertical was intentionally incised by the engraver, and the correct reading is *kārito*. In this instance the medial *o* is marked by a zig-zag sign, which reproduces quite faithfully the form of the initial *o*. Other examples of this usage in the inscription before us are *do* in *Heliodoreṇa* (line 2) and *ño* in *raño* (line 5) ; but an instance of the later cursive form, with the bars at a uniform height, is supplied by *Yo* in *Yonadūtena* (line 4): the two forms occur here side by side as in other early Brahmi inscriptions.[5] The *to* of *kārito* being admitted, we are constrained to look upon *dhvaje* (line 1) as a *lapsus plumæ* for *dhvajo* ; the small stroke corresponding to the length which should have been added to the loop of *ja* has either been left out entirely or is not traceable on the impressions.

In order to accommodate the final vowel of *kārito* to that of *dhvaje*, it has been suggested that the small slanting stroke across the sign [61] of length in the *to* of *kārito* is meant to delete that length. To this I have to say that to my mind the chances of the engraver's having omitted to add the sign of length to the loop of *ja* (in which case, the slanting stroke across *to* will have to be looked upon as a fortuitous mark on the stroke) and his having incised *to* by mistake for *te* are about equally balanced. But in regard to the locality of the inscription, I am inclined to look upon *je* as the incorrect syllable. The question could have been finally settled by reference to another Nominative Singular of a thematic stem in the same inscription : unfortunately there is no other instance of it in text A. But it may be noted that the text B which appears to be intimately connected with A, supplies at least one clear example of the requisite form, namely, *apramādo*.[6] The vowel marks of the final syllable of *dama* and *cāga* are not

4 *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 1055.

5 BÜHLER, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 37.

6 The bar across the top of *da* clearly marks the subsidiary *o* in that *akshara*. It is true that Dr. VOGEL read *damo*, *cāgo* and *apramada*, which readings serve my purpose equally well, but see the transcript of the text of the Gāthā by Drs. VENIS and BARNETT, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909, 1910.

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clear : this much is, however, certain that neither of them ends in *-e*. Thus, if the inscriptions A and B are to be looked upon as being linguistically connected with each other, the reading *kārito* and the correction of *dhvaje* to *dhvajo* become inevitable.

After *kārito* some scholars read in the succeeding gap a word *i*[*a*] and render the latter by Skt. *iha*. In early Brahmi inscriptions the reality of an initial *i* is always attended with some degree of uncertainty, especially when the inscribed stone is abraded as ours is ; moreover the impressions that I have been able to examine fail to show any definite traces of the succeeding syllable. Thus every reading of a word intervening between *kārito* and *Heliodoreṇa* must be looked upon as open to question. With reference to the identification of *ia* with *iha*, I must remark that there are no certain cases of the loss of an intervocablic *h* in Prakrit known to me :[7] one [62] would have to restore, in my opinion, *iha* (less likely *idha*) rather than *ia*. But, it appears to me, that the arbitrary insertion of a word like *iha* is in this instance utterly unjustified. For, what is meant by saying that 'Garuda

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[7] The alleged examples (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1909, p. 1089) of *ia* from inscriptions all occur in the Kharosthi versions of Asoka's Edicts : four times in the Shahbazgarhi, and once in the Mansera version. Two analogous instances of 'even a shorter form' are cited from the Girnar inscription. The references are as follows :—

Shahbazgarhi Ed.	VI, 1, 6	*ia ca*
[62] Shahbazgarhi Ed.	IX, 20	*ia-loka*
,,	IX, 20	[*h*]*ia* or "possibly" *ia*.
,,	IX, 24	*io-loka* or "possibly" *hialoka*
Mansera	VI, 31	*ia-ca*
Girnar	XI, 4	*i-loka*
,,	XIII, 12	*i-lokika*

The two instances from Girnar need not have been quoted in this connection as, in this instance, there is no question of any loss of *h*. In *i-loka*, *i* is the demonstrative pronoun, and *i-loka* or *i-lokika* is equivalent to "this world" or "of this world." With regard to the examples with uncertain *h*, it will have to be admitted that they cannot be looked upon as *certain* instances of the alleged loss. Thus the evidence adduced reduces itself to the statement that out of the scores of instances in which the word *iha* or its Prakrit equivalents occurs in Asoka Edicts. BÜHLER had read in Kharoshthi records in three presumably certain cases *ia* in the sense of "here." The evidence is not overwhelming ; and in view of the extreme similarity of the signs for *i* and *hi* in the Kharoshthi alphabet, I hold that a re-examination of the inscription *in situ* will be necessary before a definite opinion can be pronounced one way or the other. For the present I shall content myself by remarking that the forms current in the northern dialects appear to have been *hia* and *iha*. The form *hia* is, however, not an instance of the total disappearance of the intervocalic *h*. What has happened here is the following. *Iha* forms a doublet *hiha* with the same adscript *h* as in Asoka *hevam* for *evam*. Then, as the rules of Indian phonetics do not permit aspirates in consecutive syllables (Grassmann's Rule) one of them (here the second for obvious reasons) is merged : hence, the form *hia*.....As to the alleged instances of the loss of intervocalic *h* in literary Prakrit, see PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para. 226.

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column *was made here* by (the order of) Heliodoros'? Heliodoros was surely not a manufacturer of Garuda columns! Clearly *iha* can only be used with a word like *sthāpita*: with *kārita* it is essentially inappropriate.

In line 3 it has been customary to read the last word *Takhasilākena*. The correct reading clearly is *Takhasilăkena*, as there is no room for the sign of length (marked in this inscription with a *prominent* horizontal stroke) between the syllables *la* and *ke*, which, as it is, almost touch each other. The irregular projection to the right of the vertical of *la* is no more intended to signify the length [63] than a similar appearance in the very first *akshara* of the same line, which for that reason is not read as *vā* but as it ought to be viz. *va*. Grammatically the form *Takhasilākena* is indefensible, at least in the sense 'resident of Taksasila,' whereas *Takhasilakena* (for *Takkhasilakena*) is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Takṣaśilaka* or *Tākṣaśilaka* (the form commonly found in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature), in the same way as *Māthura(ka)* is formed from *Mathurā*: cf. the *Kāśikā* to Panini IV, 3, 93.

A glaring fact which has been, it appears to me, totally overlooked by previous editors is the peculiar construction of the only sentence of which the epigraph consists. The sequence of the words in the sentence is indeed so thoroughly un-Indian that I cannot account for the fact that none of the distinguished indologues who have commented on the inscription has remarked upon it. The sequence of words in Sanskrit or Prakrit, it must be admitted, is, on account of the synthetic form of the languages, *theoretically* quite free. Notwithstanding, practice has prescribed certain rules regulating the relative position of words in the sentence, which are not departed from *in prosa* without sufficient reason.[8] As a grammatical principle it may safely be laid down that the qualifying word *visesana* almost invariably precedes the word which it qualifies *visesya*: the Genitive stands before the word which it governs, the dependent noun before the preposition, the object and other adjuncts before the verb, etc. In particular, participial adjectives, should, unless used predicatively, precede the word they qualify. If we test our sentence in the light of this rule, it will be found to stand in flagrant contradiction to it. Now one may think what one likes about the position of the words *Bhāgavatena, Diyasa putreṇa*, and *Takhasilakena*, which are in apposition to *Heliodorena*. But there are two instances of wrong sequence in this sentence which must be considered very remarkable, and they are firstly, the use of *āgatena* after *Yonadūtena*, and secondly, the position of *vadhamānasa* (following on *Bhāgabhadrasa*, of which it is an attribute) at the very end of the sentence. A Prakrit sentence ending with a present participle is an anomaly. Indeed, it was at one time thought that [64] the

[8] See Hermann JACOBI'S remarks on the subject in the introduction to his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mâhârâṣṭri* (Leipzig, 1886).

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seventh line was not the last line of the inscription ; but we are now assured that the whole of the inscription is before us, and no further lines have been worn out or lost.

It will be remarked that the participle *vadhamānasa* and *āgatena* occupy the same position as finite verbs in dependent clauses. Does it not appear as though the latter mode of sentence construction is peculiar to the style of the writer, a mode which is foreign to the genius of the language in which he was writing? If so, how are we to account for this anomaly? The key to the situation is, I think, supplied by the phrase *Yonadūtena āgatena Mahārājasa Aṁtalikitasa upaṁtā* (lines 4 and 5), the construction of which becomes intelligible only when we remark that it is word for word a Prakrit rendering of the Greek *upò presbeuton elthóntos parà ton megabasiléos Antalkidou* (cf. Hell., 1, 3, 9 ; An., 1, 1, 5), which in Greek is quite correct and natural. The sequence of the words of the above Prakrit phrase being settled by this consideration, the chiastic use of the prepositions places the noun governed by *sakāsaṁ* (line 7) in the position actually occupied by it, with the result that the adjectival phrase beginning with *vasena* (line 7) is pushed to the very end of the sentence. To change the epigraph into correct Prakrit we must set it upside down. Prakrit idiom would necessitate the following :[9]

22	23	24	25	18	21	19
vasena	*catudasena*	*rājena*	*vadhamānasa*	*raño*	*trātārasa*	*kāsīputasa*
20	17	14	15	16	13	
Bhāgabhadrasa	*sakāsaṁ*	*mahārājasa*	*Aṁtalikitasa*	*upaṁtā*	*āgatena*	
12	7					
Yonadūtena....Heliodoreṇa						

etc. Before passing on to other questions I would here draw attention to the striking similarity in point of construction between *Bhāgabhadrasa.... rājena vadhamānasa* and the Greek expression *kúrou basileúontos* (*Cyro regnante*) without wishing to say definitely whether the latter has been of any moment in determining the shaping of the unfamiliar Prakrit phrase.

If I am right in explaining the anomalies of construction referred to above as Hellenisms, or in other words if we assume that we must look to the Greek syntax and Greek mode of thought for an explanation of the abnormalities of construction, and peculiarities [65] of phraseology (if not of all, at least of some of them), then some other anomalies become also clear. Consider, for instance, the use of the biruda *trātārasa* (*sotéros*) with the name of Bhāgabhadra. I am not aware of any king of Indian extraction who had assumed that title, and it would be surprising if Bhāgabhadra, whoever he may be, provided he was an Indian) had done so. Its use would cause no surprise, however, if the writer of the inscription were a Greek ; for, in that case, we could very well understand his tacking on to the name of an Indian

[9] The numeral above each word indicates its position in the original sentence.

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prince a royal title which was commonly assumed by Greek kings of his time. Consider again the position of the verb *kārito*. Although the sequence *Garuḍadhvajo ayaṁ kārito Heliodareṇa* is not faulty,—not by any means : there are instances of it to be found in other inscriptions as well—the *normal* Prakrit construction would be *ayaṁ Garuḍadhvajo Heliodoreṇa kārito*. But in the Greek sentence the position of the verb (which would be a *verbum finitum*) between the subject and the object would call forth no comment. Further, for Prakrit I find the sequence *Heliodoreṇa....Diyasa Puṭreṇa* somewhat harsh ; but again, it would be the most natural mode of expression for a Greek who is in the habit of saying *parúsatis, ē tou kurou métēr*. These facts bear out in an unequivocal manner the correctness of the above hypothesis explaining the position occupied by *āgatena* and *vadhamānasa* in the sentence, which was the starting point of our enquiry.

The writer of the inscription who thus on my showing must have been a Greek may have been Heliodoros himself. For, it does not require any great stretch of imagination to believe that this worthy Greek who was a convert to the Vasudevic cult of Bhakti worship, and who had gone to the length of erecting a Garuda column in honour of Vāsudeva, had also acquired a working knowledge of the local Indian dialect which was, perhaps, for him the language of the scriptures also.

The last line of the inscription is clear as regards its import, but not quite so in point of its construction. Various attempts have been made to explain it, but none of them is entirely satisfactory. One of the chief difficulties has been the phrase *rājena vadhamānasa*, for, it was not realised by any of the previous interpreters that the [66] expression is not merely grammatically irreproachable, but even highly idiomatic.[10] The root *vṛdh* (often combined with *diṣṭyā*) is regularly construed with the Instrumental to express gratulation, as in the phrase [*diṣṭyā*] *mahārājo vijayena vardhate*, which means literally 'Your (His) Majesty [fortunately] prospers with victory.' Thus *rājena vadhamānasa* means 'prosperous with reigning,' or as it is commonly and correctly translated 'gloriously reigning.' A real difficulty, however, is presented by the expression *vasena chatudasena*. The Instrument of Time has in Sanskrit (and I presume also in Prakrit) a special significance[11] which, however, cannot have been intended here. On the other hand, as this *casus obliqus* does not exist in the Greek language, that source of explanation seems to be closed in this instance. It may be that the writer of the epigraph had not fully grasped the force of the Indian Instrumental of Time, and wrongly employed it here ; or may it be that it is an instance of anomalous attraction by the following *rājena?* Perhaps some scholar who

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10 Thus *rājena* is wrongly put equal to Skt. *rājye* by Dr. VOGEL, above 1908-9, p. 128.

11 Panini, II, 3, 6 : *apavarge tṛtīyā*.

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is better acquainted with the Greek idiom than I am, may be able to assign a reason even for this apparent anomaly.

I append a transcript prepared by me from a set of excellent impressions filed in the office of the Archæological Superintendent, Western Circle, embodying the corrections in the reading of the text proposed above.

TEXT A.

1. Devadevasa Vā[sude]vasa Garuḍadhvaje[12] ayam
2. kārito ...[13] Heliodoreṇa Bhāga-
3. vatena Diyasa putreṇa Takhasilakena
4. Yonadūtena āgatena mahārājasa
5. A[ṁ]talik [i]tasa upaṁtā sakāsaṁ rāño
6. K[ā]sīputasa[14] Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa.
7. vasena cha[tu]dasena rājena vadhamānasa.

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[12] Read *Garuḍadhvajo*.

[13] A gap large enough to contain two *akṣharas*.

[14] Perhaps we have to read the second member of the compound as *putrasa*, unless the irregular depression below the sign *ta* is caused by an accidental abrasion of the stone at the point. It is worthy of note, however, that in this inscription the subscript *r* is retained *in every other case* in which it appears as the second member of a ligature, to wit *putreṇa* (line 3), *Bhāgabhadrasa* and *trātārasa* (line 6).

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X.—PALAEOGRAPHIC NOTES*

In the field of the palæography of Northern India the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era is marked by the advent of a new epoch of alphabet, which is chiefly characterised by the acute angles that show themselves at the right or lower ends of letters, as well as by the wedges which are superimposed on the tops of the vertical or slanting lines, and which is, therefore, variously styled as the 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail-headed' alphabet.[1] The epigraphic documents of the period from the sixth to at least the beginning of the eighth century form an unbroken record of the use of this alphabet in Central and Northern India. This type was in course of time supplanted by a rival alphabet; and the characters of the inscriptions of the next century present the incipient stages of the Northern Nāgarī, the fully developed forms of which may be seen in the Kauṭhem (Miraj State) copper-plate grant[2] of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1009). The distinguishing feature of this type is the substitution of horizontal covering strokes in place of the wedges, and right angles in place of the acute angles of the previous variety. The general course of the evolution of Nāgarī out of the acute-angled alphabet is evident enough;[3] but the determination of the actual period of transition is a problem which naturally presents certain difficulties. The earliest forms of the transition alphabet are differentiated from those of its predecessor merely by the flattening of the above-mentioned wedges. These forms are supplied by the characters of the Multāī (Central Provinces) plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nandarāja Yuddhāsura dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 708-9, and other inscriptions of a later date. In other respects the characters of the Multāī plates link on directly to the acute-angled [310] alphabet, and BÜHLER was therefore perfectly right in looking upon them as the last phase of this variety.[4] The distinctive peculiarity of Nāgarī, it must be emphasised, lies in the widening of the acute angles into right angles as well as the addition of the flat top stroke which, so to say, covers the entire breadth of the letters at their upper end. Both these characteristics are unmistakably manifest in the Kaṇheri inscriptions of the Śilāhāra feudatories Pullaśakti and Kapardin II.[5] Thus upto the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 : the Multāī plates) the acute-angled alphabet was still current in Northern India; on the other hand, as we see from the Kaṇheri

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* [*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* 309-22.]

1 BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 49.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 16, pp. 15 ff.

3 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 f.

4 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

5 Inscription Nos. 15 and 43; see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 13, p. 135.

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inscriptions (A.D. 851 and 877), Nāgarī had come to be used as an epigraphic alphabet by the middle of the ninth century.

We might therefore set ourselves the question, at what period does this change set in? Are there any records[6] written in Nāgarī, of a date earlier than the above-mentioned Kaṇheri inscription? BÜHLER was inclined to suppose that the northern Nāgarī was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century.[7] The inscriptions which appear to lend support indirectly to this view form the following series:[8] (1) the Sāmāngaḍ grant[9] of the Rāṣṭra-[311]-kūṭa Dantidurga (BÜHLER, Palæographic Tables, Plate IV, Col. XXII), bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 754, from Western India; (ii) the Dighvā-Dubaulī plate[10] of Mahendrapāla I, and (iii) the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla[11] (of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty), believed by BÜHLER to be dated in the years corresponding to A.D. 761 and 794-5 respectively, from Northern India. We shall presently return to a detailed consideration of the Sāmāngaḍ grant, but let us first examine the characters of the other two records a little more closely. It is true enough that we find here distinctly Nāgarī characteristics, e.g. (i) in the above-mentioned right angles of *gha* (Pl. IV, col. XXI ; 10), *pa*, (col. XXI ; 27), *ma* (col. XXIII ; 31), *ya* (col. XXI, XXIII, 32), and *ṣa* (col. XXIII ; 37), (ii) in the flat top stroke of *pa* (col. XXIII ; 27), *ma* (col. XXIII ; 31), *ya* (col. XXIII ; 32), *ṣa* (col. XXIII ; 37), and *sa* (col. XXIII ; 38). Of special interest is the form of *ja* (col. XXI, XXIII ; 14). In the Dighvā-Dubaulī plate it has entirely lost its original characteristic element of three parallel bars as, for instance, in the specimen[12] quoted in the immediately preceding column (XX ; 14) of the same table ; but in the other grant the transformation is still more striking. The lower portion of the letter forms

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[6] I wish to exclude therefrom the signatures or facsimiles of signatures of Gurjara princes on the copper-plates of Kairā (of A.D. 628 and 633), of Dābhoi (A.D. 642) of Nausārī (A.D. 705) and of Kāvī (A.D. 736) appended to texts written in a southern alphabet. From these royal sign-manuals it does not necessarily follow that the alphabet in question was used at that period commonly for epigraphic purposes.

[7] BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[8] The earliest of these is dated A.D. 754. But BÜHLER argued that as an inscription from the Kanarese country, viz. the Paṭṭadkal pillar inscription of Kīrtivarman II (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 3, pp. 1 ff.). which was caused to be incised by a Brahman from Northern India, shows the mixture of the Nāgarī and acute-angled letters, we could assume the use of Nāgarī since the beginning of the eighth century. For my part, I must say, I have not been able to trace any Nāgarī letters in this inscription.

[9] Edited by FLEET, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 11, p. 105.

[10] See FLEET, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 15, p. 106.

[11] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 15, p. 140.

[12] Multāī plates ; see FLEET, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 18, p. 231.

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a clearly developed double curve, while the (originally horizontal) middle bar is all but vertical.

Now with regard to these alleged specimens of early Nāgarī the following is to be noted. As far as the alphabet of the Dighvā-Dubaulī plate is concerned, the term Nāgarī seems to me to be applied to it with doubtful propriety.[13] BÜHLER has classed it rightly as an instance of the acute-angled variety.[14] The absence of the covering stroke in *gha* (col. XXI ; 10), *pa* (col. XXI ; 27), *ma* (col. XXI ; 31), *ya* [312] (col. XXI ; 32), *ṣa* (col. XXI ; 37), and *sa* (col. XXI ; 38) shows that it has not passed the transition stage ; while the sporadic acute angles, for instance, in *ma* (col. XXI ; 31) and perhaps *ṣa* (col. XXI ; 37) entitle it to be considered a phase of the acute-angled alphabet. This is, however, only a matter of nomenclature. No such doubt can be entertained with regard to the copper-plate grant of the Pratīhāra king Vināyakapāla of Mahodaya, which is certainly one of the earliest instances (if, indeed, not the earliest instance) of the use of Nāgarī forms for epigraphic purposes as far as Northern and Central India are concerned. None the less is the conclusion of BÜHLER regarding the phase marked by these two plates in the evolution of Nāgarī wrong ; the reason is that both these records were considerably antedated by him. The mistake lay in the erroneous interpretation put in his time upon the syllables *saṁvatsro* forming part of the date of the record. Here the ligature *tsro* (as was first pointed out by Dr. HOERNLE) must be looked upon as consisting of the *t* of *saṁvat* and *sro*, which latter apparently stands for the multiplicative factor 100, a conclusion which has now found general acceptance.[15] The numerical symbols thus correspond to the figures 955 and 988, which when referred to the Vikrama era yield the dates A.D. 898 and 931, and, therefore, relegate the plates to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century respectively, that is, fully 137 years later than the date assigned to them by BÜHLER.

The expunging of these two records from their place at the end of Plate IV of BÜHLER'S Tables has the effect of breaking up the series mentioned above, and with it disappears a solid block of evidence for the supposition that Nāgarī forms were commonly in use for epigraphic purposes since the beginning of the eighth century. It may be incidentally remarked that even from a consideration of the advanced forms of the plate of Vināyakapāla, this [313] is a satisfactory conclusion, as the latter fits in much better in its

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13 It is called North-Indian Nāgarī by Dr. FLEET, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 15, p. 106.

14 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

15 An independent proof of the correctness of this view has now been supplied by the date of the newly discovered Partābgaḍ Ins. noticed by Mr. D. R. BHANDARKAR in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 45 (1916), p. 122.

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new place near the Sīadoṇī[16] inscriptions from Central India, the dates of which run from A.D. 968, than in juxtaposition with the Multāī plates and the Baijanath[17] inscription. It is, however, an extremely fortunate circumstance that in this instance the palæographic conclusion finds a substantial corroboration from an independent source of evidence.

But to return to the question of the earliest use of Nāgarī, it may be observed that the alteration in the reading of the date of the plates of the Pratīhāra grants leaves in the main the thesis of BÜHLER untouched; for, in assigning the earliest known specimen of Nāgarī to the middle of the eighth century, BÜHLER[18] was relying on the Sāmāngaḍ grant[19] of Dantidurga which purports to be dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 754; and it must be admitted that in these plates we find not the slightest trace of the wedge formation nor of the acute angles, but, on the other hand, the frequent use of top-strokes (which cover the entire breadth of the letters) and the right angles which, as remarked above, are so characteristic of Nāgarī. Moreover, as the reading of their date is beyond all doubt certain, the existence of these plates is prima facie evidence in support of BÜHLER'S view. But, on the other hand, one cannot entirely ignore the fact that these plates occupy a very isolated position in the progressive development of Nāgarī. For, the next earliest records in which we again find anything like Nāgarī forms belong to the beginning of the following century, viz. the Rādhanpur and Vaṇī copper plate grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III issued in the year corresponding to A.D. 808;[20] but it may be pointed out that in this grant of Govinda III, the Nāgarī characters are used not exclusively as in the alleged grant of Dantidurga, [314] but side by side with others which are distinctly acute angled. This distinction is worth noting: and I shall shortly have occasion to refer to it again.

As remarked above, there can be no possibility of doubt concerning the reading of the date of the Sāmāngaḍ grant: it is given both in words and numerical figures which tally with each other admirably. But this circumstance does not exclude the possibility that the plates may not actually belong to the year to which they refer themselves; and, in my opinion, the date is too early by at least a hundred years, if not more. It is true that the space of a century often does not make an appreciable difference in palæographic matters. Moreover, while tracing the minute changes in the shape of individual letters, even of co-eval documents, we are by the nature of the circumstances forced to utilise for purposes of comparison alphabets from whatever locality they happen to be preserved, which is not the most satisfactory basis

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16 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, Plate V, col. VII.
17 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, Plate V, col. I. 18 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
19 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 11, pp. 106 ff., and facsimile.
20 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 6, p. 59; Vol. 11, p. 158.

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of comparison. We must further reckon with the personal indiosyncrasies of the engraver which are mostly an indeterminate factor. It is therefore right to add here that the following remarks regarding the age of the Sāmāngaḍ grant are made with the diffidence which the circumstances call for.

We shall now turn to the alphabet of this alleged grant of Dantidurga and examine it more minutely with a view to determine the standard of development reached by it. From what I have just said it follows that the best course would have been to select for comparison such documents as belong to the same epoch and are executed in the same part of the country. I should have preferred therefore to cite for comparison two copper-plate charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I which have recently been brought to light: the one found at Talegāon (Poona district) has been briefly reviewed in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle*, for the year ending March 1910; but the other, found at Bhāndak (Chāndā District, Central Provinces), has as yet received no further publicity beyond the bare mention of its discovery. [315] It is regrettable, therefore, that it is not possible to reproduce them here and make them available for the examination of the reader, as no description can adequately take the place of a facsimile. Out of the plates which have already been edited and which lend themselves for use in this connection, the Daulatābād plates[21] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa (dated in the Śaka year 715 corresponding to A.D. 793) are as suitable as any other. When these two sets of plates are placed side by side, it will be noticed at once that there is a wide gap separating their alphabets. The characters of the Sāmāngaḍ grant are far in advance of those of the Daulatābād plates, which are executed nearly forty years *later* than the alleged date of the former grant. The difference between them is now the more difficult to explain as the advanced types of the Dighvā-Dubaulī and Vināyakapāla plates are no longer available for bridging over the intervening gap.

A comparison between the alphabets of the two plates reveals the following points of difference between them. In place of the covering stroke of the letters *gha, pa, ma, ya* and *ṣa* of the Sāmāngaḍ grant we have ornamental protuberances in the other plate. As regards *gha* it is worth noting that an example of the tripartite open form (in line 4, twice) of the Daulatābād plates can be seen in as late a record as the Pehvā Praśasti,[22] which is assigned by BÜHLER himself to cir A.D. 900. Characteristic of a later epoch is the form of *ja* in the Sāmāngaḍ grant which originally and even in the Multāī plates (A.D. 708-9) consisted of three nearly parallel bars connected at one end. Subsequent development of the letter is as follows. The lowest bar develops a notch at its free end, and the middle inclines downwards. Incidentally it may be observed that this is the form of *ja* in the Bhāndak plate

21 Ed. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 9, pp. 193 ff., and facsimile.
22 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, Plate V, col. III.

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of Kṛṣṇarāja I (A.D. 772). In the Vināyakapāla plate the notch develops into a curve, so that the lower portion of the letter forms a [316] double curve, while the (originally horizontal) middle bar is all but vertical. The change is perfectly gradual, and is, I think, a good index of the age of a document. The *ja* of the Daulatābād plates marks an intermediate stage between the two limits : the lowest bar is slightly bent backwards, while the middle bar, though inclined downwards, is near its point of attachment almost horizontal. In the Sāmāngaḍ plates, however, the typical *ja* shows further progress in so far as the lowest bar is bent double, while the middle bar is well on its way to become vertical. Most noticeable and important are the characteristic acute angles in the Daulatābād plates as, for instance, in *ma, ya, la* and *sa*. In the Sāmāngaḍ grant, on the other hand, the acute angles have widened into right angles. Thus with respect to the Sāmāngaḍ grant the Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa will have to be looked upon as a retrograde type. But the latter is no exception in this respect. In fact, an examination of the hitherto published records of the century intervening between the Sāmāngaḍ grant (alleged date A.D. 754) and the Kaṇheri inscriptions (cir. A.D. 850) will prove that it is not possible to produce a single instance of an inscription which is on the same stage of graphic development as the plates of Dantidurga. The alphabet of every other inscription of this period will appear archaic or retrograde in comparison with the Sāmāngaḍ grant.[23]

It may be at once admitted, that there could be no exception taken to the circumstance that an inscription contains some forms which are slightly more advanced than those of other records of the same or even slightly later period. In the above-mentioned grants of Govinda III, for instance, we find side by side types with wedges and those [317] with long covering strokes, that is to say, a mixture of the acute-angled and another more advanced alphabet. While on the other hand, the Gwalior inscription[24] of Bhoja, which is roughly fifty years later in date, shows forms which are on the whole acute-angled. This is quite natural. In the case of the Sāmāngaḍ grant, however, the outstanding consideration for suspecting its authenticity is the circumstance that it contains not merely advanced forms, but that these should be used to the entire exclusion of others which must have been current at the epoch. The use of the advanced forms is not arbitrary : the regularity with which they recur shows that they had become fixed types at the time the document was concocted. The consideration that further search may bring

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[23] See for instance, KIELHORN, *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 794, 808, 809, 835, 867. In these examples it will be found that the top stroke is attached to the left vertical of the letter and does not cover the entire breadth of it unless the vowel sign is appended to the letter, in which case the sign was drawn in continuation of the top stroke. Another feature is the sporadic presence of acute angles in the letters *gha, pa, ma, ya*, etc.

[24] BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, Plate V, col. II.

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to light other records which will supply the missing links seems to me to be a futile consolation. At any rate I should say that an essential preliminary condition for re-establishing the impugned authenticity of this grant will be the actual discovery of a sufficient number of dated records that will supply forms which can bridge over the gulf between the epoch marked by, let us say, the Multāī plates and the Sāmāngaḍ grant. Unless and until evidence of this nature is forthcoming, one might, in my opinion, legitimately doubt if the plates belong to the epoch to which they refer themselves.

Another fact which corroborates the suspicion is the following. It is a matter of common experience that forged plates are generally very inaccurate as regards their orthography. The reason for this may be that the text which was being copied was not familiar to the executors of the forgery. Be that as it may, if this be any criterion, it will have to be admitted that the Sāmāngaḍ grant stands the test very badly, as the text of that record is in a lamentably corrupt condition. Dr. FLEET's transcript does not show all the mistakes of the original; for instance, the very first syllable of the first verse (line 1) Dr. FLEET reads as *sa*; it is as a matter of fact a clear *śa*. In l. 8 the third syllable is *va*; Dr. FLEET transcribes it with *vi*. But [318] there are worse blunders than these in the text. The half-verse beginning with *nītāvadhe* etc. (l. 17) has been mutilated beyond recognition, as a comparison with the Bhāndak grant of Kṛṣṇarāja will prove.[25] But the most significant blunder is the one in the verse beginning with *śrīmadyuva°* (l. 16). The first quarter of this verse must in the original have read something like *śrīmad-Bhuvagaṇā nāma*. The forger having misread the ligature *dbhu* as *ḍyu*, must have added conjecturally *ti* after *va* so as to complete the word *yuvati* and then in order to adjust the number of syllabic instants of the quarter, proceeded to convert the final *ma* into an *anusvāra*. In doing so, however, he obliterated completely the word Bhuvagaṇā, the name of the queen, a word which the writer probably did not know at all. Significant is also the fact that the Sāmāngaḍ grant is the only early Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant, so far discovered, in which verses *sabhrūvibhaṅga* etc., and *Kāñcīśa* etc. (ll. 23 ff.) occur in this order; elsewhere the latter precedes the former. It is unnecessary however to labour the point any further.

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25 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 11, pp. 112 ff.—

Sāmāngaḍ (Dr. FLEET's transcript)—
nītāvadhe(?the)mivāśeṣajagataḥ ṭpālitāyati[ḥ]* | Dr. FLEET does not translate the dubious *nītāvadhemiva*; the rest he renders with 'who protected the expanse of the whole world'!

Bhāndak plates (verse 12)—
nītāvarthamivāśeṣajanatāprārthitāyati[ṁ] | Translation: '(From her he obtained a son) like unto material well-being (*artha*) from (i.e. as a result of) righteous conduct (*nīti*), a son who was, (as it were,) the future (prosperity) prayed for by the whole of mankind.'

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Lastly, I should like to call attention to the use of decimal figures in expressing the date of the Sāmāngaḍ grant. Is this an anachronism? That is no doubt a difficult question to answer. The Sāmāngaḍ grant is certainly no longer the earliest known specimen in which the decimal notation comes into use, as remarked by Dr. FLEET thirty-four years ago. But it would be, if genuine, still one of the few inscriptions of a date earlier than the ninth [319] century in which decimal notation is used.[26] As far as the grants of the successors of Dantidurga are concerned, it may be noted that in both the (unpublished) records of Kṛṣṇa I, the Alās plates[27] (A.D. 770) of Yuvarāja Govinda II, and all the plates of Govinda III upto the Śaka year 735 (*i.e.* A.D. 813) and the majority of his other records,[28] the date is given merely in words. A noteworthy exception is a record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakkarāja of Gujarāt of the year A.D. 757, where the date is expressed both in words and numerical figures. In this instance the symbols which are employed, be it remembered, are not decimal as in the Sāmāngaḍ grant, but letter-numerals. But with reference to the use of the decimal notation I may add that in view of the mode of dating in the Gurjara inscription[29] of the Kalacuri year 346 (A.D. 594), of the Valabhī inscription[30] of the Gupta year 365 (?) (*i.e.* A.D. 685?) and some others, one might surmise that the Gurjaras and perhaps their neighbours in Gujarāt had adopted the more advanced system of decimal notation much earlier than their contemporaries further south. We know, however, so little definite about the early use of this notation in India that it would be unwise to formulate a solution which happens to suit a particular case. I leave it, therefore, here as an open question whether we can legitimately assume the prevalence of the use of decimal notation in the heart of the Southern Maratha country as early as the eighth century, especially in epigraphic records which admittedly affected a certain amount of archaism. Worth noting, however, is the fact that even to BÜHLER the forms of the numerals in the Sāmāngaḍ grant appeared to be 'strongly modified cursive forms.'[31] But here again we are on shaky ground for want of sufficient material on which to base a definite conclusion.

[320] In this connection one is irresistibly reminded of the Dhiṇiki plate[32] of Jāikadeva of Saurāṣṭra bearing the date V. [79]4 corresponding to A.D. [73]7. In this instance also, the numerals expressing the date are decimal and the alphabet is a well developed form of Nāgarī. The details of the date, however, leave (in the concurring judgment of KIELHORN and

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26 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 f.
27 Ed. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, p. 209 and plates.
28 See KIELHORN, *List of the Inscriptions of Southern India.*
29 Ed. DHRUVA, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 2, pp. 19 ff. and plate.
30 *Journal of the Bengal As. Soc.*, Vol. 7, p. 968.
31 BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
32 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 12, p. 155 and plate.

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Dr. FLEET) no doubt as to its being a forgery.[33] It is unfortunate, therefore, that the details of the date of the Sāmāngaḍ grant are not capable of verification.

Taking all things into consideration, the balance of evidence points, in my opinion, strongly to the conclusion expressed above, viz. that the Sāmangaḍ grant is spurious. This conclusion, if granted, would have the important result of taking the epoch of the use of Nāgarī in epigraphic documents forward by at least a hundred years. For, as remarked above, if we leave out of consideration the Sāmāngaḍ grant, the next earliest inscriptions which are written throughout in Nāgarī are the Kaṇheri inscriptions of the Śilāhāra princes Pullaśakti and Kapardin II. These nearly co-eval inscriptions exhibit the regular use of top-strokes covering the entire breadth of the letters, as well as rectangles (as opposed to the wedges and acute angles) in *gha* (BÜHLER'S Palæographic Tables, Plate V, col. V ; 13), *pa* (col. V ; 30), *ya* (col. V ; 35), *ṣa* (col. V ; 40) and *sa* (col. V ; 41). The Rādhanpur and Vaṇī plates of Govinda III., which contain a mixture of both the acute-angled and transition types, appear now in a different light. They do not represent a retrograde movement but a progressive one. Preceding as they do by about fifty years the earliest known inscriptions in which Nāgarī forms are exclusively employed, they represent a true transition stage.

As the outcome of the analysis here undertaken, we arrive at the following conclusion. The very earliest dated inscriptions hitherto known which are written throughout in Nāgarī characters are the inscriptions (cir. A.D. 850) of [321] the Śilāhāra princes, from the Kaṇheri Caves in Western India. These show (i) the top-stroke covering the entire breadth of the letter, and (ii) rectangular corners. Transition stages leading upto these forms have been already discussed. In these the top stroke never covers the entire breadth of the letters, while some characters retain their former acute angles ; the form of *ja* is also a significant index. The subsequent course of the development of Nāgarī in Western India can be traced with the help of the below-noted inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mālkheḍ and Lāṭa belonging to the period cir. A.D. 850-950. A minute examination of these records will also provide further support to the inference that the Kaṇheri inscriptions should be placed at the middle point of the evolution of the Nāgarī out of the acute-angled alphabet. Following are the inscriptions above referred to :

1. KIELHORN'S Southern List No. 77, Śaka 789 (A.D. 867). The Bāgumrā plates of the Mahāsāmantādhipati Dhruvarāja II—Dhārāvarṣa-Nirupama of Gujarāt—regarding the alphabet of which BÜHLER remarks

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[33] See references under KIELHORN, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 8.

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(*Ind. Ant.* Vol. 12, p. 181) that the letters resemble those of the Sāmāṇgaḍ plates.

2. Ibid No. 81, Śaka 810 (A.D. 888). The Bāgumrā plate of the feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja Akālavarṣa of Gujarāt. In this instance the top-stroke covers the entire breadth of the letter, and rectangular corners are prominent.

3. Ibid Nos. 86-87 Śaka 836 (A.D. 914). The Bāgumrā plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Indra III. Here the development of Nāgarī along the two main lines indicated above is completed.

4. Ibid No. 91, Śaka 852 (A.D. 930). The Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahārajādhirāja Govinda IV. This superbly engraved record may be looked upon as a standard to which the Nāgarī of the tenth century was tending.

5. Ibid No. 92, Śaka 855 (A.D. 933). The Sāṅglī plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Govinda IV the cha-[322] racters of which are of the same type as the Bāgumrā inscriptions of Indra III.

6. Ibid No. 94, Śaka 867 (A.D. 945). The Sāloṭgi (Bijāpur District) pillar inscription of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, Akālavarṣa. The forms are perhaps somewhat more archaic than those of the plates mentioned above.

Additional reference will be found in BÜHLER'S *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 51.

So much for the earliest use of Nāgarī in Western India. Regarding its use in Northern India, I should like to add the following observation which arises directly out of a fact noted above. BÜHLER'S mislection of the date of the Vināyakapāla plate, as we have seen, led him into an error regarding the period at which this alphabet became an epigraphic alphabet in Northern India. Having thus erroneously dated this instance of the use of Nāgarī in A.D. 794-5 he found that the succeeding, that is the ninth, century was practically bare of Nāgarī inscriptions, and had to admit that it was not till the middle of the tenth century that this alphabet comes again into general use in that part of India. BÜHLER was, I think, substantially right in saying that in Northern and Central India the Nāgarī appears first in the copper-plate grant of Vināyakapāla, but that event has to be dated in A.D. 931. It remains to determine the transitional stages during the latter part of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century; but it would appear as if there are no Nāgarī inscriptions belonging to the eighth or even the early part of the ninth century from Northern India.

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XI.—PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, WESTERN CIRCLE, 1916-17*

PART IV.

EXPLORATION

SIROHI STATE

1. At the instance of Mr. BHANDARKAR I resumed during the last cold season the work of preparing an inventory of the ancient monuments of Rājputānā where it had been left by him in 1911. I had mapped out a programme for a five months' tour of exploration through Rājputānā. I intended spending the first two months of the tour in visiting the places of antiquarian interest in the Sirohī State, and then devoting the remaining three months to exploring Jasvantpurā, Jālor, Jaitāraṇ, Sojat and a number of other districts of Jodhpur, a list of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. BHANDARKAR. Unfortunately the tour had to be cut down considerably, as on account of pressure of work at the headquarters I could devote barely three months to exploration work. I was not able to leave Poona before the beginning of December 1916, and I was recalled again in the first week of March 1917. As the whole of this period—with two brief interruptions—was taken up with Sirohī itself, the rest of the programme had to be abandoned.

2. Though Sirohī had been visited twice already by Mr. BHANDARKAR, my object in placing this State first on the list was to fill up the *lacunae* in our collection of the inscriptions of the Paramāras of Ābū, most of which, I may add, are located within the confines of the Sirohī State. The project was completely successful. And we have now in our office an entire set of the inscriptions of this dynasty accessible in Sirohī. With the material I have collected this season, along with that which was already on record in this office, it is possible to reconstruct a skeleton of the history of this family of Rajput chiefs from the middle of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., a subject which I intend making the theme of an article for the Director-General's *Annual of Archæology*.

3. The most notable discovery of this year's touring through the Sirohī State must be called the marble temple at Varmāṇ, dedicated to the Sun god, which can easily rank as one of the oldest Sūrya temples now standing. This monument is interesting alike from an architectural and iconographic point of

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* [Pp. 59-72.]

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view, and, though in a state of advanced ruin, is pre-eminently deserving of preservation. It is therefore to be wished that the Sirohī Darbār be approached to take the requisite steps towards the conservation of this highly interesting relic of the past and look to its being kept in permanent good repair.

OR.

4. The first village to be visited was Oṛ—the Ur of maps—three miles due north-east of Kharāḍī (Ābū Road). Besides the temple of Vishṇu along with its subsidiary shrines standing on a high platform, the village contains a Jain temple, now dedicated to Pārśvanātha. Both are of a comparatively modern date and from the architectural point of view devoid of interest. The temple of Viṭhāljī is a triple shrine, that is, a shrine consisting of three cells in a row. The middle cell contains an image of Vishṇu, locally called Viṭhāljī; while the other two contain Śiva Liṅgas. Although this composite structure forms a single temple now, there can be no doubt that originally there stood in its place two separate small shrines at some distance from each other, which, at a subsequent period, were connected together by erecting side-walls so as to form a third central cell. The so-formed triple shrine was then provided with a common closed *maṇḍapa*, the outer wall of which is pierced by a finely carved doorway of marble. On the dedicatory block of the lintel is sculptured a figure seated in the conventional attitude of meditation. The superior workmanship of this member, which distinguishes it sharply from other parts of the temple building, betrays its extraneous origin and places it in a class with those superbly carved fragments which one notices round about the village of Chandrāvatī and which are the sole material remains of the once flourishing capital of the Paramāras of Arbuda-maṇḍala. On a pilaster of one of the side cells of the triple shrine is engraved an inscription (in a local dialect) dated in V. 1589 Bhādrapada-sudi 11, recording a money grant to the shrine, from which it follows that the latter was in existence before that date. The outer walls of the central shrines are pierced by niches which hold various Brahmanical deities. Worthy of note are the well-carved alto-relievos [60] of Lakulīśa and Śiva (Photo Nos. 4578-9) placed in the niches in the walls of the shrine on the right. The nature of the object held in the lower right hand of the latter image (Photo No. 4579) is not evident at first; but a little reflection will suffice to convince one that it can be nothing else than a begging bowl. The image is carved out of the same kind of stone as the building material; the decorative elements of the niche are also in entire agreement with the style of architecture of the temple. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that the image is contemporaneous with and forms an integral part of the original fane. It was stated above that associated with the triple shrine there were smaller shrines standing on the same platform (Photo No. 4577). These contain marble or stone images of Sūrya, Vishṇu-Chaturbhuja and Śiva and Pārvati. Near the western edge of the

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platform lies a fragment of the arch of a *toraṇa* sculptured on both sides, the centre of which is occupied by the seated figure of the four-armed Śiva as Yogīndra. The lower pair of hands are folded together in the lap, while the uplifted hands hold a trident and skull. This fragment bears a striking resemblance to the corresponding portion of a *toraṇa* standing amid the group of temples on the bank of the well-known Mandākinī Kuṇḍa at Achalgaḍ.—The only objectives worthy of notice in the local Jain temple are the two inscriptions dated V. 1242, engraved on the base of the images of *dvārapālas* which flank the doorway of the closed hall. They contain a village-name Oḍagrāma, which is undoubtedly identical with that of the village under description. It thus appears that since the twelfth century the village has continued to be known under the name Oḍ or Oṛ. It also follows from the record that formerly the temple was dedicated to Mahāvīra.

GIRVAR.

5. Retracing our steps we turned westward in the direction of Girvar, which is eight miles due north-west of Abū Road. Girvar is noted for its ancient Vishṇu temple of Pāṭ-Nārāyaṇa, a name which imports as much sanctity as that of any temple on Mount Ābū. Mr. BHANDARKAR has already done justice to the antiquities of Girvar in the *Progress Report* for the year ending March 1907, and in particular to the two inscriptions (Inscr. Nos. 2737-8), one of which throws a flood of light on the obscure history of the Paramāras who held sway over the country round Ābū. We might, therefore, pass on to the consideration of a site (Photo No. 4581), from which there has been recently unearthed, among other things, a large Śiva Liṅga and pedestal. The massive dimensions of these objects of Śiva worship may be gathered from the following figures. The diameter of the *piṇḍī* is 15″, while across the *yoni* the diameter measures nearly 3′ 10″; the height of the *piṇḍī* above the *yoni* is 20″, but above ground level its height must have measured as much as 3′ 6″. As remarked above, the whole of this massive Liṅga was buried under a mass of debris, leaving only a portion of the polished edge of the *piṇḍī* exposed to view. The curiosity of the villagers, at first actuated, I suppose, by the evident traces of the ruin of a temple building with which the site abounds, led them to dig around the exposed edge of the *piṇḍī*. Great was their surprise when they lighted upon this Liṅga. Shortly after the discovery of the latter a well-preserved sculpture of Nandin was exhumed. These are clear traces of there having stood on this spot a Śiva temple, the antiquity of which is attested by the massive proportions of the Liṅga and the style of decoration of the mutilated members that are lying around in abundance. These fragments are mostly well-carved and very carefully finished. The Liṅga, we are told, has not been moved. And as the *praṇālikā* (water channel) points regularly to the north it is possible that the Liṅga is even now nearly *in situ*. In the close vicinity of the site of

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this ruin stands a brick structure which attracted our attention by the large size of its bricks. They measure on an average 16″ × 10½″ × 2¾″. Of the same size are the bricks of a face of a wall exposed to view during the excavations carried out by the villagers, which from its position appears to have been the retaining wall of the plinth of the old Śiva temple. The above mentioned brick structure serves now to shelter a number of idols of Brahmanical goddesses, such as Kālī, Indrāṇī, Brahmāṇī and others. It is not clear what sort of a *śikhara* the Śiva temple had, if, indeed, it did have one; for, although I closely examined the exposed fragments, I found nothing which could with certainty be looked upon as having formed a part of [61] the spire. It might have been worth while exploring systematically the site, which within a circumference of about 80 or 90 feet from the Liṅga is studded with brick-bats and broken members of buildings. It is, therefore, a great pity that the villagers have already set about building a temple in which to enshrine the Svayaṁbhū Śiva (-) on the very spot where the Liṅga was unearthed, thus obliterating all traces of the older temple.

DATANI.

6. Our next halt was at Datāṇī, a village situated 6 miles north-west of Girvar. Datāṇī is believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V. 1640 between Mahārāo Surtāṇ of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the Mahārāo was victorious. There are three temples in the village, none of which contains any feature of architectural note. But the local Śiva temple of Siddheśvara contains a sculptured memorial stone which, on examination, turned out to be the record of a dread rite called *kamal pūjā* performed by one Sujā in this very temple in V. 1688 Phālguna-sudi 2. The sculpture above the inscription represents the figures of a man and his wife standing side by side, with hands folded together in an attitude of worship. It appears that the *kamal-pūjā* culminated in the offering of the worshipper's own head, which was severed by a crescent-shaped instrument specially devised for the purpose. The widow of this martyr immolated herself at the same time on his funeral pile. The motive of the suicide is not stated.

MAKAVAL.

7. While at Datāṇī we secured impressions of an inscription (No. 2739) of the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha, the importance of which will be made clear presently. The inscription is engraved on a plain octagonal monolith of marble, about eight feet in height, standing on the brink of a small pond three miles due north-west of Datāṇī. The name of the adjoining village is Makāval. There is no other monument in sight; the pillar stands by itself. The inscription is dated V. 1276 Śrāvaṇa-sudi 3 Monday. The stone is unfortunately very much the worse for weather action and the inscription is barely legible; and so the purport of the record cannot be made out. Clear, however, are the names of Dhārāvarshadeva and his capital of Chandrāvatī, which data

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enable us to ascribe the record to the time of the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha, son of Yaśodhavala. The Vikrama year in which the record is dated, viz., 1276, becomes thus highly important, for this is the latest year so far found for Dhārāvarsha. His earliest record, the one from Kāyadrā (Sirohī State) is dated in V. 1220, and as this one bears the date V. 1276, it follows that his rule extended over the somewhat prolonged period of 56 years if not more. It is unnecessary to point out the importance of this piece of information in the matter of settling the chronology of the Paramāras.

8. During the Christmas holidays I visited the Dilvāḍā temples on Mount Ābū and drew up notes on the work of repair going on there, for the guidance of the Superintendent in anticipation of his annual visit of inspection, which had necessarily to be of very short duration as he was at that time busy excavating in Sind and had very little time to attend to work elsewhere.

NITORA.

9. About four miles to the north-west of Roheḍā Station is situated the village of Nitorā, which contains several temples, of which only two are deserving of special notice, and they are the shrine of Sūrya and the temple of Pārśvanātha. The former faces the east and stands along with several other shrines inside an enclosed court. Inside the cella there are two marble images standing on an elevated platform : one of them is Sūrya wearing Hessian boots, and the other, small in size, is the image of a two-armed goddess. In one hand she holds a lotus and in the other an object which looks like a *kalaśa*. On account of the absence of any distinguishing vehicle, as also the paucity of symbols, it is difficult to identify the goddess. But there can be no doubt that she is in some way associated with Sūrya (and may be even the Śakti of Sūrya) ; for, the images exhibit similar decorative details, the same stiff attitude ; in fact, the same technique throughout. It is worth noting that the legs of the goddess are represented as slightly bent at the knee as though she were about to kneel. In the centre of [62] the small porch of this temple is a king of a *chaumukh* stand bearing on its top a polished circular slab of stone (Photo No. 4582). A curious aspect of the orientation of the square pedestal is that its corners point to the cardinal directions. At Vāsā, about a mile and half to the north-east of Roheḍā, there is a large Sūrya temple, in the porch of which is placed a similar *chaumukh* stand ; but the latter culminates in a "flat full-blown lotus." In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there are, I understand, two or three such pedestals with full-blown lotus on top. But in our specimen it is impossible to think that the circular disc above alluded to stands for a lotus. We must look for its explanation in some other attribute of Sūrya. It will be remembered that the car of Sūrya has only one wheel ; in fact, *ekachakra* is one of the epithets of the Sun god. Such being the case I see no reason why the un-

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decorated flat disc should not be looked upon as an emblem of the vehicle (*vāhana*) of Sūrya (like Garuḍa of Vishṇu and the Nandin of Śiva) which is, in fact, nothing more or less than the visible disc of the luminary.—The only other temple in Nitorā that is worthy of special mention is the temple of Pārśvanātha. The cella contains the typical marble image of a Jain *tīrthaṁkara*. But it is doubtful whether this image was originally meant to be one of Pārśvanātha ; for, the emblem engraved on its pedestal is not a serpent, as is to be expected in the case of Pārśvanātha, but a wheel ; which latter, by the way, finds no mention at all in the canonical list of emblems of the four and twenty *tīrthaṁkaras*. In the south-west corner of the enclosed aisle is a marble image with protuberant belly. Locally the image is known under the name Bābājī. On the *mukuṭa* of the figure is carved a representation in miniature of a seated *tīrthaṁkara*. The inscription on the base which reads :

(1) Saṁvat 1491 varshe Vaiśakha-sudi 2 Guru-dine
(2) *Yaksha-bāvā-kī murttiḥ . . . . śubhaṁ bhuvataḥ* ||

shows that it is the representation of a Yaksha, an attendant of Kubera. The image has four hands : in the uplifted right he holds trident, in the lower right rosary ; while in the uplifted left there is a *pāśa* (noose), and in the corresponding lower hand *kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot).

KOJRA.

10. Our next halt was at Kojrā, which is situated about 10 miles due north-east of Nitorā. Opposite the Jain temple of Saṁbhavanātha stands the inscribed slab conveying the gift of the village to the Purohita of the royal household. The record belongs to the reign of the Chohān (Devaḍā) king Suratāṇa and is dated on the 9th of Ashāḍha-vadi V. 1634.. It states that the gift was made at the request of Dhārābāi, the queen dowager. In the middle of the village stands a temple of Vishṇu, locally known as Paraśurāma, which is highly popular with the Kumbhārs (potters). We were in fact told by a local Bhāṭ that the temple was built in V. 900 by a Kumbhār. Although the chronicle may be right as regards the caste (i.e., profession) of the builder of the temple the style of the architecture does not support the claim to the alleged antiquity. I was interested to know what sort of image they make of Paraśurāma and so visited the temple early in the morning in order to inspect the god while he was being bathed, as that is the only occasion on which the image is undraped. It was disappointing to find that the so-called Paraśurāma was no other than the four-armed Vishṇu-Chaturbhuja.—Close by this temple, standing on an eminence is the Jain temple dedicated to Saṁbhavanātha. The oldest portion of the structure dates probably from the twelfth century, but many additions and alterations have been made in the intervening period. Even now the temple is undergoing elaborate renovation at the hands of the local Bania community. The

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image which at present finds itself in the main shrine is undoubtedly that of Saṁbhāvanātha as the *lāñchhana* on the base of the image is a horse, and thus the temple is rightly called the temple of Saṁbhavanātha. But an inscription engraved on a pillar of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* tells a different story. Only two lines of the inscription (No. 2740) are now visible from under the coat of *chunam* with which the pillar has in recent times been covered, and they are :

1. [Saṁ]vat 1224 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 14[Some].
2. *Śrī Pārasva-nātha-deva-chaite Rāṇā Rāva*

As there is every reason to believe that the pillar is *in situ* it follows that the temple was originally consecrated to Pārśvanātha.

[63] BAMANVARJI.

11. Ten miles from Kojrā and nearly as far from Sirohī lies the popular *tīrtha* of Bāmaṇvārjī, which attracts pilgrims not only from all over Sirohī but even from other states of Rājputānā. The group of temples stands at the foot of one of the small hillocks which lie along the main road between Sirohī and Piṇḍvāḍā. A high wall encloses the temples and the secular buildings built all around for the convenience of the pilgrims. The main temple, which is dedicated to Mahāvīra, locally called Bāmaṇvārjī, belongs probably to the 14th or 15th century, but it has undergone extensive additions and alterations in the interval. The *pujārī* has a fable—too fantastic to be repeated here—to tell in explanation of the word Bāmaṇvārjī. But in older inscriptions the place-name occurs as Baṁbhaṇavāḍagrāma, containing the element *vāḍ(a)* which occurs at the end of so many other place-names, e.g., Anhilvāḍ, Dilvāḍā, etc. Curiously enough, in the heart of this sanctum dedicated to Jain worship a Śiva Liṅga also finds a place, and, from all accounts, has occupied that place from time immemorial. Within recent years the Jain community had attempted to oust this emblem of Śiva, but its restoration was speedily brought about, we were told, by a royal mandate. From an architectural point of view the temple is unimportant. An inscription (No. 2742) on the architrave of one from the row of small shrines that surround the courtyard records the dedication of that shrine in V. 1519 by a Prāgvāṭa (Porvāḍ) Bania living in Vīravāṭaka. This village is to be identified with Vīravāḍā (Birwara of Quarter Sheet 20 S. E.) situated a mile to the north-west of Bāmaṇvārjī. In the same inscription the *tīrtha* itself is called *Brāhmāṇavāḍa-grāma-mahāsthāna.*—In the south-west corner of the enclosure of the temple there is a small shrine dedicated to Mahādeva. Outside the shrine stands an inscribed stone (Inscr. No. 2743) built into the outer wall of the shrine. The edges of the stone are chipped and its lower portion is also damaged. In places the hollows have been filled in with cement. The record which is short, is dated in V. 1249 (A.D. 1192) and refers itself to the reign

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of the Paramāra king Dhārāvarsha. I have alluded to inscriptions of this king dated in V. 1220 and 1276. The inscription in Bāmaṇvārjī gives us thus only an intermediate date. The stone being highly weather-worn, the contents of the record could not be made out satisfactorily. The language appears to be a local dialect. The name Baṁbhaṇavāḍa-grāma is clearly discernible, and thus probably the record is one of a gift either to this temple or some other temple in this village. The inscription begins as follows :—

(l. 1) Oṁ Saṁvat 1249 *varashe Śrī-Dhārā*[*va**]*rsha saṁ*[*rā*]*je Bāṁbha-*

(l. 2) *ṇavāḍa-grāme* . . . .

BALDA.

12. From Bāmaṇvārjī we had intended to proceed directly to Sirohī. But on receiving intimation that Bāldā, a village only six miles away, contained a very old Jain temple, we turned away from our objective and made a *detour* of a couple of miles in order to visit Bāldā. Great was our disappointment when on arriving there we found that the "very old Jain temple" of which we were told was a temple of the 14th or 15th century with no pretensions to architectural interest. The temple stands on a high platform and consists of the main shrine, a large hall and an enclosed aisle of cells, which latter are empty. The main shrine contains an image of Mahāvīra installed in V. 1697. The temple is, however, much older than the image; for, in the inscription (No. 2744) engraved on the lintel of the door opening into the cella, it is recorded that in V. 1493 Jyeshṭha-sudi 7 Monday Guṇabhadra renovated the temple built by his ancestor Baladeva. Also at the same time an image of Mahāvīra was installed there. The sum needed for getting the image made was subscribed by several pious Jains whose names are also recorded in the inscription.

SIROHI.

13. At Sirohī we made a short halt in order to lay in a store of provisions in anticipation of our protracted sojourn in comparatively wild tracts, and also in connection with certain slight differences that had arisen in our dealings with the local authorities, and that were happily adjusted through the kind mediation of the Dewān Sāheb. While there, I wanted to inspect the Vasantagaḍh inscription of Pūrṇapāla (dated V. 1099), which was removed from its find-place and brought [64] to Sirohī for safe-keeping. However, as no one at the Darbār knew where it had since been housed, I had to abandon the pursuit in exchange of a promise on the part of the Secretary to the Musāheb Alā to make further enquiries and let me know.

KOLAR.

14. At the foot of the eastern mountain range running from Sirohī northwards lie to the east of the cart track the remains of the old township

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of Kolar (about five miles due north-east of Sirohī) which is all but deserted now. At present the only habitation there is that of the family of the *ṭujārī* attached to the temple of Ādinātha and a few Banias. The temple has been restored in recent times by the Jain community of Pāladī, which lies about five miles further north. It possesses no architectural features of note. Those of the images in the temple that bear dedicatory inscriptions date from the 18th or 19th century of the Vikrama Era. Worthy of notice is the sculptured Makrānā lintel (Photo No. 4583) of the central bay of the pillared corridor adjoining the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* on the side of the entrance door of the temple. On this architrave is carved in high relief the pictorial representation of a legend, probably from the life of a Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*, the full significance of which, however, is not evident. In the left corner of the sculpture is represented a queen reclining on a canopied couch. Then follow in succession from left to right the following fourteen objects : elephant, bull, *śārdūla* (or horse), Gaja-lakshmī (with elephants), an unintelligible symbol, the Sun and Moon, *ankuśa*, *kalaśa*, walled town, river (to be identified by the fish and tortoises swimming in its water), temple, *sahasra-liṅga*, and lastly *ratha*. The connection between these fourteen objects and the sleeping queen is elucidated by the following legend in Nāgarī characters of the 12-15th century engraved in the left corner of the sculpture : *Mahārājñī Uśalādevī chaturdaśa svapnāni paśyati* : 'Mahārāṇī Uśalādevī dreams fourteen dreams.' The space above this picture is carved with a design of pointed leaves separated by ornamental chains of beads. On the soffit of the architrave is sculptured a row of rosettes arranged in narrow panels. This odd architrave of marble has been undoubtedly imported from the ruins of an older temple. It may be noted that Makrānā does not otherwise come into use in the construction of the temple under description.—Kolar might have been a big-sized town at one time. Prominent among the ruins are the dilapidated remains of the bastions and buttressed walls of a disused fort which overlooks the village from the crest of the adjoining hill.

PALADI.

15. Pāladī is a large village situated about ten miles to the north-east of Sirohī. My object in making a halt in Pāladī was to secure impressions of an important Chāhamāna inscription from the local temple of Mahāvīra, an inscription which by virtue of its position is a piece of direct evidence of the gradual encroachment of the Chāhamānas of Mārvār into the territory of the Paramāras of Abū in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. The temple is in religious occupation of the community. It faces the north and consists of a *gūḍha-* and *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, an elaborate porch, and an enclosed aisle of cells, some of which contain images of *tīrthaṁkaras*. The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* has a domical ceiling supported as usual on an octagon of pillars. Between the monolithic shaft and the capital is inserted a short length of

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ornamental necking consisting of a fluted vase resting on a fluted cushion in order to secure the requisite height (Photo No. 4584). Seven of the pillars are inscribed with short records giving the name (or names as the case may be) of the donor who contributed the sum needed for erecting the column. All the inscriptions (Nos. 2745—50) are dated on the same day, viz., Friday Āshāḍha-vadi 1 in V. 1248. In the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* there is a marble image of standing *dvārapāla* on either side of the shrine door, and smaller images of *tīrthaṁkaras* are placed in the niches of the eastern and western walls of the main shrine. The inscription (No. 2751) for which we came here is engraved on a stone of the outside wall near the porch of the temple. It is dated in V. 1249 Māgha-sudi 10 Thursday and refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Kelhaṇadeva and his son Jayatasīha-deva. It also mentions the latter's chief minister Vīlhaṇa and another person named Rājadeva, son of Sū(Bhū?)madeva, who was in some way related to Jayatasīha's minister. [65] The abraded condition of the stone leaves unclear what it was that Rājadeva did to this temple of Mahāvīra. The king *Mahārājādhirāja* Kelhaṇadeva, to whose reign the record refers itself, is undoubtedly the Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa, son of Alhaṇa, whose capital was at Naḍol (Naḍḍūla). Pandit Gaurishankar in his Hindi history of Sirohī (*Sirohī-rājya-ka Itihāsa*, p. 56, footnote) gives the date of this record as V. 1239. This is, however, a mislection as the details of the date (which were kindly verified for me by my learned friend Dewān Bahādur Swami Kannu PILLAI) are correct only for the year V. 1249 and not for V. 1239. The date thus corresponds to Thursday, 14th January, A.D. 1193. As the name of the Yuvarāja is mentioned in the record along with that of his father, it is possible that the Yuvarāja had been enjoying the country around Pāladī as his *bhukti*. The real importance of the inscription lies, however, in the conclusion deducible from it that even before the end of the twelfth century the Chāhamānas had penetrated into the kingdom of the Paramāras as far as Pāladī, which is not more than forty miles direct distance from Chandrāvatī, the capital of the Paramāras.

VAGIN.

16. From Pāladi we visited Vāgīṇ which is about a mile away from the former village. The two Jaina temples of Vāgīṇ stand side by side on an eminence surrounded by a high walled enclosure. One of these temples is consecrated to Ādinātha and the other to Śāntinātha. The plan of both is exactly alike; the temple of Ādinātha is, however, slightly larger than the other. The exterior of the temples is devoid of ornamentation excepting a narrow horizontal band decorated with lozenge-shaped leaves. Originally the temple of Ādinātha, which may roughly be attributed to the 12th or 13th century, appears to have consisted only of the shrine, *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and porch. At some subsequent period the porch was extended by the addition

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of a large open hall with a domed ceiling supported as usual on an octagon of pillars and also by a pillared corridor adjoining this hall. There are in the temple of Śāntināth a three inscriptions (Nos. 2752—54): two short records on two of the pillars of the original porch are dated both in V. 1264, and contain the names of the donors. The inscription on the architrave of the doorway of the main shrine is much later than these, being dated in V. 1359 in the reign of Sāmamtasimha-deva and records the gift of a certain quantity of *godhūma* (wheat-flour) to the temple for the purpose of defraying the expenses incidental to the holding of the annual festival (*yātrā*). The name of the village is given as (*Vāghasiṇa*) situated in the Naḍḍūladeśa. The word *dhīvaḍa* occurring in the inscription is used in Mārvār to denote a small *arahaṭṭa* (Persian wheel), irrigating only about half as much as the latter, while *sāi* is the name for a measure of 16 *pāyalis*. The importance of the inscription lies in its date V. 1359, which is later by five years than the latest date mentioned for Sāmaṁtasiṁha by Mr. BHANDARKAR in his article on the history of the Chāhamānas of Mārvā, which is the most up-to-date and detailed pronouncement on the subject. I may here add that even V. 1359 is not the latest date for that king, for at Ūthamaṇ (see next paragraph) I discovered another inscription referring itself to the reign of Sāṁvatasiṁha which is dated in V. 1362.

UTHAMAN.

17. Not more than about a mile and a half to the north-east of Pāladī lies the village now known as Ūthamaṇ. In the Quarter Sheet No. 20 S. E. the name is shown as "Utan" which stands evidently for Ūthaṇ. This difference of pronunciation does in fact exist; for even in the local inscriptions the name is spelt sometimes as Ūthamaṇ and sometimes as Ūthaṇ or Ūthūn. In the local Jaina temple there is an inscription (No. 2755) on the finely carved marble pedestal of the image in the main shrine recording the gift of *jalabaṭṭu*(?) to the temple of Pārśvanātha by Devadharji, son of Dhaṇāsava by his wife Dhāramati. In this record the temple is referred to as the Ūthūṇa-chaitya. In the inscription (No. 2756) on the lintel dated V. 1251 the place is called Ūthaṇa. The small shrine standing on a high mound adjoining the hill at the foot of which Ūthamaṇ itself lies is a temple of Mahādeva locally known as Ūthamesar (Ūthameśvara). Besides the shrine there is a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* adjoining the simple porch. On either side of the doorway is an inscription (Nos. 2757-58) incised on the pilasters of [66] the porch dated V. 1256 Jyeshṭha-sudi 14 Monday and referring to the reign of Sāṁvatasiṁha. The language is Mārvāṛī. The purpose of the inscriptions is to record grants to the temple. Just outside the porch there is a third inscription (No. 2760) engraved on the faces of a dwarf pillar square in section. It refers itself also to the reign of a Sāṁvatasiṁha of Naḍḍūla and is dated in the Vikrama year 1362. This Saṁvatasiṁha can be no other than the

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Chohān king of that name, son of Chāchigadeva. The date of the inscription is, as remarked above, the latest hitherto known date of Sāṁvatasiṁha. Unfortunately the stone is highly abraded and the inscription is to a great extent illegible, though it seems almost certain that the record consists chiefly of an inventory of a large number of donations made to this Śiva temple by various persons at the same time. Both the Jain temple (Photo No. 4585) and the temple of Ûthamesar (Photo No. 4586) must be anterior to the inscriptions found there. The massive torus mouldings and the width of these and the other horizontal courses point to the 10th or 11th century as the period of their construction. The curvilinear *śikhara* of the Mahādeva temple is made of brick and has been roughly plastered over in recent years. The diaper relieving the outer walls of the shrine is preserved and, though simple in pattern, is executed with clearness and decision. In the Jain temple the torus moulding is somewhat more slender than in the other specimen, and the former temple may perhaps on that account be attributed to a slightly later period.

RARABAR.

18. Midway between Pāladī and Rārabar, which is two miles east of Pāladī, are to be seen on the bank of the river Sukṭī two small Śiva temples. A high wall surrounds the platform on which they stand. The locality is known as Pāṁch-devalī. The name would lead us to expect a group of five temples at that place. And in fact we are told that at one time some more shrines had stood there, some of which were carried away during the inundations of the river. However that may be, there are only the two above-named fanes to be seen there now. Above the doorway of one of the shrines there is an inscription dated in the V. 1231 referring itself to the reign of [the Chāhamāna] *Mahārājādhirāja* Kelhaṇadeva.—At some small distance from Rārabar, lying in the folds of the mountains is a shrine dedicated to Mahādeva known by the name of Gangūpiyā. At the annual *melā* of this temple the Bhils and Meṇas of the neighbourhood assemble in large numbers, make a confession of all their misdoings of the previous year before the Great God, and lay down at the same time a portion of the spoils at the God's feet. And woe betide him who hides a secret guilt at this confession, for he lives not to see the year out! The confession is meant only for the ears of the God and no royal official dares to disturb the sinners in the midst of this confidential interview. So we were told by the *pujārī* of the Pāṁch-devalī shrines.

LAS.

19. Our next halt was at Lāś, about ten miles due north-west of Pāladī, with which we reached the northernmost point of our tour. In Lāś there are altogether five temples : two Jain and three Hindu. None of them show any architectural features of note. One of the Jain temples dedicated to

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Ādinātha is undergoing repairs. The old *sabhāmaṇḍapa* has been completely dismantled and a new one is being erected in its place. The only object of antiquarian interest of the locality is a much mutilated but well-carved sculpture standing supported against the outer wall of the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa temple. The sculpture represents a standing figure of a four-armed god and his consort. Only the (proper) left arms of the god are intact ; one of them passes round the slim waist of his consort, while in the other he holds a lotus bud. As the emblems in the other hands of the male figure are broken away, it is difficult to say with certainty what deities the fragment represents ; but the probability is that the group is a representation of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. On its base is an inscription (No. 2762) dated both in Vikrama year 1344 and Śaka 1209 and referring itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Sāṁvatasiṁha, the Chohān king, several of whose inscriptions have been mentioned above. In l. 2 we also find the name Jābālipura—the sanskritised form of Jālor—which stands in all probability for the capital of the said Chohān chief, although on account of the abraded condition of the stone it is not possible to affirm this with certainty.

[67] GOL.

20. From Lāś we proceeded to Gol, which is about eight miles due south of it. Gol contains only two temples worthy of note—the temple of Ambā Mātā (Photo No. 4587) and the Chaubhuj temple (Photo Nos. 4588-89). The former stands on a high platform built of ashlar masonry. The small quadrilateral porch over the entrance steps widens out into an oblong hall with a flat roof supported on twelve pillars, two of which are in the centre of the hall. One of the six bays into which the ceiling is thus divided culminates in a richly sculptured domical roof, while the others are merely covered by an arrangement of one square slab and three triangular slabs resting symmetrically on the architraves. The massive mouldings running round the outside of the shrine wall indicate an age much higher than that of the poorly sculptured image of the goddess inside the shrine, on the base of which is incised the date V. 1752. In the niches in the southern and western walls there are placed images which are replicas in miniature of the principal image inside the shrine. Curiously enough on the north wall there is no niche and the transverse courses run straight on undisturbed. The goddess locally known as Ambā Mātā is portrayed standing with a *śārdūla* on either side. In the two (proper) right hands she holds a trident and rosary and in the lower left a *kamaṇḍalu*. The object held in the upper left hand is not quite clear but looks very much like a bell. On the right door jamb there is an inscription in a local dialect, dated in the V. 1752, like the one on the base of the principal image, and records probably repairs to the temple and the installation of the image. The temple shows signs of having again undergone repairs in very recent times.—The temple of Chaubhuj stands on a high plinth and consists of three cells in a row, all of the same

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size. The curvilinear *śikhara* of the central shrine is larger than those of the side shrines. In the middle cell there is an undated image; but the image of Sūrya (on the left) and that of Vishṇu (on the right) in the other shrines are both dated in the year 1741 and refer to the reign of Verisāla [Vairiśāla] I, chief of Sirohī. The temple is built out of odd members belonging to other and older temples. A low parapet runs round the platform on which the shrine stands. The skew brackets embedded in the front wall of the shrine indicate that the open space in front was intended to be covered by a domical roof. The niches at the back of the temple contain images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and the Sun; those of Gaṇeśa and the Sun are placed in the niches of the lateral walls. Lying near the parapet adjoining the shrine of Vishṇu I noticed a low marble stool, polyhedral in section, about a foot in height and eighteen inches in diameter. The sides are covered with a bold diaper-pattern and the top is carved in the form of a conventional lotus. It is the lotus emblematic of the Sun-god.

21. From Gol we moved to Jāvāl (Zawal of Quarter-Sheet 20 S. E.) and from there we visited Deldar and Maṇḍvariā. But none of these places contains anything worthy of notice. *En route* from Jāvāl to Sanvāḍā we halted at the village of Kālandrī about six miles south-west of Jāvāl. Besides a modern temple of Vishṇu there is at Jāvāl a Jain temple dedicated to Mahāvīra, of perhaps the fourteenth century. In the main shrine of this temple there is placed a sculptured panel representing in high relief a worshipper (*upāsaka*) in the act of feeding a pigeon, a representation which has probably reference to some incident in the life of a *tīrthaṁkara*. Worthy of note is the short record of four lines below the sculpture, which is an unequivocal testimony of the prevalence of religious suicide in the fourteenth century. The inscription, which is dated V. 1389 Phālguna-sudi 8 Monday, records that on that day the whole of the Saṁgha committed suicide by abstaining from food (*'anaśanena divaṁ gataḥ*). The names of the prominent members of the Saṁgha who immolated themselves in this way are given. The name of the village is given as Kālaṁdrahī.

22. At Sanvāḍā about fifteen miles due south of Kālandrī we halted in order to visit the neighbouring villages of Ṭokarā, Asāvā, and Devakhetar, the antiquities of which will now be described in succession.

TOKARA.

23. Ṭokarā, which lies about two miles to the south-east of Sanvāḍā, cannot now boast of more than a few isolated huts of shepherds, though at one [68] time it must have been a large flourishing village. On the brink of the rivulet that streams through the hamlet, stands on a natural elevation a neglected group of shrines, the principal one of which is dedicated to the Sonādhāri Mahādeva. In the south-west corner of the courtyard stands a dilapidated little shrine consisting of a cella and porch (Photo No. 4590),

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On the architrave of the door-frame is sculptured the image of Gaṇapati. The curvilinear *śikhara* of stone is ornamented with a design of elongated horse-shoe shaped *chaitya* windows. The finely carved *āmalaka* is entire and in position. The shrine is empty and serves as a store-room for chunam. On the left door jamb of the sanctum is engraved the following inscription (No. 2763) :

1. Saṁvatu 1232 Phāguṇa-vadi 6
2. *deva-pratishṭā Rāo Vijaḍū karā-*
3. *pitā.*

It thus attributes the "establishment of the god" in that shrine to one Rāo Vijadū. Now, among the places of antiquarian interest described in his Hindi "*History of Sirohī,*" Pandit Gaurishankar OJHA has included Ṭokarā. There Pandit Gaurishankar speaks of a short record incised on a pillar of a shrine situated in the enclosure above alluded to. The inscription, he says, is dated V. 1333 Phālguṇa vadi 6 and adds that the shrine was built by Rāva Bijaḍa, the Chāhamāna king of that name. The Pandit proceeds to conclude from this that previous to the said year, viz., V. 1333, the Devaḍās (the Chāhamāna family to which the present rulers of Sirohī belong) must have extended their sway as far as Mount Ābū, evidently because (as he imagines) the Chohān (Devaḍā) king Bijaḍ had erected a shrine at Ṭokarā. It will be noticed that all the details of the inscription described by Pandit Gaurishankar agree with those given above by me except in the matter of the reading of the year. The date as given by the Pandit is 1333 ; while I have no doubt that the inscription I found on the very same spot bears the date 1232. This is a serious discrepancy, what might be possible in 1333 is certainly not possible in 1232. Moreover, assuming for the sake of argument that the year as given by Gaurishankar is correct, even then, the absence of any royal title (such as *Mahārāja* or *Yuvarāja,* etc.), coupled with the name of the donor, would be, I think, a serious objection to any attempt at identifying Rāo Bijaḍu of the inscription with any royal personage whatever. It is hardly necessary to point out that the abbreviation Rāo of the inscription may stand for Rāval or Rāṭhoḍ or any similar clan-name beginning with Rā. Unless therefore the Pandit has through some oversight confounded the date of the inscription described above by me with some other inscription, it must be said that the learned Pandit is mistaken in his view regarding the extent of the possessions of the Devaḍās in the thirteenth century.

ASAVA.

24. About two miles to the south-east of Sanvāḍā is the village of Asāvā, with which hangs a story of the slaughter of Brāhmaṇas and the subsequent act of atonement for this transgression. It is narrated that Hammīra, the younger brother of Jagamāla of Sirohī, was both avaricious and impetuous. Blinded by his greed he attacked and seized by force several

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villages belonging to his brother. During a raid on the village of Asāvā he slaughtered several Brāhmaṇas; whereupon their widows immolated themselves over the corpses of the victims of this aggression. Subsequently through the intercession of the relatives of this Hammīra, the village of Asāvā together with a large part of the adjoining land was handed over in V. 1545 to Brāhmaṇas as Brahmadāya, free of taxes and every other due. No royal official was ever to enter the village. Such is, I believe, also the purport of some Mārvāṛī inscriptions of the sixteenth century outside the local temple of Vishṇu. In this same village there is a well-carved image of Hanumat (about 5 feet high) of which the chief interest lies in the fact that it bears a date. From an inscription on the base we learn that it was fashioned for Bhūmṇā, son of Vīrasīha, in V. 1355 Māgha-sudi 10 (Inscr. No. 2764). The resinous oil poured over the image by countless devotees has formed such a thick crust over it that it is not possible to get a clear idea of the contour of the original sculpture (Photo No. 4591).

[69] DEVAKHETAR.

25. Not more than a mile away from Asāvā lies the village of Devakhetar and about two miles to the east of the latter are situated the ruins of a group of temples within an enclosing parapet wall. Devakhetar was visited by Mr. BHANDARKAR in 1906 and its antiquities are described by him in the *Progress Report* for the year ending March 1907. I shall, therefore, restrict my remarks to the description of three short inscriptions discovered by me within the temple precincts. One of them, which is incised on a pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the large Śiva temple, records the obeisance of the Sūtradhāra and incidentally gives the name of the god as Sidhesar (Siddheśvara). One often comes across short records containing salutations of *sūtradhāras* engraved on different portions of religious buildings. These names, I may add, are not of some *sūtradhāra* or other who had come there on a pilgrimage, but of the particular *sūtradhāra* who had planned and built the edifice. For, such records are not confined to religious buildings, but are found in connection with secular buildings also, as, for instance, in the Tower of Fame (Kīrtham) at Chitorgad. The second inscription which appears to be dated V. 1230 (or 1234 ?) is engraved below an image of Śiva and Pārvatī. It has suffered severely from the effects of weather and is almost illegible. It contains the name Devakhetar, from which it follows that the name of the locality has remained unchanged during the intervening nine centuries. The third and last inscription is a fragmentary record in a local dialect, engraved on the base of a column pertaining to the porch of the main temple. The inscription is of some importance for the reconstruction of the history of the Paramāras, as it refers itself to the reign of the Paramāra king Sumasīha (Somasiṁha) and bears the date 1293, which is the latest date hitherto found for him. The earliest date is that which we gather from a

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record in the temple of Vastupāla on Mount Abū dated in V. 1287 corresponding to A.D. 1230.

HATHAL.

26. Hāthal, called Hathalāḍī in the plates of the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha found at the place, is situated two miles north-east of Haṇādrā, the headquarters of the Tahsil. On a low mound close to the boundary of the village of Hāthal stand the ruins of the two temples and a highly dilapidated small shrine. The site, which is covered with a profusion of carved fragments of various members of temple buildings, is now used as a public latrine! Across the slanting face of the mound cow-dung cakes are put out for drying. The above-mentioned shrine appears to have been dedicated to Śiva but the Liṅga is missing. The shrine includes a water channel on its north side, while the fragment of a Nandin lying close by leaves no doubt as to the god enshrined there. The two temples alongside of this shrine are so hopelessly mutilated that it is no longer possible to say with certainty to whom they were dedicated. The remains of the lowest courses which are still *in situ* show that they were both surrounded by an enclosing wall. Within living memory one of these shrines contained an image of Brahmā which, having brought ill-luck to the village, was, we were told, despatched to the neighbouring village of Sakhav where it is still duly worshipped. The third temple of the group is stated to have contained a representation of Sūrya. Among the sculptures surviving I noticed the following : an image of Brahmā broken in two halves, a rudely carved image of Sūrya and a fragment which might have belonged to an image of Vishṇu. There are several Māṛvārī inscriptions in the village, but no impressions were taken of these, as the inscriptions are of a comparatively modern date. In records of the 15th century the name of the place is given as Brahma-sthāna which indicates that the village was held as *inām* by Brāhmaṇas. In fact we learnt that it was made over to Brāhmaṇas during the regime of the Paramāras of Abū about V. 1215 (A.D. 1158). From that time date the stones engraved with representations of Śiva Liṅgas, Sun and Moon, cow and calf—all emblematic of Dharma—which are to be seen buried at intervals along the boundary of the village in order to mark off its limits. This is a novel idea. I do not remember having seen boundary stones of that type elsewhere or even heard of them.

DHANDHAPUR.

27. From Haṇādrā I visited also the small village of Dhāndhapur situated about two miles south-west of Haṇādrā. Several Paramāra inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are to be found there, but most of them are so [70] weather-worn as to be absolutely illegible. In these old records the name of the place is given as Dhandhukapura, probably so called after the Paramāra king Dhandu(ka). Resting against the wall of a square

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chhabutrā in the village is a memorial stone on which is sculptured in high relief a mounted rider armed with a spear. Below is a short record of three lines giving the date V. 1347 and the name of him in whose memory the stone was set up, viz., Arjuna, son of Paramāra Pātala. Paramāra is a very common clan name among the Rajputs. So there does not seem to be sufficient reason for identifying this Paramāra Pātala with the Paramāra chieftain Pratāpasiṁha and investing the latter, on the strength of it with a son of the name Arjuna, as one antiquarian has done.

UDRAT.

28. While at Dhāndhapur I was told that there were at a distance of not more than a couple of miles some ruined temples which were well worth a visit and so I set out to look for them. After some hours of careful search in the wilderness I lighted upon the wreckage of two temples. The site is covered with lintels, columns, bases and capitals lying in a wild confusion as though the ground on which they were standing had been convulsed by an earthquake. Portions of the masonry plinth of one temple are still intact and in the debris lying around I discovered the fragment of a large slab forming part of the *maṇḍovara* that was sculptured in high relief with the image of a *tīrthaṁkara* seated in an attitude of meditation. It may thus be that a Jain temple had stood there once upon a time. Not many yards away lie the remains of another temple, conspicuous amongst which are the deeply carved fragments of the stone *śikhara*. The presence of the Śiva Liṅga pedestal is evidence of its being once a temple dedicated to Śiva worship. From the character of letters engraved on the fragments, the temple may be ascribed roughly to the eleventh or twelfth century, a conclusion which is not at discord with the style of the ornamentation of the *śikharas* which are deeply sculptured with a design consisting of *chaitya* windows.

JOLPUR.

29. On leaving Haṇādrā we halted at Revadhar so as to be able to inspect conveniently some villages in the neighbourhood of the latter town. The first village to be visited from here was Jolpur situated about four miles from Revadhar. The only temple in the village is in a state of advanced ruin. It consists of three shrines standing on a solid masonry plinth. The porch is in a highly dilapidated condition. The middle shrine contains a Śiva Liṅga which goes by the name of Kālesar (Kāleśvara). The doorway of this shrine is elaborately carved. To judge from the general style of workmanship the temples cannot belong to a date anterior to the twelfth century.—But about a mile or so from Jolpur are standing the remains of a complex of highly dilapidated temples which are several centuries older than the one just described. The group, as it stands, consists of two large shrines and three subsidiary shrines standing at a short distance behind the former. One of the larger shrines contains fragments of a massive pedestal of a Śiva Liṅga of

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which the *yoni* lies just outside the porch. Near the remains of the pedestal is lying what appears at first sight to be a dwarf pillar with section changing from a square to a circle through an octagon. But as its dimensions agree exactly with those of the internal section of the above-mentioned *yoni* and pedestal, there can be no doubt that this shaft was once fitted into the circular opening of the *yoni* and is the actual Liṅga. The other large shrine sheltered one whole and another mutilated image of Mahishāsuramardinī. The broken icon is fashioned out of granite—a stone not usually met with in these parts —and though not unlike the other image, which is of soft limestone, exhibits much finer workmanship and greater finish of detail. Of the three subsidiary shrines, one is completely demolished (only the lowest course remaining *in situ*), while the other which is better preserved is empty. The third subsidiary shrine contains a well-carved image of Sūrya, broken in twain across the knees. The stone *śikhara* of most of these fanes have fallen in ; but wherever isolated blocks of these are still standing in position, their ornamentation is seen to consist of repetition in miniature of deeply carved *chaitya* windows and façades. Many stones of the debris showed the same design. The size of the *śikhara* may be judged from the fragmentary sector of an *āmalaka* with a radius of twelve feet six inches. For the antiquity of the temple speak the large size of the undecorated stone blocks [71] of which the walls are built, the massive size of the plain moulding and the large clear horse-shoe shaped *chaitya* windows which form part of the designs of the deeply carved *śikhara* (Photo No. 4596-A).

JIRAVAL.

30. About five miles to the north-west of Revadhar lies the village of Jirāval. In inscriptions of the 14th century in the local Jaina temple situated at the foot of a hill to the west of the village the name of the village occurs as Jirāüla or Jīrāla. The sanctum of this temple contains an image of Neminātha characterised by his *lāñchhana* of the conch. But it is amply clear from the inscriptions (Nos. 2773-80) engraved on the jambs and lintels of the doorways of the subsidiary shrines that the temple was originally consecrated to Pārśvanātha, a fact which is well known to the inhabitants of the village of Jirāval, who give the following reason for the change of denomination. They narrate that during the regime of a Muslim king (whom they called Bokaḍā Pādashāh) the temple was attacked, desecrated and plundered by a band of Muhammadan troops. During this raid the image of Pārśvanātha was pulled down and smashed to pieces by the bigotted iconoclasts. A long time after, when the temple was resuscitated, an image of Neminātha was made and installed in the place of the old image. The subsidiary shrines which form the enclosed aisle are all empty. The jambs and lintels of over forty of them are inscribed with dedicatory inscriptions giving the names of the donors, the quondam pontiffs, etc. The earliest of them is dated in

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V. 1421 and the latest in V. 1483. The donors seem to have been all Osvāl Baniās ; and this is the class to which the present Bania community of the village belongs. Vīsalanagara and Kalavanagara appear among the names of the places of residence of some of the donors. It is well-known that at Vīsalanagara there was a large colony of Osvāl Baniās. The temple which is probably of the same date as the above-mentioned inscriptions, viz., the fourteenth century of the Christian era, contains no features of architectural note.

VARMAN.

31. The village of Varmāṇ lies along the main road leading from Devadhar to Maṇḍār, a little to the west of the Suklī river which is a tributary of the Bānās. The place seems to have been at one time of considerable importance, but now it has lost its grandeur and is reduced to the condition of an insignificant hamlet. About a mile to the north of the village there is a gigantic Vaṭa (*Ficus indica*) tree which together with its off-shoots covers quite an acre of land and must be a growth of untold generations. To the south of the village stands on a high eminence a Jain temple dedicated to Mahāvīra. The main shrine is empty. But a large image of Mahāvīra which is awaiting ceremonial installation is placed temporarily in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, which contains also several other smaller images. Among these is a finely sculptured image of Kubera. In the pillared corridor to the east of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* there is a sculptured ceiling panel which bears an inscription dated in the year V. 1242. The central figure of this slab is Gajalakshmī with elephants pouring water. The original temple is probably not older than this sculpture. The *śikhara* which is very high, and therefore a prominent land-mark, was erected, we were told, within the last century. Quite recently a large *sabhāmaṇḍapa* was added to the temple, as also a high wall enclosing the latter on all sides. The columns of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are not uniform and betray the fact of their having been brought over from the ruins of older temples. In the enclosing parapet are built in on the inside two coarsely sculptured panels, in one of which the central figure is that of Neminātha and in the other an unidentifiable *tīrthaṁkara*. The village also contains a Śiva temple called the temple of Varmesar (Photo No. 4617). In the enclosing wall of this temple are built in sculptured figures which had once formed a part of the local Sūrya temple. Noteworthy is a large sculpture of Gajalakshmī placed in the courtyard of this temple. Water drawn by dwarfs from the reservoir is passed on to women sitting on a higher level, who are represented as handing it over to elephants standing above them ; these in their turn pass it on to a pair of elephants standing on a still higher level, which empty the *kalaśas* over the head of the goddess seated on the *kamalāsana*. This sculpture, the design and execution of which are extremely happy, deserves to be transferred to and exhibited in a central museum. But the object of

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antiquarian interest for which Varmāṇ is justly famed is the [72] marble temple dedicated to the Sun-god which even now in its decay is an imposing structure (Photo Nos. 4598-4616). The careful finish of its carving, the proportion of its members and the parsimonious use of decorative detail, all tend to show that the building must have been constructed at a time when temple architecture was a vitally living art. The temple, which faces the east, consists of the shrine, *sabhāmaṇḍapa, pradakshiṇā* and porch. The oblong outline of plan is broken by projecting niches and windows from the *maṇḍapa* and the circumambulatory (see drawing No. 1392). The *śikhara* of the shrine has fallen away and the roof of the porch and *maṇḍapa* is also partly demolished. Where the foundation has subsided or the pillars given away the loosened stones have slid off one another and are lying scattered round the ruin (Photo No. 4598). In the debris I discovered a standing image of Sūrya (broken clean across the knees) which must have occupied the main shrine (Photo No. 4612). I discovered also finely carved but partially mutilated images of the *navagrahas*, and the eight *dikpālas* (Photo Nos. 4615-16). The finest piece, however, is a mutilated group, the principal figure of which is the form of the Sun-god called Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa (Photo No. 4609). To this group belongs the pedestal resting in the niche in the western wall of the sanctum (Photo No. 4600). The pedestal is sculptured in the form of a chariot drawn by seven steeds which is a marvellous piece of realism. Unfortunately most of the sculptures found here are fragmentary, and even the fragments are highly mutilated. Several of the pillars of this temple are engraved with inscriptions (Nos. 2782-87) in which the god of the temple is referred to as Brahmāṇa-svāmin. One of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of the Paramāra Pūṛṇapāla, son of Dhandua (Dhandhuka), states that in V. 1099, Jyeshṭha-sudi 30 Wednesday, Nochaka, son of Sārama, repaired the temple. Another dated V. 1076 Chaitra-sudi 7 (*ratha-saptamī*) records that Sohapa, while on a visit to the temple, presented to the god two fields. A third inscription belonging to the "prosperous and victorious reign" of *Mahārājakula* Vikramasiṁha, and dated in V. 1356 Jyeshṭha-vadi 5 Monday, gives the place-name clearly as Brahmāṇa-mahāsthāna. There can be, therefore, no doubt that Brahmāṇa is the sanskritised form of Varmāṇ. Three other records are dated respectively in V. 1315, 1330 and 1342.

32. As it would not be possible to do justice to larger questions of architectural and iconographic interest connected with this temple without the help of drawings and illustrations which cannot be reproduced here, I intend contributing an illustrated article to the Director-General's *Annual of Archæology* where these subjects will be discussed in detail.

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vi

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XII.—PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1917-18*

PART II.

EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS.

(A) Epigraphy.

I.—Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions.

1. In December last Dr. SUKTHANKAR received from Mr. Subaya Nagappa HEGDE of Ajjibal in the Sirsi Taluka of the North Kanara District two sets of copper-plates for inspection. The plates have been preserved as curiosities in Mr. HEGDE'S family during several generations; so that it is not definitely known now how they came into the possession of the family. One of the plates refers itself to the reign of the Kadamba king Ravivarman, and the other to that of Krishnavarman (probably the second king of that name) belonging to the same family. The regnal years in which the grants are dated are worthy of particular notice. The plate of Ravivarman (if Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S reading is correct) is dated in the thirty-fifth year, and that of Krishnavarman in the nineteenth year, of the king's reign. It should be remarked that the only other hitherto known grant of Krishnavarman II. refers itself to the seventh year of his reign; while the highest regnal year recorded in the copper-plate records of Ravivarman is the eleventh. The uncertainty regarding the date of Ravivarman's grant is due to the fact that the words comprising the date have been almost completely eaten away. We have, therefore, to depend upon a conjectural restoration of the words; but Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S conjecture has every probability in its favour. Both the plates have their rings and seals attached. The seal of Ravivarman's plate is blank, but that of the other plate bears a horse as device. Ravivarman's grant, which is dated on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Karttika in the [thirty]-fifth regnal year of the king's reign, records that on the specified day Ravivarman of the Kadamba family granted four *nivarttanas* of land in a village called Sare (or Sara) to the temple of Mahadeva of his beloved physician Nilakantha. Some further specifications of the donation are lost in a *lacuna*. The grant of Krishnavarman records that on the full-moon day of Karttika in the nineteenth year of the king's reign, he granted Kamakapalli in the village of Girigade situated in the Karvannadga District. From the topographical information supplied to Dr. SUKTHANKAR by Mr. HEGDE, he concludes that the Girigade of the grant is to be identified with

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* [Pp. 35-37.]

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the modern village of Girigadde in the Sirsi Taluka, while it is conjectured that Karur, which is the name of a neighbouring village, may not be unconnected with the district name Karvannadga of the grant.

Two Chalukya Plates.

2. To the keen interest taken by Mr. P. B. GOTHOSKAR, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the search of Indian antiquities, we owe the recovery of two interesting copper-plate charters purporting to be issued by the Chaulukya Karnadeva of Anahilapataka. It was after a great deal of trouble that Mr. GOTHOSKAR succeeded in obtaining the loan of them from him for the purpose of photographing them. The negatives have been purchased by me for this department, and will be filed in my office. It is intended to contribute a detailed descriptive note on them to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Dr. SUKTHANKAR, in whose hands the photographs have been placed for publication, in his report on them, says that both the sets refer themselves to the reign of the Chaulukya Karna and are dated respectively on Tuesday, the eleventh day of the bright half of Margasirsha in the Saka year 996, and on the eleventh day of the bright half of Karttika in the Vikrama year 1131. The curious circumstance regarding these grants which are dated on different days is that both of them are made in favour of the same person and convey the very same village. The wording of the grants is, however, quite different in the two plates. Moreover there is also great difference in the writing : while on one the letters (to judge from the photographs) are deeply cut and uniform in size, though their shapes are neither good nor neatly finished, on the other they are shallow and very poorly cut and their shapes are distinctly ill-made. Again, while the first grant begins with a salutation to Vasudeva and a *mangala* stanza, the other begins abruptly with the genealogy of the Chaulukya kings. It is as difficult to give a reason why two grants should have been made conveying the same village to the same person as to explain the difference in the dates and the writing. It does appear though, as if the first set, namely, the one that is evidently the better of the two, is the original, genuine document ; the other seems to have been made later in imitation of it, as a substitute for it. The grant was made by the *Mahamandalesvara* Durlabharaja belonging to a feudatory Chaulukya family of Nagasarika (Nausari) which acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gujarat Chaulukyas of Anhilvada. The preamble of one of the grants contains the genealogy of the donee up to three generations. Durlabharaja, we are told, was the son of Chandraraja, and the grandson of Gamgeya of the ancient lineage of the Chaulukyas. The donee was the Brahmana Pandita Mahidhara, son of Rudraditya of the Mandavya gotra who had come to Nausari from Madhyadesa. The object of the grant was the village Dhamalachchha, situated apparently in the district of Talabhadrika Thirty-six. The boundaries of the village are given as follows :—to the east, Kalagrama ; to the south, Torana-

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grama ; to the west, Avala (or Amvala) sati-grama ; to the north, Kachchhavali-grama. The Atlas sheet gives two villages called Dhamadachchha and (to its south) Tarangam as situated in the Nausari District. In regard to the fact that the donor was a Jagirdar of Nausari, as also that the plates are now stated to belong to a resident of Dhamadachchha there is no difficulty in the way of identifying Dhamalachchha with Dhamadachchha and Torana-grama with Tarangam. The other place-names remain unidentified. It is perhaps worth noting that in the grant which is above held to be the original document, the portion containing the boundaries is written at the very end of the document and was added *secunda manu*, which is palpably different from that in which the rest of the grant is written, and which rather resembles the clumsy lettering of the other grant under reference. The problems raised by this pair of grants cannot thus all be looked upon as solved.

Two Valabhi Plates.

3. A set of two copper-plates was sent to this office for examination by the Bhavnagar Darbar, which the Darbar has since presented to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum. Dr. SUKTHANKAR, in whose hands the plates have been placed for decipherment and publication, reports that they are dated in *samvat* 210, and were issued by order of the *Mahasamanta Maharaja* Dhruvasena I, the Maitraka king of Valabhi. The seal, which is attached, bears the usual Maitraka device and legend. The charter records the gift made by Dhruvasena of certain lands at the villages of Chhedakapadraka and Malakara in the Hastavapra-aharani to a certain Nanna residing at Valapadra, for the performance of sacrificial rites. The exact date of the grant is the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Sravana in the year 210, which year when referred to the Gupta-Valabhi era yields A.D. 529-30 as the approximate date of the charter. At Baroda, Mr. J. C. CHATTERJI, the Dharmadhyaksha of the Baroda State, showed to Dr. SUKTHANKAR a single copper-plate which was sent to the Dharmadhyaksha from Kathiawad for decipherment. The plate on examination was found to contain the latter half of a Valabhi charter dated *samvat* 206, Asvina-sukla 3, and issued, like the previous one, by order of Dhruvasena I. The donee was Rotghamitra of the Vrajagana gotra, a resident of Simhapura, which place is to be identified with Sihor, near Bhavnagar, a junction on the Sihor-Palitana Railway.

Two Inscriptions from Dhar.

4. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has in hand for editing two interesting inscriptions engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhoja Sala at Dhar, from the time of the Paramaras of Dhar. The inscriptions are known as *sarpabandha*, because they are engraved in the form of intertwining serpents with their bodies twisted lengthwise and crosswise leaving oblong spaces within for letters. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and the other of verbal terminations. The latter are taken from a chapter of the Sanskrit grammar called the Katantra which was specially

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intended for the instruction of people who did not care to penetrate too deeply into the complicacies of the Sanskrit grammar. It is worth noting here that the first few chapters of this simplified grammar are still learnt by heart in the indigenous vernacular schools of Malwa, Gujarat and some other parts of India. Alongside of one of the tables is engraved a pair of stanzas which contain the names of the Paramara Naravarman and Udayaditya of Malva and imply that the tables were engraved by order of Udayaditya (*ca.* A.D. 1150).

Sanchi inscription of the time of Svami Jivadaman.

5. In August 1917 I proceeded to Sanchi to examine and take estampages of a short stone inscription which was discovered in a village near by. The inscription proved to be a very interesting one. The first line opens with an eulogy of Skanda the Commander of the celestial army and ends with the name of Jivadaman. The second and third lines record the name of a General or Judge (*Mahadandanayaka*) Sridharavarmman the Scythian (*Saka*) and the thirteenth year of *his* reign. The object of the inscription is to be found in the last line (in a verse, only a part of which is extant), namely, the excavation of a well. The record is in a very bad state of preservation ; the first part of l. 1, and the major portions of ll. 5-6 have entirely disappeared. The last verse is followed by two numerical symbols which I read as 200, 1. These symbols are very much like those used in the dates on the coins of the Western Satraps of Saurashtra. They are not preceded by any words or symbols that usually introduce a date and therefore their import is far from clear. There was a Svami-Jivadaman whose son Svami-Rudrasimha II succeeded the Kshatrapa Visvasena in Saka 226-27. As his son's date is S. 226-27, it is quite possible that the numerals in the Sanchi inscription denote a date in the Saka era. If I am correct then the Sanchi inscription provides a date and a location for Svami-Jivadaman, the father of the founder of the third Dynasty of Satraps in Saurashtra, who was hitherto known to us from the coins of his son only.

Cave inscription at Dhauli, Orissa.

6. During the year under review I was engaged in deciphering a new dated inscription in a small cave near Asoka's edict at Dhauli in Orissa, which records the visit of a pilgrim during the reign of a king named Santikaradeva, who is known from another votive record in the Ganesa Cave Khandagiri. The only interesting feature of the inscription is that it is dated ; but the date cannot be referred to any known era except that of the Eastern Gangas. I was also engaged in editing two copper-plate grants found in the Native State of Baudh for the *Epigraphia Indica* at the request of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. A summary of their contents by Mr. H. Krishna SASTRI has already appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for the year 1916-17.

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*II.—Muhammadan Inscriptions.**

7. A large number of Muhammadan inscriptions were copied during the year. The majority of these are unpublished and some even unnoticed :—

(*a*) *Sultans of Malwa.*—An inscription of Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Shah Khilji was discovered by CUNNINGHAM in a modern Masjid on the top of the hill near Bhilsa railway station on which the tomb of Lohangi Pir stands. It records the erection of a Masjid by one Khojendi who bore the titles of "The sword of the State" (*Saif-ul-mulk*) and "The Lord of the east" (*Malik-ush-Sharq*) during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Shah Khilji in the year 862 A.H. (1457 A.D.). CUNNINGHAM read the date as 864 A.H. The Jami Masjid at Sipri, the summer capital of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, was built a few years earlier. The inscription on this monument was pointed out to me by Mr. M. B. Garde, B.A., Inspector of Archæology, Gwalior State. Unlike the majority of the Muhammadan inscriptions of India this record is incised. It records the erection of the Jami Masjid during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah Khilji in the year eight hundred and forty-five (1441 A.D.) by Muhammad Tarkan and Ahmad Tarkan. The date of this record is given both in words and in numerals.

Lohangi Pir.

Jami Masjid, Sipri.

(*b*) *Sultans of Gujarat.*—The only dated inscriptions still to be found among the ruins of Champaner are those on the two gateways of the citadel. Each of these gateways, now called Halol and Godhra gateways, bear inscribed slabs. The inscriptions on both of the gates are identical. The latter half of that on the Godhra gate has become illegible in many places, but it has an additional line incised vertically which gives us the name of the scribe. Both of the inscriptions contain the name of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Abul Fath Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah (II), son of Ahmad Shah (I), son of Muhammad Shah (I), son of Muzaffar Shah, and the date, which is the month of Zi-l-qada 889, A.H. (1484 A.D.).

Gates of Citadel, Champaner.

(*c*) *Sultans of Bijapur.*—The majority of ancient monuments in the hill fort Panala are still intact and what is still more interesting, the inscriptions on almost all of them are still in position. The ruins on this fort, which was the scene of great revolutions in the history of Deccan, are mentioned in COUSENS *Revised List* but not in detail. None of them appear to have been surveyed prior to my visit in September 1917. Some of the inscriptions are

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* [In the original file copy of the reprint Dr. Sukthankar has entered his signature just before this section. It is, therefore, not clear if he is responsible for the present section ; but it is reproduced here, in view of the fact that his authorship of the section is not improbable.—Cf. his *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Bijapur Museum.*—Ed.]

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mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, but none of them appear to have been properly noticed or published as they are not included in Dr. HOROWITZ's list of Muhammadan inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. They were copied for the first time in 1917. The oldest of them is an inscription found in the Somala tank which records the erection of a tank (*hauz*) during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani by a nobleman named Adil Khan Ghazi. Unfortunately the date of the inscription is missing which makes it impossible for us to identify this Adil Khan. The rest of the inscriptions were incised during the rule of the Adilshahi Sultans of Bijapur and most of them contain their names. The outer gate of the Tin-Darwaza bears slab which records the erection of the Fort of Panala, which is called the Gate of the Kingdom (*Dar-ús-saltanat*) in the year 954 A.H., (= 1547 A.D.), during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I. A small spring on the hill-side was converted into a walled reservoir by one Daud Aqa, evidently an Abyssinian, in the next year (955 A.H. = 1548 A.D.) during the same reign. A large tank (*hauz*) was excavated near the site of the Char-Darwaza by one Malik Jafar during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I in the year 964 A.H. (= 1556 A.D.). It is one of the largest reservoirs excavated on the top of a hill. An inscription built into the walls of a modern Hindu temple near the site of the Char-Darwaza gate records the erection of a tower (*burj*) during the reign of Ali Adil Shah I by one Shamsuddin Shahaswar in the year 985 A.H. (= 1577 A.D.). A large inscribed slab belonging to the Char-Darwaza gate has been fixed on a modern tomb in the courtyard of the Mausoleum of the local Muhammadan saint, Sa'ad-ud-din, familiarly called Sadoba. It records the erection of a gate of the fort by one Maqsud during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II in the year 994 A.H. (= 1585 A.D.). The residence of the former Qiladars is now used by the State of Kolhapur as a guest house. An inscription, now placed in the walls of one of the chambers, records the erection of a palace (*mahal*), by one Maqsud Aqa, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II in the year 1000 A.H. (= 1591 A.D.). The builder of this place, Maqsud Aqa, appears to be the same person as the one who built the Char-Darwaza gate of Panalá Fort six years previously.

Panala.

Tin-Darwaza.

Nagjhari.

Tank.

Char-Darwaza.

Qiladar's Palace.

(B) Numismatics.

8. No coins having any special significance were discovered in the Province during the year under review. The Treasure Trove coins sent to me for examination by the Government of Bihar and Orissa contained some unique coins. The most important among these is a copper coin of the type which is called Puri-Kushan by Numismatists. This coin with several others of the same

Inscribed Puri-Kushan Coin.

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type were sent to me for examination by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa and were found among the collection of the late Chief of Baudh. Coins of this type are found in large numbers in Orissa but hitherto no inscribed specimen has been discovered. The coin found in the Baudh State is unique inasmuch as it bears a legend. This legend consists of two syllables only : *tanka* "a coin". The characters belong to the north-eastern variety of the Indian alphabet. Incidentally the coin helps us to fix the date of the Puri-Kushan coinage for which we had no reliable data so far.

New Mints.

A find of 448 silver coins of Farid-ud-din Sher Shah found in the Shahbad District was sent to me for examination. This find contained some specimens from a new mint : *Panduah.* There is a town of the same name which for sometime was the capital of the Mussalman sovereigns of Bengal. This town was a mint town during the reign of the Independent Sultans of Bengal on whose coinage it appears as *Firuzabad.* It is situated a few miles to the north of Gaur or Laghnauti, the ancient capital of Bengal. The same hoard contained a few specimens of the issues of Sher Shah from the mint at Chunar. Half a century ago Mr. E. THOMAS had published an unique coin of Sher Shah of the same mint. On his coin the mint name is spelt Chunar but on all specimens in this find it is spent Chanarh, which is to be pronounced either as Chanadh or as Chanara. The find contained a new type of the Kalpi mint, which has a circle of arabesque work on each side instead of the plain circle.

and types of the coinage of Sher Shah.

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MISCELLANEA

AN EXCURSION ON THE PERIPHERY OF INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Indology is, as you all know, the discipline which has for its object the study of Indian literature, history, philosophy and kindred subjects. Indological studies, in the widest acceptance of the term, may be said to date back to the distant period of hoary antiquity which witnessed the birth of those truly remarkable specimens of linguistic analysis, the Nirukta of Yâska, the Sikṣâs, and Prâtiśâkhyas, which contain such a wealth of significant phonetic, etymological and grammatical observations on the Vedic Saṁhitâs. The beginnings of linguistic study in India must be even older than these works; but the results of those early speculations had probably not crystallized into systematic treatises; and if they had they have certainly not been preserved.

The tradition of these scholastic pursuits had been carried on, more or less uninterruptedly, during the intervening centuries or rather millennia; and we can look back with pride, admiration, and gratitude, on the massive literary monuments left to us by our ancestors, by—to mention only a few well-known names—able grammarians like Pāṇini, Kātyâyana, Pataṇjali, and Hemacandra; commentators like Aśvaghoṣa, Mallinâtha, and Sāyaṇa; rhetoricians like Bharata, Bhâmaha, Daṇḍin, and Vāmana; historians like Vākpati, Bilhaṇa, and Kalhaṇa; not to speak of the unknown compilers of Puranic genealogies, the writers of the history of the Buddhist and Jaina churches, the chroniclers of the lives of saints; and, lastly, the keepers of the records of Hindu cloisters and monasteries.

This vast store of fact and fiction, accumulated through the critical, exegetical, and historical, activities extending over centuries has been studied and re-studied in recent years by successive generations of scholars. This thesaurus has finally [94] been turned into a searchlight, and made to illuminate the obscure periods of the history of our country, and to contribute its quota to the elucidation of problems thrust on the threshold of our consciousness by the Memory of a half-forgotten Past, in other words, by Communal Memory. In our own times and here in our midst, the torch has been kept alight through the zeal for learning of scholars like Bhagvanlal INDRAJI, Sir Ramakrishna BHANDARKAR, and *Shams-ul-ulma* Dr.

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* [A discourse delivered on 20th August 1923, at a gathering of the Institute, on the 14th Anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. CAMA.—Journal, 1924, pp. 93-104.]

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Jivanji MODI, men who have nobly consecrated their lives to the work of unravelling the history of India, of interpreting Indian life and thought, and have worthily upheld the scholarly traditions of this Land of Ṛṣis.

Within the last two decades the domain of Indology has extended by leaps and bounds; it has expanded, so to say, both vertically and horizontally.

The advance made in the comparative study of language literature, mythology and art, the exploration and excavation within and without the confines of India, has each served to advance our knowledge of the past in multifarious ways. While this advance has happily solved certain old riddles, it has in turn given birth to others that are entirely new. I have proposed to myself to take you out this evening for an excursion on what may be termed the periphery of Indology, in contradistinction to the centrical portion which concerns itself with the interpretation and reconstruction of the past from sources purely or chiefly indigenous. I propose to acquaint you with some of the results of research and explorations in fields lying on the horizon of our cultural influence, indicating briefly those problems that have arisen in the wake of the progress of our research.

I will commence my review with a survey of topics which are not exactly new, but which lie outside the conventional grooves of Indian research, as the term is understood in India.

It has been surmised that long before the commencement of the Christian era, the Dravidian races had developed independently considerable culture of their own. Some of these Southern kingdoms carried on, for a protracted period, a thriving trade first with Western Asia and Egypt, and then with the Greek and Roman Empires. Literary evidence appears to suggest that the Tyrians imported from South Indian seaports ivory, apes and peacocks. And we have also evidence to show that at a still later epoch India—to a great extent South India—exported rice, spices, precious stones, and a large quantity of cloth, muslin and silk. Who were these adventurous traders on the Indian side? How did they solve the problems of transport and exchange? How long did that trade continue, and what stopped it in the end? These are some of the questions one may readily ask. They are not however as easily answered. The question of the early commerce of India with Babylon was examined at length by KENNEDY in JRAS., 1898. In recent years Egypt and the sites of ancient Assyria and Babylonia have been systematically explored, and objects of antiquarian interest have been recovered from those sites on an unprecedented scale. We have therefore every reason to hope that when the new material has been thoroughly sifted and studied by experts, the results of their investigations will confirm the surmises and conclusions based on literary evidence, and throw additional light on the obscurities relating to the early intercourse between India and the Western World.

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We will next turn to a field where the intercourse between India and a foreign country, if not so ancient, was evidently much more extensive, and, lying as it does within the historical period supplies far richer material for study and investigation.

One cannot imagine a more fruitful field for a study of the evolution on foreign soil of Indian thought, and Indian art and architecture, than the little island of Java. The ascendancy of Indians is really the first great epoch in the history of Java. The Javanese temples which still bear the name Chaṇḍi Bîma, Chaṇḍi Kali, Chaṇḍi Durgâ, Buro Buddur and the like tell their own story, which in part is set down on stone in indelible letters. The island abounds in splendid temples and vihâras of the Hindu period, and they are noteworthy examples of an architecture which attained, as in India, a high standard without the use of mortar and arches.

The most important of these ruins is the temple of Buro Buddur, which has justly been characterized as a great picture Bible of the Mahâyâna creed, and which ranks among the architectural marvels of the world. Buro Buddur is not really a temple, but rather a hill encased with imposing terraces constructed of hewn lava blocks surmounted by a dagoba, and crowned with sculptures illustrative of the Mahâyâna doctrine. The subjects treated in the lowest enclosure are of the most varied description, forming a picture gallery of landscapes, scenes of outdoor and domestic life mingled with mythological and religious designs. As one proceeds, the subjects grow [96] in depth and complexity. It would seem that the architect had intended gradually to wean the devotees from things of this world. When they once begin to ascend from stage to stage of the temple hill, they are introduced to the realities of religion, and, by the time they reached the dagoba they had passed through a process of instruction and were ready with enlightened eyes to enter and behold the image of the Buddha, symbolically left imperfect as beyond the power of human art to realize or portray.

The ruins in Java are by no means exclusively Buddhist. There are temples devoted to the cult of Śivaism also. Here we come across sculptured panels representing Śiva as a Yogî and again as Kâla or Time the Destroyer, reminiscent of similar panels at Elephanta.

Col. YULE has pointed out that there are distinct traces of a fine coat of stucco-covering on the exterior and interior of Javanese buildings, and he has compared in this respect the cave walls of Elura, the great idols at Bamian (a once renowned town of Afghanistan) and the Doric order at Selinus (an ancient city on the southern coast of Sicily).

The Indo-Javanese remains have been in part photographed and studied in recent years by Dutch archæologists. But it is desirable—and it is high time—that these ramifications of Indian culture should be studied from an Indian view-point by Indian archæologists, who are familiar with Buddhist

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and Hindu mythological and religious lore, and are conversant with the development of Indian art and architecture. It is needless to emphasize the importance of these archæological remains for a study of Buddhism or of the ancient and mediæval Hindu art.

Important results are likely to be obtained in other fields as well from a study of Javanese antiquities. The Mahâbhârata was translated into the Kâvi language about 1000 A.D. And in this translation we find embedded a large number of Sanskrit verses, and hemistiches; the prose narrative, moreover, reproduces very frequently Sanskrit words and phrases. As we happen to know the exact date of the translation, it is a very valuable asset in Mahâbhârata criticism. In our gropings in the dark recesses of Indian history, we have to accept gratefully even such feeble and precarious guidance. This Kâvi version is, I may add, being used with great advantage in the preparation of the new and critical edition of the epic undertaken by a sister Institute.

[97] We shall next turn to Iran. With Iran our connection dates back to prehistoric times. We are all familiar with the evidence which establishes the connection between the Hindus and the Iranians, through affinities in language and tradition, religious beliefs, ritual observances and even manners and customs. In more recent times further evidence has been placed in our hands by certain cuneiform inscriptions on clay tablets which the German Professor Hugo WINCKLER discovered in 1907 at Boghaz-koi (the ancient Pteria) in Cappadoccia. I shall not go into the details of this find, because the subject was dealt with at length in the course of a learned discourse on 'Indo-Iranian migrations in the light of the Mitani tablets,' delivered in this very Institute on a similar occasion not many years ago by the late Dr. GUNE of Poona. I may be permitted, however, to refer to the find briefly as it falls within the province mapped out by me for survey. The tablets contain a record of treaties concluded between the king of the Hittites and the king of the Mitanis about 1400 B.C. The only fact that concerns us here is that the treaties include the invocations of the tutelary deities of the respective kings for protecting the solemn agreements contemplated; and among the gods called to witness are deities common in part to India and Persia. We find here the names Mi-it-ra, U-ru-wna, In-da-ra, Na-sa-at-ti-ia. One easily recognizes in them the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nâsatyâ respectively. The inscriptions, as I have said, date from about 1400 B.C. and the names appear not in the Iranian form but, so far as we can judge from the imperfect orthography of cuneiform inscriptions, in the form which they show in the hymns of the Ṛgveda. We may ask: Are the four deities invoked in these Mitani tablets proto-Iranian or Vedic or Aryan? Were they the gods of a tribe which was on its way to India, or of a tribe which had retraced its steps and returned to an earlier home? Or were they again merely borrowed gods? Did the king of the Hittites or the Mitanis worship Vedic gods? Unfortunately this tantalizing find suggests many more

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questions than it answers. There is nothing to be gained by dogmatizing over the results of this discovery, though it is galling to realize and acknowledge our helpless ignorance. All that we have to go upon is that in the 15th century B.C. four gods who figured conspicuously in the Vedic pantheon were in the region round Boghaz-koi considered, for some reason, fit to be invoked as supernatural witnesses to a solemn and important state treaty. This information is clearly too flimsy for the erection of any solid superstructure of theory. But it may be pointed out that the mention of the Vedic gods in these treaties is but the crystallization at one particular point [98] of a diffuse complex, which could not have subsisted unsupported, so to say, hanging in the air. It necessarily implies reflexes, reactions and ramifications, which it will no doubt be possible to isolate with the increase in our knowledge and the refinement of our instruments. We may reasonably hope, may expect, that these discoveries are but the first fruits of a rich harvest which may be reaped by patient study and untiring exploration.

We shall pass on to another field where we shall be on more solid ground. There was a time when Pali was regarded as a subject lying on the fringe of oriental scholarship. And our worthy University, faithful to the old-world standards, probably still regards Buddhism as a heterodox religion. And yet in Pali, it may be said, lies enshrined much of—not only Indian—but Oriental culture. The spread of Buddhism from India to Central Asia and thence to the Far East is probably one of the most important contributions India can claim as having made to the general uplift of mankind. Having discarded Buddhism as a religion, we are apt to overlook the fact that this religion, which had its birth in India, is still the religion of China, Japan, Siam, Burma, Ceylon, and Nepal. It is still the credo of millions of men and women. Gandharan art, which was adopted by the Buddhists of Northern India as a medium for expressing its ideals in plastic form, was carried by Buddhist missionaries in painting and sculpture to the cases of Central Asian deserts and thence to China, Japan, and Korea.

Outside India Buddhism found the most fertile soil in China. An intimacy with the Chinese language has long come to be regarded as an essential pre-requisite for a thorough study of Buddhism ; in fact it may be said that nowadays one cannot do justice to Buddhistic studies without a first-hand knowledge of Chinese sources. But Buddhism reached the Middle Kingdom not directly from the land of its birth but, as I have already hinted, by the route of Central Asia. Thus in following the outward and onward march of Indian culture, our eyes are first turned towards Central Asia, and especially to the highlands of Pamir, and to the oases of the Gobi and the Talklamakan deserts.

The first convincing proof that the arid soil of Chinese Turkestan held buried valuable archæological treasures was furnished by the series of finds

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of Sanskrit manuscripts, of which almost the first was the Bower Manuscript discovered accidentally in 1890. Apart from their philological interest, these manuscript finds had value in showing that Sanskrit, the sacred language [99] of the Brahmans, was cultivated, and assiduously cultivated, even in those distant regions beyond the Hindukush, at such an early period. The expectations raised by the discovery of these manuscripts have been amply justified. In fact it may be said that during the last thirty years no other undertaking has been more fruitful for the study at once of Indian, Iranian, and Far Eastern history, has opened out wider vistas for research, laid bare higher treasures of ancient cultures, and, lastly, afforded, deeper insight into the ancient intercourse between East and West as the archæological exploration of Central Asia.

An early appreciation of the importance of these finds for philological, historical, and archæological studies led the Russian, French, British, and German Governments, as also some learned societies, to send organised expeditions—they were peaceful penetrations, the army of explorers being armed with nothing more frightful than spades and pickaxes and a plentiful supply of writing materials and packing cases—to explore those little-known regions, and to recover objects of archæological interest from the sand-buried sites of the ancient cities of Chinese and Russian Turkestan. Undoubtedly the most successful of these explorations have been those financed by the Government of India, and carried out under the direction of that patient, thorough and indefatigable archæologist Sir Aurel STEIN. Through an inborn love of enterprise and adventure, through the rigorous discipline he underwent as a student in a German University, through prolonged study of Indian languages, tradition and history, he was eminently qualified to undertake the gigantic operations involved and carry them to a successful termination. By laying bare the regions which had served as the main channel for the interchange of the civilisations of India, China and the West, his explorations have once for all shattered the illusive barriers which it was once thought had separated the east and the west.

The task of an explorer in those inhospitable regions is no bed of roses. His task is very different from that of the scholar, comfortably lodged in his snug study, deciphering manuscripts, examining art treasures, discovered by the explorer, and weaving his fabric of theories. The great archæologist tells us that just when he was completing his exploratory task, by an ascent to the ice-clad summit of the main Kun-lun range, at an elevation of about 20,000 feet, he suffered a severe frost bite, which cost him the toes of his right foot. It was as a helpless invalid that he had to get himself [100] carried somehow over the three hundred miles of rough mountain track on the Karakoran route with its high passes reaching to over 18,000 feet before medical aid could be obtained. The capital importance of Sir Aurel STEIN'S services to science was recognised, among other bodies, by the Royal Geo-

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graphical Society in 1909 with the award of the highest distinction in its gift, the Founder's Gold Medal.

However, to return to the spoils of these expeditions. STEIN'S excavations of 1900-1 at the ruined sites in the Taklmakan desert round Khotan established beyond all doubt the great historical importance of that ancient culture which, as the joint product of Indian, Chinese and Western influences once flourished in the oases of Chinese Turkestan. Khoṭan was but a stepping stone in the march of Indian culture eastwards, but the bygone culture of Khotan, as has been irrefutably established, rested mainly on Indian foundations. In the fine statuary exhumed in or near Khotan, it is easy to recognise the influence of the same Græco-Buddhist art which was developed in Gandhara, and the modern Peshawar valley. In the pictorial relics of those regions we find again the leading features of that school of Indian painting with which we have been made familiar by the frescoes at Ajanta in the Nizam's Dominions. These remains will have a special appeal to students of Indian art, since in India itself little has survived of early Indian painting.

The discoveries of these evidences of Indian cultural influence in far Turkestan recalls an old tradition recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuentsiang, and repeated in old Tibetan texts, to the effect that the territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised about the second century B.C. by Indian emigrants from Takṣaśilâ (Greek Taxilla), that is roughly Peshawar District and the Frontier Province. This old tradition has now been confirmed through the discovery in that region of manuscripts in Kharoshthi script, which attest the use, for ordinary practical purposes, of a Middle Indian dialect. In the report on STEIN's second tour of exploration (1906-8), he tells us that from ruins now situated at a distance of fully 100 miles from the nearest supply of drinkable water, he recovered conclusive evidence that the use for administrative purposes of the same Indian dialect extended in the first century of the Christian era as far as the most remote corner of Central Asia.

I will not describe the mass of Chinese, Uigur, and Tibetan manuscripts, in part still undeciphered, and the historical and philological interest that attaches to them since they lie [101] outside the scope of the present discourse. I will restrict my remarks to a few important finds, which are of special interest to the Indo-Iranian student.

I have already referred to the Bower manuscript. This manuscript is written in a Central Asian form of Brahmi, the script current in India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era. The manuscript contains portions of an Indian medical treatise. The Ayurvedic system of medicine appears to have been popular in Central Asia in the first millennium of the Christian era, and it would

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not be surprising if some of the Indian formulæ had travelled thence further eastwards. Subsequent to the find of this manuscript, portions of another medical treatise were discovered by STEIN in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, situated in the most remote corner of Central Asia. This second manuscript is even more interesting than the first; for it contains besides the Sanskrit text, a literal translation into a hitherto unknown Iranian dialect. It has been surmised that this language is the Tokharian, the language of the Tokhari tribe. Other works written in the same dialect have been discovered in the same region; but these works are all fragments of Buddhist religious and philosophical texts. Owing to its secular character the medical fragment is helpful for the elucidation of such Tokharian words of secular import as are not met with in the translations of Buddhist texts.

The majority of manuscripts recovered from the ruined sites of Chinese Turkestan are however fragments of well-known Buddhist works written in various languages and dialects, some known and some still unknown: Among the manuscripts discovered by that intrepid and ill-fated French explorer Dutreuil du RHINS is a Prakrit version of the Buddhist psalmody Dhammapada. The Prussian Turfan expedition succeeded in rescuing from oblivion a Sanskrit version of the same text. These taken along with the old Pali text furnish three different versions of that beautiful collection of ennobling gathas. The discovery of bilingual and trilingual versions of Buddhist texts has had one consequence of far reaching importance. It has led us to perceive that the Sanskrit and the Pali canons are both traceable to a common source, and we must therefore conclude that the original Buddhist canon was written in a third dialect, which must have been an Eastern Middle Indian dialect, a Prakrit of the province which was the chief scene of Buddha's activity.

As I remarked above, the explorations in Chinese Turkestan has brought to light many a language unknown till then, one of [102] which I have mentioned already. I should like to draw your attention to one other which is of special interest to Iranian scholars. This dialect, by some called the North Aryan, appears to have been the language of the Sakas of Indian tradition and Sakae of the Greek. In this dialect we have portions of the Buddhist works Vajracchedikâ, Prajnâpâramitâ, and Aparamitâyussûtra, and possibly others. To the two well-known Indo-Aryan dialects, the Indian and the Iranian (in other words, the Sanskrit and the Avestan), this new dialect is related in a peculiar way. Phonetically the language of the manuscripts is clearly Iranian, but in the matter of its vocabulary it is strongly influenced by the Indian branch; in other words, it is Indianized Iranian. Genetically an Iranian dialect, having for centuries stood under the cultural influences of Sanskrit, it borrowed the religious and philosophical termini from the more advanced sister dialect, which is an illuminating commentary on the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist culture.

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But I suppose the most remarkable manuscript find, the last one that I am going to speak about this evening, consists of the fragments of Buddhist dramas which were found by Dr. Von LE COQ, the Director of the Prussian Turfan expedition, in one of the cave temples of Ming-Oi by Kysyl, west of Kuja, on the fringe of the Taklamakan desert. Despite the epoch making importance of its contents, the publication of the manuscript has awakened little interest in India! The palm leaf fragments were edited in 1911 by Geheimrat H. LÜDERS of the University of Berlin in a facsimile entitled "Fragments of Buddhist Dramas." The largest fragment, which is made up of 8 or 9 smaller pieces, is not more than 34·5 cm. long. The minute pieces were fitted together with infinite care and patience by Geh. LÜDERS with the assistance of his wife, who is an equally ardent student of Indian Literature. The fragments, which number nearly 150, yield a not inconsiderable portion of two Buddhist plays in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The character of the writing, which is an incontestable evidence of their age and authenticity, is identical with that of the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and Kushanas; it also clearly shows that the manuscripts were prepared in India. One of the dramas was an allegorical play, introducing as characters the personified qualities of Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kîrti. In another the author introduces the figures of Sâriputra, Maudgalyâyana, two of Buddha's pupils, and of the Elightened One himself among the *dramatis personæ*. Evidently they were Buddhist plays. It is interesting to note that the characteristic figure of the Vidûṣaka, the Clown of the Hindu drama, is not absent from these plays. This is not the [103] place to enter into the bearing of these plays on various literary historical problems. They contain the usual alternation of Sanskrit and Prakrit, and the passages in prose are punctuated with verses in artificial meters. In the Prakrit passages we can distinguish three dialects, Śaurasenî, Mâgadhî, and Ardhamâgadhî. From the linguistic point of view the most important feature of these plays is that the Prakrit they contain is in a stage much older than that which is stereotyped in the dramas of the classical and the post-classical age. From a colophon of another fragment, which was discovered a little later, we learn that the author of one of the dramas was no less a personage than Aśvaghoṣa, that prodigy of learning who has left his mark on every branch of literature and philosophy he touched. Some of the plays thus belong definitely to the first century of the Christian era. They supply us with an incontestable proof that in the first century A.D. the Hindu drama had already assumed its characteristic form, a conclusion which has an important bearing on questions relative to the origin of the Hindu drama, or at any rate of the Sanskrit drama. These fragments, picked up in Turkestan and now housed in a Berlin museum, are portions of the oldest Hindu drama and almost the oldest Indian manuscripts available uptil now. It

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is therefore difficult to overrate their importance for the study of Indian palæography, linguistics, and dramaturgy.

This hurried survey has, I hope, served to give you an idea of the nature and scope of some of the problems lying on the fringe of Indological research. These are not more important than what I call the centrical problems. And, of course, no hard and fast line can be drawn between them; they are not mutually exclusive, but merely complementary to each other. Both are equally important, each in its own way. It is to be hoped that the rising generation of Indian orientalists will distribute their time and energy evenly over the whole field. The excellent work done in the past by the K. R. Cama Institute fills one with the hope that the scholars associated with it will turn their attention also to the solution of the new problems that have arisen with the birth of the present century.

Will the results repay the trouble? A certain number of people will answer the query with a shrug of shoulders, and some even in the emphatic negative. To me the study of the Past seems to be a categorical imperative of civilized life; I shall not try to justify it otherwise. I am fully persuaded that under all conditions of civilized life there will always be found people willing to "waste" either their own time and incidentally [104] the time of others by applying their energy to a study of the Past, to a study of dead languages, buried antiquities, and civilizations by-gone. These unselfish silent workers will be encouraged in their arduous labours by the sincere homage and generous appreciation of men like Mr. Damodhardas Sukhadvala. These men are not satisfied with acting as spectators in the academic inquiry whether the aims and objects of historical research are wise or otherwise; they attest their lively interest in the work of scholars with the seal of material and munificent assistance. So long as our country produces such generous and unselfish donors, we need not fear for the future of Indological Research in India.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON MAMMAṬA'S KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA

I.—THE TWO AUTHORS OF THE KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA*

Tradition ascribes the Kāvyaprakāśa to Mammaṭa and Mammaṭa is for all intents and purposes the single author of the Kāvyaprakāśa (KP.). Another tradition reminds us, however, that the KP forms one of the few exceptions to the efficacy of the Nāndī to ensure the *nirvighnaparisamāpti* of the undertaken work; in other words, that its author never lived to complete the work he had begun. This last tradition by itself carries some weight, in so far as the old Hindus were so ticklish about confessing to any such exceptions, that a rumour of this nature could not possibly acquire the currency it has, were it not grounded on fact. These two conflicting traditions are reconciled in light of the evidence of the author of Nidarśana —one of the older Vyākhyās of the KP.—who confirms the latter statement and tells us that up to the Alaṃkāra Parikara the KP. is the work of Mammaṭa—and that includes all the nine chapters, together with nearly two-thirds of the tenth and the last chapter; he ascribes the rest of it to one Allaṭa, about whom nothing more is known. In support of the view he adduces two verses composed by two different authors, which refer to the tradition, according to which M. left his work unfinished. The first of these is quoted in Jhaḷakīkara's edition[1] of the Kāvyaprakāśa at p. 852:

kṛtaḥ śrīmammaṭācaryavaryaiḥ parikarāvadhiḥ |
prabandhaḥ pūritaḥ śeṣo vidhāyāllaṭasūriṇā ||[2]

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* [*ZDMG* 66. 477-490].

[1] Kāvyaprakāśa, a treatise on poetics by Mammaṭa, edited by JHAḶAKĪKARA, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Bombay 1901. References throughout this article are made with respect to the figurings of this edition. A single figure following KP. denotes the page and double figures denote the numbers of the Ullāsa and the Kārikā respectively.

[2] PETERSON first called attention to this stanza (*JBomBrRAS* XVI, p. 23). Being misled by an evidently corrupt passage in the commentary of one of the manuscript copies of KP., he had acquired, he was led to imagine that the "metrical portion", the Kārikās alone, belong to M., while the prose commentary is the work of Rājānaka Ānanda. Prof. BÜHLER's reconstruction of the corrupt passage in question clearly pointed out PETERSON'S mistake (*Ind. Ant.* XIII, [478] pp. 30, 31). Prof. BÜHLER remarks in the course of the same article: "Though I am unable to accept Prof. PETERSON'S main theory, I think that he has done a service to the history of Sanskrit literature by showing the existence of an old tradition, according to which the KP. is the work of two authors. I do not see any reason for doubting this statement." An independent proof of the common authorship of the Kārikās and Vṛtti is afforded by the Kārikā *mālā tu pūrvavat* in

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[478] This fact—quite probable in itself—has, to my knowledge never been further investigated; and the two facts just quoted are the only ones on which the theory of the double authorship of KP. so far rests. A comparison of the Kāvyālaṃkāra (KL.) with, on the one hand, the part of KP. attributed to M. and on the other, that attributed to Allaṭa, as I intend to show, sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. Such a comparison discloses the different sources which the two authors have used. While the author of the latter end of KP. depends for his whole material practictally on KL., and does not hesitate to borrow expressions and phrases verbatim from the latter, M. himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into the Alaṃkāraśāstra by Rudraṭa and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudraṭa.

From Parisaṃkhyā on to the end of the portion dealing with Śuddha Arthālaṃkāras—which, for convenience of reference, I will name the "second" part of Ullāsa 10, in contradistinction to the remaining portion of the same Ullāsa which will accordingly be referred to as the "first" part—there follows a set of new Alaṃkāras nearly all of which are borrowed from KL.; and in the following I will try to show that the definition in KP. agree word for word with those in KL., or at best, offer only a paraphrase of the latter. A comparison of the number of illustrations in KP. borrowed from Rudraṭa's work shows us that there are in the "second" part as many as 11 out of a total number of 48 illustrations borrowed from the KL., while in the "first" part there are only 18 out of a total of 378.

The following is a synopsis of the points of agreement between KL. 7, 72 to the end of that *adhyāya* and KP. 10, 118—131, comprising the nine Alaṃkāras: 1. Parikara; 2. Parisaṃkhyā. 3. Kāraṇamālā; 4. Anyonya; 5. Uttara; 6. Sāra; 7. Mīlita; 8. Ekāvalī; 9. Viṣama. As, in the KL. one whole *āryā* is devoted to the definition of each single Alaṃkāra, while in the KP. the style of enunciation is much tenser, only the significant portion of each will be cited for purposes of comparison:

1. *Parikara* (KL. 7, 72; KP. 10, 118):

KL. definition: *sābhiprāyaiḥ viśeṣaṇaiḥ vastu viśiṣyeta* |

KP. has *sākūtaiḥ* instead of *sābhiprāyaiḥ* and the definition runs: *viśeṣaṇair yat sākūtair uktiḥ* |

[479] Rudraṭa mentions four varieties of parikara according as the *viśeṣya* is a *dravya, guṇa, kriyā,* or *jāti*. In KP. it is not further divided. This is the last verse attributed to Mammaṭa.

2. *Parisaṃkhyā* (KL. 7, 17; KP. 10, 119):

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the Alaṃkāra Rūpaka, where *pūrvavat* must refer to mālopamā, which has been mentioned in the *Vṛtti* on Upamā, as it can refer to nothing else in the Kārikās, themselves, *mālā* never being mentioned in them.

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KL. definition :

pṛṣṭam apṛṣṭaṃ sad guṇādi yat kathyate kvacit tulyam |
anyatra tu tadabhāvaḥ pratīyate seti pari° ||

KP. definition :

kiṃ cit pṛṣṭam apṛṣṭaṃ vā kathitaṃ yat prakalpate |
tādṛganyavyapohāya parisaṃkhyā tu sā smṛtā ||

KP. *tādṛg°* corresponds to KL. *tulyam anyatra tadabhāvaḥ*.—Kāvyapradīpa explains, in fact, *tādṛg tulyam | vyapohāya vyavacchedāya |* KP. illustration 1 is built on the same pattern as KL. illustration 1 ; and KP. illustration 3 = KL. illustration 2.

3. *Kāraṇamālā* (KL. 7, 84 ; KP. 10, 120) :

KL. definition :

yathāpūrvam eti kāraṇatām arthānāṃ pūrvārthāt |

KP. definition :

yathottaraṃ cet pūrvasya pūrvasyārthasya hetutā |

KP. illustration *jitendriyatvam* etc. embodies the same idea as KL. illustration *vinayena bhavati* etc. Possibly both are made in imitation of a common model ; more likely however as KP. illustration is quoted by Mammaṭa again in Ullāsa 7 to illustrate a *doṣa*, the latter is an older verse and R. has transformed it into an *āryā*.

4. *Anyonya* (KL. 7, 91 ; KP. 10, 120—121) :

KL. definition :

yatra parasparam ekaḥ kārakabhāvo
'bhidheyayoḥ kriyayā saṃjāyet |

KP. definition :

kriyayā tu parasparaṃ vastunor janane |

Here the resemblance is obvious.

5. *Uttara* (KL. 7, 93 ; KP. 10, 121—22) :

KL. definition :

uttarāvacanaśravaṇāt unnayanaṃ yatra
pūrvavacanānāṃ ... praśnād api |

KP. definition :

uttaraśrutimātrataḥ praśnasya unnayanaṃ yatra kriyate |
tatra vā sati ... ||

[480] Here again the similiarity is striking. The structure of KP. illustration 2 *kā viṣamā ...* is the same as that of KL. illustration 2 *kiṃ svargā ...*

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6. *Sāra* (KL. 7, 96 ; KP. 10, 123) :

KL. definition :

yatra yathāsamudāyāt yathaikadeśaṃ krameṇa guṇavad iti |
nirdhāryate parāvadhi niratiśayaṃ tad bhavet sāram ||

This complicated definition of this simple *alaṃkāra* of R. is compressed into half an *āryā* with the retention of all the significant elements of R.'s definition :

uttarottaram utkarṣo bhavet sāraḥ parāvadhiḥ |

KL. *yathāsamudāyāt yathaikadesaṃ guṇavat* implies the same idea as *utkarṣaḥ* and *krameṇa* = *uttarottaram*. *Parāvadhi* is the same in both. Further, KL. illustration = KP. illustration.

7. *Mīlita* (KL. 7, 106, KP. 10, 130) :

KL. definition :

samānacihnena harṣakopādi |
apareṇa tiraskriyate nityenāgantukenāpi ||

KP. definition :

samena lakṣmaṇā vastu vastunā yan nigūhyate |
nijenāgantunā vāpi ... ||

In this definition, KL. *samena cihnena* is the exact equivalent of KP. *samena lakṣmaṇā, tiraskriyate* of *nigūhyate, nityenāgantukenāpi* of *nijenāgantunā vāpi.*

Ekāvalī (KL. 7, 109 ; KP. 10, 131) :

KL. definition :

ekāvalīti seyam yatrārthaparaṃparā yathālābham |
ādhīyatē yathottaraviśeṣaṇā sthityapohābhyām ||

KP. definition :

sthāpyate 'pohyate vāpi yathāpūrvaṃ paraṃparam |
viśeṣaṇatayā yatra vastu saikāvalī smṛtā ||

Here KL. *paraṃparā, yathottaraviśeṣaṇā, sthityapohābhyām* are exact equivalents of KP. *paraṃ paraṃ, yathā pūrvaṃ viśeṣaṇatayā* and *sthāpyate 'pohyate vāpi* respectively.

KP. illustration 1 is taken from Navasāhasikacaritam and illustration 2 (to which KL. illustration 2 is not at all unlike) is from the Bhaṭṭikāvya.

Here we will also consider

9. *Viṣama* (KL. 7, 47—55 and 9, 45—47 ; KP. 10, 126—127).

In its natural sequence it comes in both the works after Sāra and before Mīlita. I did not however consider it there, as it differs [481] from the other eight beginning with Pariṣaṁkhyā, in so far as it is an *alaṃkāra*

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with several varieties,—described by R. once under Vāstavya and again under Ātiśaya *alaṃkāras*—all of which have not been adopted in KP. The varieties, however, which are common to the two show as striking points of similarity as the other eight. Only the varieties which are common to both are here quoted.

KP. variety 1 : *kvacid yad ativaidharmyān na śleṣo ghaṭanāmiyāt* | and *vṛtti* to it *dvayor atyantavilakṣaṇatayā yad anupapadya mānatayaiva yogaḥ* |

KL. 7, 49 *asaṃbhāvyobhāvo vā abhidhīyate* | which is to be taken in conjunction with KL. 7, 47 *vaktā vighaṭayati kam api saṃbandham* |

The illustrations in both are formed with *kva-kva.*

KP. variety 2 : *kartuḥ kriyāphalāvāptir naiva nārthaś ca yad bhavet* |

KL. 7, 54 : *yatra kriyāvipatter na bhaved eva kriyāphalaṃ tāvad* | *kartur anarthaś ca bhavet ...* ||

KP. variety 3, 4 : *guṇakriyābhyāṃ kāryasya kāraṇasya guṇakriye* | *krameṇa ca viruddhe yat sa eṣa viṣamo mataḥ* ||

KL. 9, 45 : *kāryasya ca kāraṇasya ca yatra virodhaḥ parasparaṃ guṇayoḥ* | *tadvat kriyayor athavā ....* ||

Further as in KL. illustration 1 (9, 46) so in KP. illustration 3 (= Navasāhasikacaritam) the properties of objects "sword" and "fame" bearing the relation of cause and effect, are contradictory to each other. KP. illustration 4 = KL. illustration 2 (9, 47).

These nine Alaṃkāras with the exception of Viṣama follow each other in the same order both in the KP. and KL. as may be easily verified by comparing the numbers indicating the order in which they appear in the two works quoted above; further, there are no other Alaṃkāras in the first part of the tenth Ullāsa, which agree in wording so minutely with the corresponding Alaṃkāras in KL. A comparison of the analysis of these nine with those immediately preceding them should leave us in no doubt as to the difference of authorship of them respectively.

The above Alaṃkāras from 1—8 do not follow each other in KL. uninterruptedly in the same order. Rudraṭa mentions six more Alaṃkāras between Parikara and Ekāvalī viz., Parivṛtti, Vyatireka, Avasara (= KP. Udātta) and Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa (KL. 7, 77. 86, 82, 98, 100, 103), which remain to be noticed. Of them the first three have been dealt with by Mammaṭa himself in the "first" part of the tenth Ullāsa (KP. 10, 113, 105, 115) and so do not come properly under our consideration here. In passing, however, it may be mentioned, that a comparison of the treatment of Parivṛtti and Vyatireka in KL. and KP. offers a significant contrast to

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the Alaṃkāras just examined. In the definition of Parivṛtti although Mammaṭa does not bring us anything new which is not [482] there already in Rudraṭa's definition, still the two definitions are utterly unlike each other in wording. In Vyatireka, moreover, while quoting Rudraṭa's own illustration (7, 90) of this Alaṃkāra Mammaṭa points out that it has been wrongly classified by the former ; and in fact, in opposition to Rudraṭa, he maintains that there can never be in good poetry a superiority (*ādhikya*) of the standard of comparison (Upamāna) over the object compared (Upameya). Further, he mentions sixteen varieties of Vyatireka against Rudraṭa's four.

Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa form a characteristic group in the Alaṃkāraśāstra. Bhāmaha uncompromisingly rejects them[3] ; Daṇḍin, on the other hand, most emphatically claims great excellence for them[4]. Vāmana and Udbhaṭa do not mention any of the three. Rudraṭa again has all three, but his Sūkṣma is different from that of his predecessors. In KP., Leśa is not mentioned at all, Hetu is explicitly denied, Sūkṣma alone is recognised. As regards Sūkṣma and Hetu the other author of the KP. shows the influence of M. R.'s Hetu has been identified by the former in the *vṛtti* to Kāraṇamālā (10, 120) with Kāvyaliṅga ; but in doing so, he quotes R's illustration[5] to Hetu and observes, so to say as an apology to R., that the verse (although it is no illustration of Hetu) deserve to rank as good poetry in so far as it contains a Komalānuprāsa. In his treatment of Sūkṣma both his definition and the *vṛtti* show that our author borrows his material from Daṇḍin's definition KD. 2, 260. KP. illustration 2 is in imitation of KD. 2, 261. This treatment of Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa must be looked upon as a characteristic of the school to which M. belonged and be not allowed in any way to affect our conclusions with regard to the remaining Alaṃkāras. Here ends the list of the Vāstava Arthālaṃkāras of Rudraṭa from Parikara to the end of Adhyāya seven.

To summarise the results of the foregoing analysis, taking our standpoint at R.'s Parikara all the remaining fourteen *alaṃkāras* have been accounted for. Of these, eight follow each other in the same general order in both the works ; the definitions of seven of them have been copied in KP. without any significant alteration ; three of them have not further been noticed in KP. as they are already dealt with in the "first" part of Ullāsa 10 ; three more, viz. : Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa, have been treated admittedly differently. The different numberings of these in the two works depend chiefly on these very facts and on the addition of two other Alaṃkāras, Viṣama and Sama. Of these Viṣama has already been noticed ; [483] Sama

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[3] Cf. Bhāmahālaṃkāra (Appendix VIII to Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, ed. Trivedi BSS. LXV) 2, 86.

[4] Kāvyādarśa (= KD.) 2, 235.

[5] Cf. Section III of this paper (Heft IV).

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appears for the first time in KP. and is there defined as the converse[6] of Viṣama.

Next come under our consideration the fifteen remaining Alaṃkāras in K.P.—ten of which are met with for the first time with Rudraṭa, two more (Vyājokti, Samādhi) for the first time in KP.—at least under these names. They are the following : Vyājokti, Asaṃgati, Samādhi, Adhika, Pratyanīka, Samaraṇa, Bhrāntimān, Pratīpa, Sāmānya, Viśesa, Tadguṇa, Atadguṇa, Vyāghāta, Saṁsṛṣṭi, Saṃkara. These Alaṃkāras differ in the two works under consideration from the others earlier examined in so far as they do not follow each other in the same sequence in the two works ; in KL. they are spread over Adhyāyas 8 and 9 according as they are upameya or Atiśaya Alaṃkāras : on the other hand, in the KP. they are jumbled together anyhow. It may, however, be noticed, that (1) nearly in every doubtful case our author mentions in the *vṛtti* whether the Alaṁkāra in question is based on an *upamā* or an *atiśaya* ; (2) that our author does not borrow wholesale from R. (as he did the Vāstava Alaṁkāras) but that he picks and chooses his material and often freely paraphrases R.'s expressions. It is, however, noteworthy that out of a total number of 18 new Alaṁkāras introduced by the author of Kāvyālaṃkāra in Adhyāya 8 and 9 eleven find acceptance in this part of Ullāsa 10 of KP. in more or less unaltered condition.

Of the fifteen Alaṁkāras above enumerated, four : Vyājokti, Samādhi, Atadguṇa[7] and Saṃsṛṣṭi are not known to R. ; Pratyanīka, Pratīpa, Vyāghāta are treated differently in KP. and KL. and Saṃkara is considerably elaborated in KP. Out of the remaining, seven agree with each other in the two works very closely—sometimes even in wording. We will consider first these last seven following the order in which they occur in KP.

10. *Asaṃgati* (KL. 9, 48—49 ; KP. 10, 124) :

KL. definition :

vispaṣṭe samakālaṃ kāraṇam anyatra kāryam anyatra |

KP. definition :

bhinnadeśatayā 'tyantaṃ kāryakāraṇabhūtayoḥ |
yugapad dharmayoḥ khyātiḥ ||

The *samakālam* corresponds to *yugapat, anyatra anyatra* to *bhinnadeśatayā, kāraṇam .... kāryam* to *kāryakāraṇayoḥ*. These are all the important elements of the definitions. The *vṛttikāra* observes that the Alaṃkāra is based on an *atiśaya*.

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[6] In the younger Alaṃkāraśāstra, some new Alaṃkāras were obtained by simply inverting the old ones ; thus Sama is obviously the converse of Viṣama, Atadguṇa of Tadguṇa ; more remotely Vinokti of Sahokti.

[7] Atadguṇa is the converse of Tadguṇa. See note 1.

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[484] 11. *Adhika* (KL. 9, 28 ; KP. 10, 128) :

KL. variety 2:

yatrā 'dhāre sumahaty ādheyam avasthitaṃ tanīyo'pi |
atiricyate kathaṃ cit tad adhikam ... ||

KP. definition :

mahator yan mahiyāṃsāv āśritāśrayayoḥ kramāt |
āśrayāśrayiṇau syātāṃ tanutve'py adhikaṃ tu yat ||

note the *vṛtti, āśritam ādheyam | āśrayaḥ tadādhāraḥ.* KP. illustration 1 = KD. 2, 219 to Atiśaya.

12. *Smaraṇa* (KL. 8, 109. 110 ; KP. 10, 132) :

KL. definition :

vastu viśeṣaṃ dṛṣṭvā pratipattā smarati yatra tatsadṛśam |
kālāntarānubhūtaṃ vastv anantaram ity adaḥ smaraṇam ||

KP. definition :

yathā 'nubhavam arthasya dṛṣṭe tat sadṛśe smṛtiḥ | smaraṇaṃ.

Here, *dṛṣṭvā, dṛṣṭe, smarati, smṛti, tatsadṛśam, tatsadṛśe, kālāntarānubhūtam, yathānubhavam* form the parallel series in the two.

13. *Bhrāntimān* (KL. 8, 87. 88 ; KP. 10, 132) :

KL. definition :

arthaviśeṣaṃ paśyann avagacchad anyam eva tat sadṛśam |

KP. definition :

anyasaṃvit tat tulyadarśane |

Arthaviśeṣaṃ paśyan and *tatsadṛśam avagacchet* correspond to *tulyadarśane, anyasaṃvit.* The terms, *prākaraṇika* and *aprākaraṇika* in the *vṛtti* show that the Alaṃkāra is based on an *upamā* and in fact the *vṛttikāra* expressly states that it is not an *atiśaya* : *na ca eṣa rūpakaṃ prathamātiśayoktir vā.*

15. 14. *Sāmānya* and *Tadguṇa* :

To understand properly the relation of these we must examine the genesis of these Alaṃkāras. These two figures run into each other very closely and they appear in the two works considerably mixed up. They were forcibly separated by Rudraṭa and although this separation is not accepted without reserve by our author, he betrays Rudraṭa's influence quite distinctly. The older Alaṃkāra writers knew an Atiśaya which was, the desire to depict some quality of the matter in hand (*prastuta vastu*) which surpasses the commonly acknowledged limits, cf. Daṇḍin, KD. 2, 214 :

vivakṣā yā viśeṣasya lokasīmātivartinaḥ |
asāv atiśayoktiḥ syāt alaṃkārottamā yathā ||

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[485] to which the classical illustration was the description of the whiteness of the moon, which makes invisible the white-clad *abhisārikās*, with white garlands, anointed over with *candana* (KD. 2, 215). The same we meet with again in Vāmana's Alaṃkārasūtravṛtti 4, 3. 10 :

saṃbhāvyadharmatadutkarṣakalpanā 'tiśayoktiḥ |

The illustration (which is very likely a quotation) plays on the same idea of the moonlight and *abhisārikās*. Daṇḍin knows an *atiśayopamā*, which he illustrates but does not define. It is based on the idea that (as an Atiśayokti) the *upamāna* and the *upameya* would be utterly undistinguishable from each other, but for some accident or for some one trifling property, which is always present in the *upamāna* or the *upameya*, cf. KD. 2, 22, where the moon is said to be different from the face only because the moon is to be seen in the sky and her face on herself. Rudraṭa, who has an *atiśaya* and an *upamā* but no *atiśayopamā*, sees in Daṇḍin's illustration to Atiśaya a state of things in which there is a description based on Atiśaya of two objects, which when placed side by side are no longer distinguishable, the same property being present in each (*tadguṇa*) ; while in Daṇḍin's Atiśayopamā he sees only an extreme similarity (*sāmya*) and no Atiśaya. In KP. we find that the KL. Tadguṇa variety 1 (= Daṇḍin's Atiśaya) corresponds to KP. Sāmānya illustration 1 and KL. Sāmya variety 2 (= Daṇḍin's Atiśayopamā) corresponds to KP. Sāmānya illustration 2 ; while KL. *Tadguṇa* variety 2, which is a new Alaṃkāra takes in place in KP, as Tadguṇa.

KL. *Tadguṇa* variety 1 (KL. 9, 22) :

yasminn ekaguṇānāṃ arthānāṃ yogalakṣyarūpāṇām |
saṃsarge nānātvaṃ na lakṣyate tadguṇa sa iti ||

KP. defines it as an *aupamya alaṃkāra* (KP. 10, 134).

KP. definition :

prastutasya yad anyena guṇasāmyavivikṣayā |
aikātmyaṃ badhyate yogāt tat sāmānyam iti smṛtam ||

R.'s illustration is an imitation of the old model and KP. illustration = Vāmana's illustration to the Sūtra above quoted. Further cf. *vṛtti* ; *prastutatadanyayor anyūnātiriktatyā nibaddhaṃ dhavalatvam ekātmahetuḥ, ata eva pṛthagbhāvena na tayor upalakṣaṇam*, which reminds us of R.'s definition : *ekaguṇānām arthānāṃ nānātvaṃ na lakṣyate.*

KL. *Sāmya* variety 2 (KL. 8, 107) :

sarvākāraṃ yasminn ubhayor abhidhātum anyathā sāmyam |
upameyotkarṣakaraṃ kūrvīta viśeṣam anyat yat ||

is not further defined in KP. ; but cf. illustration 2 to Sāmānya and the *vṛtti*, *prathamapratipannam abhedaṃ na vyudasitum ut-*[486]*-sahate*

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(„ cannot do away with the antecedent apprehension of identity"). It is an *upamā-alaṃkāra* in both.

The other Tadguṇa defined by R. is faithfully copied, almost word for word, by M.'s successor.

KL. *Tadguṇa* variety 2 (9, 24) :

asamānaguṇaṃ yasminn atibahalaguṇena vastunā vastu |
saṃsṛṣṭaṃ tadguṇatāṃ dhatte 'nyas tadguṇaḥ sa iti ||

KP. 10, 137 :

svam utsṛjya guṇaṃ yogād atyujjvalaguṇasya yat |
vastu tadguṇatām eti bhaṇyate sa tu tadguṇaḥ ||

Here we see that the KL., *atibahalaguṇena* corresponds to KP. *ujjvalaguṇasya, tadguṇatām eti* to *tadguṇatāṃ dhatte* and *saṃsṛṣṭam* to *yogāt.*

16. *Viśeṣa* (KL. 9, 5—10 ; KP. 10, 135 and 136) :

The three varieties of R. are identical with those in KP.

KL. variety 1 definition :

kiṃ cid avaśyādheyaṃ yasminn abhidhēyate nirādhāram |
tādṛg upalabhyamānaṃ vijñeyo 'sau viśeṣa iti ||

KP. variety 1 definition :

vinā prasiddham ādhāram ādheyasya vyavasthitiḥ |

KL. illustration = KP. illustration 1.

KL. variety 2 definition :

yatraikam anekasminn ādhāre vastu vidyamānatayā |
yugapad abhidhīyate ... ||

KP. Variety 2 :

ekātmā yugapad vṛttir ekasyānekagocarā |

KL. illustration embodies the same idea as KP. Prakrit illustration.

KL. variety 3 :

yatrānyat kurvāṇo yugapat kāryāntaraṃ ca kurvīta |
kartum aśakyaṃ kartā vijñeyo 'sau viśeṣo 'nyaḥ ||

KP. variety 3 :

anyat prakurvataḥ kāryam aśakyasyānyavastunaḥ |
tathaiva kāraṇaṃ ceti ... ||

Here the similarity does not need to be pointed out. In the *vṛtti* the author points out that this Alaṃkāra is based on an Atiśaya.

There remain to be considered the three new Alaṃkāras *Pratyanīka, Pratīpa* and *Vyāghāta* which occur both in KL. and KP. and which still are differently treated by the two authors. The Pratyanīka and Pratīpa of KP.

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have indeed some similarities [487] with those of R.; but their treatment is widely divergent from that of the 16 Alaṃkāras above considered. In *Pratyanīka* (KL. 8, 92. 93; KP. 10, 129) an angry opponent (in KL., the *upamāna* wishing to conquer the *upameya*; in KP. not the *upamāna* at all) persecutes an innocent third party (in KL. any third party; in KP. the ally of the invincible offending party). In *Pratīpa* both in KL. and KP. there is disparagement of the *upamāna*; but the result is arrived at, according to the two authors, in two different ways. In KL. (8, 76—78) the *upameya* is censured or pitied, as the case may be, on account of its comparability with the *upamāna* which comparability is made possible only by the presence of some temporary flaw obscuring the excessive beauty of the *upameya*. On the other hand in KP. (10, 133) it is Pratīpa, when the *upamāna* is condemned as being useless, since the *upameya* is quite capable of serving its purpose or else when the *upamāna* is turned into an *upameya*. R.'s illustration *garvam asaṃvāhya* etc. (8. 78) is indeed quoted in KP. as an example of the same figure; but the author explains it in a slightly different way if, as I take it, *duravastha* is a necessary condition in R.'s definition. KP. has not „*duravastha*" and he sees in the verse only the turning of the lotus (*upamāna*) into an *upameya* which, according to him, constitutes its condemnation: *upameyīkaraṇam eva utpalānām anādaraḥ* | The figure *Vyāghāta*, which we meet for the first time in KL. and which is the last figure but one mentioned by R. (excluding, of course, the separate chapter on Śleṣa, which does not come here in consideration) is also the last one of the Śuddhālaṃkāras in KP. Beyond the names, however, the two Alaṃkāras have nothing in common. In KL. (9, 52. 53) it is Vyāghāta when a cause does not produce its [natural] effect, even when not hindered by other causes—which would otherwise explain the absence of the effect following that cause. The underlying idea is an Atiśaya. On the other hand in KP. (10, 138) there are two agents; and by the very means by which one of them accomplishes an act, the other one undoes it. The underlying idea here is Virodha. The definition reads:

yadyathā sādhitaṃ kenāpy apareṇa tadanyathā |
tathaiva yad vidhīyeta sa vyāghāta iti smṛtaḥ ||

In the Vṛtti we find *sādhitavastuvyāhatihetutvāt vyāghātaḥ*, "it is V. because it is the cause of the frustration of an end already achieved"; and in my opinion, Bhaṭṭoji quite rightly explains: *kāryavaijātye kāraṇavaijātyaṃ prayojakam*. I do not find any of these things in R.'s definition of V.; nor have I been able to identify the V. in KP. with any of R.'s Alaṃkāras.

We will now turn to the "first" part of Ullāsa 10 of KP. The most cursory comparison of the Kārikās 87 to 118 of KP. together with the Vṛtti to them with Adhyāyas 7, 8, 9 of KL. in [488] which R. deals with the cor-

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responding Alaṃkāras convinces us that though it would be quite incorrect to assume that Mammaṭa ignores Rudraṭa's work altogether, still we are justified in saying that he did not take the latter for his model. He has indeed borrowed R.'s illustration[8], and even adopted some of the Alaṃkāras, which we meet for the first time with the author of KL.; but on the whole M. shows an individuality of treatment and even in the cases of the Alaṃkāras, which are directly borrowed from R., we find them presented in KP. in a distinctly different garb.

Rudraṭa was, so far as we at present can say, the first writer on Poetics who categorically classified all Alaṃkāras so as to make them finally rest on a simple description of Vastu (Adhyāya 7), or on an Upamā (Adhyāya 8), or an Atiśaya (Adhyāya 9) or a Śleṣa (Adhyāya 10). Thus there arises a series of parallel[9] Alaṃkāras sometimes bearing different names which are to be regarded as *vāstava* or *aupamya* according as we look at them as implying a coordinate description of two different things which may have some common properties—and in that case it is a *vāstava*—or we consider it as a description of only one of the objects (i.e. the *prastuta*) to which the other with similar properties (i.e. the *aprastuta*) is compared. This craving after an almost mathematically precise analysis characterises the whole work KL. This is not the only instance in which R. forsakes the trodden path. In the KL. he introduces a row of new Alaṃkāras and adds new varieties to the old ones; M., on the other hand, follows the older school and his work betrays the influence of Udbhaṭa, who himself was a follower of Bhāmaha. He treats KL. in no kindly spirit. When he quotes R., it is to show that he is wrong,[10] with the single exception of the verse KL. 4, 32 which he quotes with approbation naming at the same time the author. Compare here the Alaṃkāra Samuccaya, which, as a Vāstava Alaṃkāra, we meet for the first time with R. R. defines three varieties; M. accepts only two of them. In the Vṛtti he specially mentions that those who try to make out that there is a third variety are wrong[11]—here he must have R.'s classification in mind, for the reason above mentioned—in so far as that variety is included in his first. That both the authors understand the first variety in the same sense follows from M.'s illustrations and Vṛtti to them. M.'s definition is different from that of R. and it must be admitted that the former is better than the latter. R, defines Samuccaya, KL. 7-19 :

yatraikatrānekaṃ vastu paraṃ syāt sukhāvahādy eva |

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[8] I think there is no doubt about the fact that R. illustrated his rules exclusively by examples composed by himself. See further on.

[9] cf. Sahokti (KL. 7, 13—18 and 8, 99—102); Samuccaya (KL. 7, 19—22; and 8, 103. 104); Sāmya (KL. 8, 105) and Tadguṇa (KL. 9, 22—23) etc.

[10] cf. KP. 834. 838. Samuccaya; KP. 784 Vyatireka.

[11] cf. Section II of this article.

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[489] M.'s definition is (KP. 834):

tatsiddhihetāv ekasmin yatrānyat tatkaraṃ bhavet |

This latter definition applies to R.'s illustrations equally well. In each of the three illustrations: in 7, 20, *kiṃ atra vo hāsyapade mahad bhayaṃ*, in 7, 21, *sukham idam etāvad*, in 7, 22, *astratvam adhāsyan*, from the *prastutakārya* of M. (see Vṛtti) corresponding to *kathaṃ nu virahaḥ soḍhavyaḥ*. Here we see that the definition, although bringing no extraneous element, is worded differently from R.'s definition. In variety 2 (= KL. variety 3) M.'s definition leaves out R.'s *vyadhikaraṇe* and *ekasmin deśe*—which are two of the most important elements of R.'s definition and which in fact exactly define the points in which this variety differs from variety 1—which virtually alters the Alaṃkāra; the Vṛtti justifies the omission giving examples of Samuccaya which are not *vyadhikaraṇe* or *ekasmin deśe*. This typifies the cases of R.'s Alaṃkāras which are borrowed directly by M. Now we will consider the six Alaṃkāras with which R. commences the seventh Adhyāya: Sahokti, Jāti, Yathāsaṃkhya, Bhāva, Paryāya, Anumāna (KL. 7, 13—18, 30—33, 34—37, 38—41, 42—46, 56—63). They appear in KP. in the following order: Yathāsaṃkhya KP. 803 (then follow two other Alaṃkāras); Svabhāvokti = R.'s Jāti KP. 814 (then one more) Sahokti KP. 817 (then follow seven others) Paryāya KP. 842 and Anumāna KP. 847. The wordings of these Alaṃkāras in KP. and KL. with the exception of Yathāsaṃkhya offer the widest contrasts; we may again notice here that even when M. does not add anything new to them, he does not simply paraphrase R.'s definition. I refer the reader further to the brilliant monogram "Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alaṃkāraśāstra" (Dissertation, Berlin 1911) of my friend Dr. Johannes NOBEL, in which he has exhaustively analysed the eight Alaṃkāras: Dīpaka and Tulyayogitā Vibhāvanā and Viśeṣokti, Aprastutapraśaṃsā and Samāsokti, Nidarśana, and Arthāntaranyāsa following them successively as they appear with Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka and particularly to p. 75 where, with reference to M.'s treatment of Arthāntaranyāsa, he says: „Ganz von Rudraṭa abhängig ist Mammaṭa, was um so beachtenswerter ist, als er sonst wenig auf das Kāvyālamkāra Rücksicht nimmt" and in note 14:„ Sonst folgte Mammaṭa meist Udbhaṭa, wie wir bei den vorangehenden Untersuchungen sahen".

From a consideration of these facts I consider I am justified in drawing the conclusion that although Mammaṭa lies under obligation to Rudraṭa for a great many of his ideas, he has shown a distinctive individuality in the treatment of the ideas he has borrowed and that *his* work can in no sense of the words be called a slavish imitation of Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra.

In conclusion, I may mention a fact which by itself would [490] have been thoroughly inconclusive, namely, that in the "second" part of the

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tenth Ullāsa there have been borrowed six illustrations (out of a total number of 84) from the little known Kāvya Navasāhasikacaritam[12] while of the preceding 518 illustrations there is not a single one which is traceable to that Kāvya.

In view of these facts taken all together, I think we are justified in assuming for true the tradition regarding the two authors of the Kāvyaprakāśa and I am inclined to think that the statement of the author of Nidarśana agrees correctly to the very verse, as Parikara is just the hinge where the two parts are most likely to be joined together.

II.—A NOTE ON MAMMAṬA'S SAMUCCAYA.*

In the following it is intended to point out that a portion of the Vṛtti to the definition of the Alaṃkāra Samuccaya, in the Kāvyaprakāśa, does not originate from either Mammaṭa or Allaṭa and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation. Mammaṭa defines two varieties of Samuccaya. The definition of the first variety KP. 10. 116 runs as follows :

Definition :

tatsiddhihetāv ekasmin yatrānyat tatkaraṃ bhavet samuccayo 'sau |

" When there is already one cause for its production (viz. of an effect) there are also others doing the same (i. e. producing the same effect) it is S.".

Vṛtti :

tasya prastutasya kāryasya ekasmin sādhake sthite sādhakāntarāṇi yatra saṃbhavanti sa samuccayaḥ |

" When, there being already present one cause of an effect in question other causes are present, it is S.".

Illustration 1.

durvārāḥ smaramārgaṇāḥ priyatamo dūre mano 'tyutsukaṃ
gāḍhaṃ prema navaṃ vayo 'tikaṭhiṇāḥ prāṇāḥ kulaṃ nirmalam |
strītvaṃ dhairyavirodhi manmathasuhṛt kālaḥ kṛtānto 'kṣamo
no sakhyaś caturāḥ kathaṃ nu virahaḥ soḍhavya tithaṃ śaṭhaḥ ||[1]

" Irresistible are Madana's arrows ; the beloved is at a distance ; the heart is full of longing, love deep, age young, life painful, family stainless ; womanhood is the reverse of firmness ; the Season is the friend of Madana ; Death is inexorable ; the friends are not shrewd ! How is this perfidious separation to be endured."

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[12] For this data I am dependent on the alphabetical index of the illustrations in the KP. at the end of JHAḶAKĪKARA's edition of the work, as the Mahākāvya is as yet known only in MS.

* [ZDMG 66. 533-43].

[1] Śārṅgadharapaddhati 3753.

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[534] *Vṛtti* :

atra virahāsahatvaṃ smaramārgaṇā eva kurvanti tadupari priyatamadūrasthityādi upāttam |

"Here, Madana's arrows by themselves make the separation unbearable; over and above this (such other causes, as) the fact of the lover being away, etc. are mentioned."

Vṛtti :

eṣa eva samuccayaḥ sadyoge 'sadyoge sadasadyoge ca paryavasatīti na pṛthak lakṣyate | *tathā hi* ||

"This same S. includes (that variety), where there is a *sadyoga, asadyoga,* and *sadasadyoga* and hence the latter is not separately defined by us; for instance".

Illustration 2.

kulam amalinaṃ bhadrā mūrtir matiḥ śrutiśālinī
bhujabalam alaṃ sphītā lakṣmīḥ prabhutvam akhaṇḍitam |
prakṛtisubhagā hy ete bhāvā amībhir ayaṃ jano
vrajati sutarāṃ darpaṃ rājaṃs ta eva tavāṅkuśāḥ ||

"Family stainless, appearance noble, mind enriched with (the knowledge of) the *śruti,* strength of arms adequate, wealth abundant, lordship undivided; these conditions are naturally charming; though this one owing to them becomes conceited, these same, o king, are your goads (which keep you on the path of virtue)."

Vṛtti :

atra tu satāṃ yogaḥ | *uktodāharaṇe tv asatāṃ yogaḥ* ||

"In this there is a combination of good things (*satāṃ yogaḥ*); but in the example (first) mentioned there is a combination of bad things (*asatāṃ yogaḥ*)."

Illustration 3.

śaśī divasadhūsaro galitayauvanā kāminī
saro vigatavārijaṃ mukhaṃ anakṣaraṃ svākṛteḥ |
prabhur dhanaparāyaṇaḥ satatadurgataḥ sajjanaḥ
nṛpāṅganagataḥ khalo manasi sapta śalyāni me ||[2])

"The moon pale during day, a woman who has lost her youth, a pond devoid of lotuses, the illiterate mouth of a handsome person, a patron who is entirely devoted to money, a good man always in difficulties, an evil man at a king's court : these are the seven darts in my mind."

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[2] Bhartṛhari's Nītiś. 45 = Ind. Spr. 6434. This is the only occasion on which a verse from the Nītiś. is quoted in the KP.

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Vṛtti :

atra śaśini dhūsare śalyāntarāṇīti śobhanāśobhanayogaḥ |

[535] "Here the pale moon being already one dart, there are other darts as well : thus there is a combination of good-bad things (*śobhanāśobhanayogaḥ*)."

Samuccaya means a "multitude", "collection", "heap" ; the essence of the figure *Samuccaya* is a heap of causes all (in equal degree) leading to the same effect, which latter forms the theme (*prastutakriyā*). Thus far it is clear enough. With the words *na pṛthak lakṣyate*, the Vṛttikāra evidently wishes to justify the position of the Kārikākāra in not admitting a further subdivision of a *sat-*, *asat-*, and *sadasat-Samuccaya* on the ground of the latter variety being already included in the defined S. ; the following three verses apparently illustrate what "others" understand by those terms. It is essential for our investigation to determine precisely what these three terms mean or can be taken to mean, and as the Vṛttikāra does not explain them any further, we will next see how the commentators interpret them.

Govinda the best commentator of the KP. expresses himself thus :

kulamiti | atra kulādīnāṃ samīcīnānām eva yogaḥ | durvārā ityādy uktodāharaṇe smaramārgaṇādīnām asamīcīnānām | śaśīti | atra sadasator yogaḥ | durjanasyāsattvāt śaśyādīnām sattvāt | etac cintyam | pūrvaṃ dūrasthityādiviśeṣaṇena dhūsaratvādinā 'trāpy asamyaktvam iti. |

"(In the verse) *kulam* etc. | Here, there is a multitude of good things only such as *kula* etc. (viz., *kula, mūrti, mati,* which are good, honourable, desirable). | In the illustration (commencing with) *durvārāḥ,* which has been mentioned, (there is a multitude) of bad things only, such as *smaramārgaṇa,* etc. (viz., *smaramārgaṇāḥ, utsukaṃ manaḥ, navaṃ vayaḥ,* etc. which are all causes of pain, grief, etc.). In the verse *śaśī* etc. | Here there is a combination of good and bad things (*sadasator yogaḥ*) | on account of the wickedness of the wicked man and the goodness of the moon etc. | this deserves consideration. | For as in the previous illustration (*durvārāḥ* etc.) the "badness" of the lover etc. results on account of (the attribute), "being at a distance" etc., so here also (the "badness" of the moon must follow) from the state of being dim during day."

The Prabhā understands the last sentence in Govinda's Commentary in the same way as I do. There the commentary runs :

cintyatve hetum āha | durvārā ity udāharaṇe ity arthaḥ | viśeṣaṇenāsamyaktvam ity anvayaḥ | tatrāpi priyatamasya sattvam eva dūrasthitiviśeṣaṇena param asattvam | ihāpi svataḥ sundarasya śaśino dhūsaratvenety asadyoga evety arthaḥ |

Nāgojībhaṭṭa in his Udyota, after distinguishing the Alaṃkāra under consideration from Samādhi and Kāvyaliṅga and explaining the illustrations

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1 and 2 in detail thus commentates Govinda's remark, *atra sadasator ..... sattvāt ?*

idaṃ cintyam | evaṃ hi sahacarabhinnatā syāt | sarvatra viśeṣyasya śobhanatvaṃ viśeṣaṇasyāśobhanatvaṃ ca prakrāntam [536] *iti bhagnaprakramatā vā syāt | tasmān nṛpāṅganam asadyutam iti pāṭho yuktaḥ | sadasad iti ca karmadhārayo yuktaḥ |*

"This deserves consideration | Thus there will be "Dissimilarity of the Associated" (*sahacarabhinnatā*)[3] | or there will be a "breach of the uniformity of expression" (*bhagnaprakramatva*) inasmuch as everywhere (i.e. in all the cases except *khala*) the object qualified is "good", and the attribute is "bad" | Hence it would be better to read *nṛpāṅganam asadyutam* | it is better to regard *sadasat* as a Karmadhāraya[4] compound (*santaś ca te asantaś ca, teṣāṃ yogaḥ* and interpret it as Conjunction of things that are both good and bad)" |

Thus the Udyota points out that if with the Pradīpa the compound *sadasat* were taken as a Dvandva, it would occasion the "breach of uniformity". He therefore proposes to take it as a Karmadhāraya, both members of which are adjectives and interprets it as a combination of things which are both good and bad : good naturally, bad on account of some particular qualifying attribute. Further he points out that the illustrations 1 and 3 are really different, inasmuch as, in illustration 3 the objects which by themselves are "good" are represented as being "bad", while in illustration 1 the objects have no goodness at all in so far as they always are causes of pain to a woman in separation from her lover. Cf. also Prabhā :

durvārāḥ śaśity anayoḥ kathaṃ bheda iti cet ittham | durvārā ity atra virahāsahiṣṇutayā priyatamādināṃ satāṃ apy asattvena vivakṣā | iha tu śobhanasya sato dhūsaratvādinā aśobhanatvam apīti vivakṣā |

What the Commentators then say is the following : We might understand *sadyoga* as that in which there is a combination of all "good" things —things desirable, praiseworthy ; *asadyoga* as that in which there is a combination of all "evil" things ; and *sadasadyoga* as a combination of some things which are "good", pleasure-giving etc. together with other things which are "bad", unpleasant etc. This is logically irreproachable ; but

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[3] An example of Sahacarabhinnatā is given in KP. 486 :

śrutena buddhir vyasanena mūrkhatā madena nārī salilena nimnagā |
niśā śaśāṅkena dhṛtiḥ samādhinā nayena cālaṃkriyate narendratā ||

Here excellent things such as *śruta* are combined with things dissimilar viz. *vyasana* etc.

[4] Viśeṣaṇobhayapada Karmadhāraya. P. 2, 1, 57. *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*, is quoted by JHAḶAKĪKARA in support. (?)

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unluckily it offends the canon of the Alaṃkāraśāstra and commits the fault of *sahacarabhinnatā*, apart from the fact that the illustrations do not wholly justify this interpretation. Thus illustration 2 should be a collection of all "good" things and we find accordingly that *kulam amalinam bhadrā mūrtiḥ* etc. down to *prabhutvam akhaṇḍitam* are all "good" things. Illustration 3 should be a multitude of good objects and [537] bad objects as well. The objects mentioned are *śaśin, kāminī, saras, svākṛti, prabhu, sajjana* and *khala*. It can be argued that the first six are "good" and the *khala* bad ipso facto; therefore we have a combination of "good" and "bad" things; but this solution fails altogether when we proceed to illustration 1. That should be in accordance with our hypothesis a multitude of "bad" things only; we might explain the *durvārāḥ smaramārgaṇāḥ* as being an unqualified misfortune and equally so the *priyatamo dūre*, but we cannot rationally say that *gāḍhaṃprema, navaṃ vayaḥ, nirmalaṃ kulam, strītvam* and *sakhyaḥ* as being unconditionally "bad". We see thus that our first hypothesis does not by any manner of means conform to the condition of the illustrations. The compound *sadasadyoga*, it is suggested, can, however, be treated as a Karmadhāraya Compound and may be taken to mean a multitude of things which are by themselves "good" but which on account of some qualifying attribute are "bad" (*dharmaviśeṣasaṃparkād aśobhanāḥ*). Then we have a more rational explanation of illustration 3; we have, for example, *śaśin kāminī* etc. "good" in themselves, "bad" on account of the particular circumstances with which they are accompanied. This explanation commits, however, the fault of the *bhagnaprakramatva*, in so far as while enumerating things which are "good" by themselves and "bad" on account of some casual attending circumstance, we come suddenly to the *khala* who is "bad" in himself and can be only looked upon as being "good", being at the royal court—at best not a very satisfying explanation. We proceed, however, to illustration 1 and we find that the villainous *priyatama, preman, kula*, which we had hypothesised as being "bad" are so, also in virtue of some casual attending circumstance; thus the principles exemplified in illustrations 1 and 3 are identical. One way of getting over this difficulty has been already considered in connection with Nāgojībhaṭṭa; another one will be considered in connection with Ruyyaka. That the three verses are examples of Samuccaya and that they are already included under the definition of the same in the KP. is clear enough; what is not clear, and what the commentators have not been able to explain, is the fact, how either the terms, *sadyoga* etc. or the illustrations 1, 2, 3 are to be interpreted so as to fit each other. Mammaṭa defines another variety of S., with regard to which we only need to consider the Vṛtti:

dhunoti cāsiṃ tanute ca kīrtim ityādeḥ kṛpāṇapāṇiś ca bhavān raṇakṣitau sasādhuvādāś ca surāḥ surālaye ityādeś ca darśanād vyadhikaraṇe iti ekasmin deśe iti ca na vācyam |

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"It should not be said that (S. is possible only) when the substrata of the simultaneous actions are different; nor (should it be said that it is possible only) when the region is one and the same; for (such verses as) *dhunoti* etc., and *kṛpāṇapāṇiḥ* etc. are found."

In Ruyyaka's Alaṃkārasarvasva the subject is dealt with on [538] the same lines as laid down in the KP.; all the five illustrations to the two varieties of S. are repeated by him and with illustration 3 he has the same difficulty which we saw pointed out by Govinda. To the objection, that on the supposition that if the *sadasadyoga* were taken to mean a multitude of things which are good in themselves and bad only on account of the attending circumstances, the illustration *durvārāḥ* and *śaśī* cannot be differentiated from each other, he replies: "(In *śaśī*) it is intended to represent as bad those things which are good by themselves; while, in the other example, only such as are wholly bad; for this reason, in the one it is summarised with the words "there are the seven darts in my mind" on account of their causing pain to the mind even when they have entered the mind as objects of beauty; while in the other case, where the situation is summarised with the words, "how can it be endured", it is intended to express the idea, that the objects from all points of view are bad"!

This exposition is more brilliant than convincing; it is, however, quite clear that this interpretation was not in the mind of the Vṛttikāra; were it so, he would have himself mentioned it, as, to say the least of it, it is not very obvious. To make a rough guess at what the Vṛttikāra did have in his mind I should say that he meant *sadasat* as a Dvandva Compound and understood it in the sense in which Govinda does.

In passing, I may mention that Sāhityadarpaṇa brings nothing new to the subject except some illustrations; the "Sadasadyoga" is, however, illustrated by the classical example from Bhartṛhari, which we have already met with twice before. The same difficulties are encountered and the author's explanations do not throw any more light on this perplexing question.

Beginning with Mammaṭa, we thus see, there is a uniformity in the treatment of the Samuccaya. Whether we take the Compound *sadasat* as a Dvandva or as a Karmadhāraya the logical incongruency remains; and be it remembered, that this spurious variety is rejected in KP. not on account of any inherent contradiction which it involves, but on the ground, that it does not need a special mention, it being already included in the defined variety. The persistently uniform treatment of this subject after the pattern of the KP. by the younger writers on Alaṃkāraśāstra suggests to us the fact that this is again one of those cases, where though a commentator did perhaps perceive a contradiction in the old teaching, he would not admit the contradiction but would every time interpret it away—certainly without being convincing for us. I have for this reason intentionally considered in detail

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the views of the various commentators, who have done their best to explain away this contradiction, but who did not possess the key to the solution of the puzzle, and who were not honest enough to admit its existence.

[539] We will now follow the Alaṃkāra to its source. We find, of the old Alaṃkāra writers neither Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana nor Udbhaṭa know the Vāstava Samuccaya. It makes its appearance first with Rudraṭa who has treated it exhaustively in Kāvyālaṃkāra 7, 19—29. There we find the *sadyoga, asadyoga,* and *sadasadyoga,* as well as the *vyadhikaraṇa* referred to towards the end of the Vṛtti on S. in KP. There is no doubt that the Kārikākāra had adopted the new Alaṃkāra of Rudraṭa and that the Vṛttikāra in his polemical remarks means to hit at Rudraṭa and Rudraṭa only. But there a surprise awaits us : Rudraṭa understands the three terms *sadyoga, asadyoga, sadasadyoga,* quite differently from what the Vṛttikāra represents him to do ; the difference is, in fact, so great that unless the latter intentionally intended to misrepresent Rudraṭa, we must assume that he had thoroughly misunderstood him ; so much so that it appears to me questionable whether he knew of Rudraṭa's illustrations of the second variety of his S. at all.

Rudraṭa's definition and illustrations of S. 7, 19-29 are as follows :

Definition :

yatraikatrānekaṃ vastu paraṃ syāt sukhāvahādy eva |
jñeyaḥ samuccayo 'sau tredhānyaḥ sadasator yogaḥ ||

"That is called Samuccaya where several pre-eminent objects, are (found) together which cause happiness etc. By the joining together of "good" and "bad" (objects), (we have) another, which is threefold."[5]

Illustrations :

durgaṃ trikūṭaṃ parikhā payonidhiḥ
prabhur daśāyaḥ subhaṭāś ca rākṣasāḥ |
naro 'bhiyoktā sacivaiḥ plavaṃgamaiḥ
kim atra vo hāsyapade mahad bhayam ||

"The Trikūṭa mountain is the castle, the ocean is the moat, Rāvaṇa is the lord, the Rākṣasas are the soldiers, Man is the enemy with Monkeys for ministers ; where is for you any great fear in this matter for laughter ?"

Next follow three verses which do not specially concern us here ; and then a verse which Namisādhu introduces with

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[5] We can join "good" and "bad" objects in three ways : (1) two good objects together ; (2) two bad objects together ; or (3) pairs of objects of which one is good and the other bad. Cf. KL. 3, 23, where R. uses the dual Dvandva *vyastasamaste* for two *vyasta* varieties and one *samasta* variety.

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atha śator yogaḥ—

sāmode madhu kusume jananayanānandane sudhā candre |
kvacid api rūpavati guṇā jagati sunītaṃ vidhātur idam ||

[540] "Honey is the fragrant bower, nectar in the moon, the delight of the eyes of the world. At least in some beautiful things there are virtues—that is well-ordained of the creator!"

athāsator yogaḥ—

āliṅgitāḥ karīraiḥ śamyas taptoṣapāṃsunicayena |
maruto 'tikharā grīṣme kim ato 'nyad abhadram astu marau

"The Śāmī[6] trees embraced by the (thorny) Karīra creepers; the excessively sharp winds (mixed) with clouds of hot sandy dust! What can be more unwelcome than this in a desert in summer?"

atha sadasator yogaḥ—

kamalavaneṣu tuṣāro rūpavilāsādiśālinīṣu jarā |
ramaṇīṣv api duścaritaṃ dhātur lakṣmīś ca nīceṣu ||

"Snow amongst lotuses; old age in women possessing beauty, amorous charms etc.; wealth with the mean: that is ill-ordained of the creator!"

In the first of the last three illustrations there is a *samuccaya* of (i) *madhu* and *kusuma* (ii) *sudhā* and *candra*; in the second, of (i) *karīra* and *śamī* and (ii) *taptoṣapāṃsunicaya* and *maruta*; in the third of (i) *kamalavana* and *tuṣāra*; (ii) *ramaṇī* and *jarā* (iii) *lakṣmī* and *nīca*. These, without any extra distortion of the premises, resolve themselves into, 1. two pairs of "good" objects, 2. two pairs of "bad" objects, and 3. three pairs of objects, and in each pair one object is "good" and the other "bad".

Rudraṭa's Samuccaya 2 is nothing like that mentioned by the Vṛttikāra of KP. It is certainly different from Samuccaya 1 in so far as in 1 there is a single "heap" and in 2 there is a double "heap". There is no question of "things" which are "good" by themselves and "bad" on account of some qualifying circumstance". Nami Sādhu in his Commentary to 7. 24 has rightly observed: *sāmodakusumādiṣu madhvādīnāṃ satāṃ yogaḥ*: in this S. there is a union of two good things; and further on in 7. 25 *miśrībhūtāḥ*. There is an actual mixture, combination, union. In "Sadyoga" there is a heap of pairs of good things; in *asadyoga* there is a heap of pairs of bad things, in *sadasadyoga* there is a heap of pairs of things, one of which is good and the other bad. This is a perfectly logical arrangement; and to any one who knows of Rudraṭa's treatment of Yamaka and of his partiality for just such mathematical divisions, the explanation offers no

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[6] The Śamī trees are *asat* (unpleasant) because of their containing fire. Cf. Śakuntalā (ed. CAPPELLER, p. 42, l. 17) *agnigarbhāṃ śamīm iva.*

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difficulty. It is indeed questionable whether this variety deserves to be specifically distinguished from the first variety—for it may be argued that if there be only a heap required, it may be a "heap" of single objects or of double objects;—but not for the reasons appearing in the [541] Vṛtti in the K.P., because in the illustrations of the Vṛttikāra there is not the slightest trace of a reference to the "double" nature of the 2nd variety. The illustrations 1, 2, 3 are illustrations of Rudraṭa's first variety and not of his second: the *ādi* of *sukhāvahādi* KL. 7, 19 includes *duḥkhāvaha.*

Enough has been said in the earlier part of this paper to leave any doubt as to the fact that Mammaṭa himself was thoroughly acquainted with Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra. His successor Allaṭa we have seen is wholly dependent for his material on Rudraṭa's work. So it is impossible for either of them to have made this mistake. Again, as it scarcely can be supposed that any one would wish maliciously to misrepresent the views of an *anonymous* person, malice in this matter is out of question. Does not the solution rather lie in the supposition that it is a case of simple misunderstanding; and that we ought to look upon the part of the Vṛtti beginning with *tathāhi* to *śobhanāśobhanayogaḥ* as an interpolation—an interpolation by some one who only from hearsay knew of the existence of the varieties "*sad-*, *asad-*, and *sadasadyoga*" of another school of Rhetoric and nothing more; for the rest, however, the interpolator had depended upon his own fertile imagination as to what they ought to be. This is, in any case, imaginable in the case of Rudraṭa's work, which has remained unacknowledged and unhonoured by the younger school of Alaṃkāra writers.

As the illustrations 1, 2, 3 in the Vṛtti to the KP. have found their way in Ruyyaka's Alaṃkārasarvasva, (Kāvyamālā 35, p. 161, 162) the interpolation must be looked upon as being considerably old; and if the fact of this interpolation be admitted, it will have one important consequence: we must allow enough elbowroom in the estimation of the chronological relationship between Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka, respectively between Rudraṭa and Ruyyaka, to make possible that, in the one case, such a significant interpolation in Mammaṭa's work and in the other, such an obvious misrepresentation of Rudraṭa's work, should have been in Ruyyaka's time an established fact.

III.—ANOTHER CASE OF THE PRACTICE OF QUOTING NAMES MERELY HONORIS CAUSA

Prof. KIELHORN in an article entitled "On the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa" (*Ind. Ant.* X. p. 75) pointed out that the names of the grammatical authorities mentioned in the Jainendra Grammar must not be looked upon as historical data and in fact suggested that these names in all probability are wholly fictitious. In a later volume of the same journal (*Ind. Ant.* XVI. p. 25) he

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makes similar statements with regard to the Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa, to quote his own words (ibid. p. 28). "The names employed by him [Śākaṭāyāna] are given simply *pūjārtham* and they by no means prove that Śākaṭāyana in the particular instances knew anything whatever of [542] the teachings of the scholars whom he mentions." It appears that the practice of quoting names merely *pūjārtham* was followed even in later times and was not confined to the province of grammar alone. The facts to which I am referring are admittedly not of such an assertive nature as those mentioned by Prof. KIEHORN, still the certainty in this case of their being false gives us a good opportunity of observing at leisure the danger of admitting too readily as historically true evidence of scattered facts, in particular, of the names of authors and authorities, such as occur loosely in commentaries, and which are not otherwise corroborated.[7]

The facts in question centre round the verse KP. 860 :

aviralakamalavikāsaḥ sakalālimadaś ca kokilānandaḥ |
ramyo 'yam eti saṃprati lokotkaṇṭhākaraḥ kālaḥ ||

quoted in the Vṛtti to the Kāraṇamālā together with the following portion of the Vṛtti :

ity atra kāvyarūpatāṃ komalānuprāsamahimnaiva samāmnāsiṣur na punar hetvalaṃkārakalpanatayeti pūrvoktakāvyaliṅgam eva hetuḥ ||

"It is only on account of the Komalānuprāsa in this verse that its nature of a Kāvya is prescribed by tradition, and not on account of the presence of the Alaṃkāra Hetu. Hetu is in no way different from the aforementioned Kāvyaliṅga."

From this alone if we knew nothing more about the verse, we might be led to conclude that it is an "old"[8] verse, which in the opinion of some rhetoricians contains the Alaṃkāra Hetu, but which in the opinion of the author of the KP. contains no such Alaṃkāra ; however that may be, the Vṛttikāra seems to say, the reputation of the verse as good poetry is left undamaged, it being not wholly without some Alaṃkāra. This fact is taken in connection with the remark of Sārabodhinī—one of the older commentaries on the KP..

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[7] In the article, entitled "Rudraṭa und Rudrabhaṭṭa" *ZDMG*, 42, p. 426 Prof. JACOBI pleads : "Nun weiss man aber, was auf die Autorität diesser Schriftsteller [der Kompilatoren und Kommentatoren] zu geben ist ; da sie keinen literärhistorischen Sinn haben, so nennen sie ihre Autoren ohne ängstiliche Prüfung, meist so wie sie es in ihrer Vorlage fanden. Daher wird nicht selten derselbe Vers ganz verschiedenen Dichtern zugeschrieben. Wie geringeres Gewicht hat dabei die Verwechslung zweier so ähnlicher Namen wie Rudraṭa und Rudrabhaṭṭa !" This is a case in point, and I must say I fully concur with Prof. JACOBI in treating such evidence as not conclusive.

[8] e.g. the half verse. *gato 'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ |*, Bhāmahālaṃkāra 2, 87, and Kāvyādarśa 2, 244.

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vastutas tv aviralakamalavikāsa ityādiṣu vaicitryam anubhavasiddham evety Udbhaṭādimataṃ samīcīnam eveti navīnāḥ |, leads us to believe that this verse or probably a similar verse was known to U. ; at any rate, we may justly conclude, we are on safe ground in assuming that U. at least (amongst others) looked upon the Alaṃkāra Hetu as a legitimate independent Alaṃkāra. [543] Probably depending upon the Sārabodhinī, Govinda--the author of the Pradīpa to the KP.—boldly ascribes the half verse immediately preceding the verse above quoted, KP. 859 :

hetumatā saha hetor abhidhānam abhedato hetuḥ |

to Udbhaṭa with the words :

uktaś cāyaṃ Bhaṭṭodbhaṭena hetumatā saha hetor .....

Another Commentator Maheśa Candra Nyāyaratna in his Calcutta edition (1866) of the KP. going back on a good tradition — the same old tradition —also attributes the verse to Udbhaṭa[9]. The youngest commentator, the author of the Bombay Sanskrit Series Edition (1901) remains true to the tradition and further drags in the name of Bhāmaha[10]. Now Bhāmaha explicitly disavows the existence of the Alaṃkāra Hetu as we saw above (p. 482) ; and in spite of the overwhelming evidence of a succession of Commentators it is highly improbable that Udbhaṭa — the Commentator and follower of Bhāmaha — defined any Hetu ; it is certainly not included in the work of his Udbhaṭālaṃkārasaṃgraha, which is preserved for us. It is equally impossible that either Bhāmaha or Udbhaṭa could have expressed an opinion as to what Alaṃkāra the verse should contain ; because the half-verse *hetumatā* etc. is Rudraṭa's Definition (KL. 7, 82) and *avirala* etc. is also his Illustration[11] KL. 7, 83 of the Alaṃkāra Hetu. The mention of the names Udbhaṭa and Bhāmaha by the Commentators is merely *pūjārtham.*

Supplementary note.

As the first section of this article (Heft III, p. 477—490) had to be

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[9] At p. 328 his comment on *hetvalaṃkāra* in the Vṛtti to KP. is, *Bhaṭṭodbhaṭṭapradarśitaḥ.*

[10] KP. 860 (Commentary 1. 3), *prācāṃ bhāmahādīnām* .... and further on l. 18 *Bhāmahādaya iti śeṣaḥ.*

[11] As Rudraṭa illustrated his rules by verses of his own composition [—cf. Introduction, p. 11, Rudraṭa's Çṛṅgāratilaka ed. PISCHEL. I must here add that with Prof. JACOBI (*WZKM* II) I firmly disbelieve in the alleged identity of Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa, postulated by Prof. PISCHEL ; nevertheless most of what Prof. PISCHEL tells us in his Introduction, about Rudraṭa, the author of the Sṛṅgāratilaka, is true not of Rudra, but of Rudraṭa, the author of Kāvyālaṃkāra.—] it is utterly improbable that the verse in question is an 'old' verse, as one might be led to imagine from the remarks of Allaṭa in the Vṛtti. I cannot explain why Allaṭa, who must have known the source of the verse perfectly well, refers to it in such ambiguous terms.

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printed from the second proof for correction a few errors of print could not be avoided. Please make the following corrections :

p. 479, l. 29 read, *saṃjāyeta* for *saṃjāyet*, l. 35, *uttara°* for *uttarā°*, and *°śravaṇād* for *°śravaṇāt* ; p. 484, l. 19, Bhrāntimat for Bhrāntimān ; p. 485, l. 37, *ekātmatā°* for *ekātma°* ; and p. 480, l. 35, p. 481, l. 24, p. 490, l. 3, Navasāhasāṅka° for Navasāhasika°.

Some minor errors of spelling in the English of the text are left here unnoticed.

THE SATAVAHANAS *

I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article "The Home of the Śātavāhanas" published in a recent number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (*Bangalore*), vol. 13, pp. 591 ff., in which the author, Mr. T. N. SUBRAMANIAM of Kumbakonam, cites and criticizes a certain theory regarding the home of the so-called Āndhra kings which, I believe, I was the first to formulate. In 1919 I published a short article in the first issue (pp. 21-42) of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, drawing attention to certain prevailing misconceptions about the Sātavāhanas. This article is the subject of Mr. SUBRAMANIAM'S criticism. While admitting the validity of my main contention that the Sātavāhanas are *not* Āndhras and that their original home was *not* Āndhradeśa, he takes exception to certain statements in the body of the article which, according to him, *contradict* the main thesis. It is not my intention to go into details and to take up space which can probably be ill spared. I shall content myself with correcting the erroneous impression created by Mr. SUBRAMANIAM'S note, which in part misquotes my words and misrepresents my views.

I have nowhere asserted that "the Sātavāhanas *have* to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras," as Mr. SUBRAMANIAM appears to think (op. cit. p. 592). That is only one of the alternatives considered and *rejected* by me. Assuming *for the sake of argument* that the Purāṇic view is correct, I wrote : "*If*" (in order to reconcile the Purāṇic statement with our conclusion)—"If...the Sātavāhanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras, then" certain consequences will follow (*ABI.* 1, 41). Further on in the course of the same paragraph I reject the alternative proposed as untenable, concluding the paragraph with the words : "There is nothing improbable in the assumption that the founders of the Sātavāhana dynasty were originally the vassals of the Āndhra sovereigns, of whom it may, with assurance, be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Sātavāhanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Deccan."

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* [*JBBRAS*, New Series 1. 160-61 ; *QJMS* 13. 776-7].

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[161] I must frankly admit, however, that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold: (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the *early* Sātavāhana kings with the Āndhradeśa, their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south-western portion of the Deccan plateau; only *later* kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards, so that subsequently even the Andhradeśa was included in the Sātavāhana dominions; the Sātavāhana migration was *from the west to the east*; (2) that the Sātavāhanas are different from, and should not be confused with, the Āndhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles; (3) that the home (or the early habitat) of the Sātavāhanas is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is *perhaps* to be located in the province then known as Sātavahani-hāra—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

I see at present no reason to alter my views regarding the date of the Myākadoni inscription, and I am not prepared to accept the date proposed for it by Mr. SUBRAMANIAM. I will admit, however, that Mr. SUBRAMANIAM has offered a very happy explanation of the Purāṇic anomaly. He points out that even the oldest Purāṇas are not older than the third century A.D. Thus at the period when the earliest Purāṇas were compiled, the Sātavahanas had been established firmly, for over a century, as a paramount power in the Āndhradeśa. Moreover it is highly probable that about that period they had been relieved of their possessions in the west. The Purāṇic chroniclers thus knew the Sātavāhanas only as rulers of the Āndhradeśa, and probably *mistook* them for Āndhras. This explanation is much simpler and more satisfactory, on the whole, than those I have offered in my article.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

AN ASSYRIAN TABLET FOUND IN BOMBAY*

The Assyrian clay tablet here presented was discovered in the storeroom of a house in Girgaum, one of the wards of the city [143] of Bombay. Through my friend, Dr. Robert ZIMMERMAN, S. J., Professor of Indic Philology in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, it came into my hands. I recently had the opportunity to announce the discovery before the Oriental Club of New York, and at Dr. J. B. NIES's suggestion the tablet was placed in Dr. C. E. KEISER's hands for decipherment. His reading follows. Dr. KEISER notes that of the two women sold by -zêr-ukîn one was his slave and the other his daughter; the *sihi* and *paquirannu* officers who are always men-

* [*JAOS* 40. 142-4].

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tioned in these slave contracts apparently gave over the document guaranteeing ownership. I may add that it is not known how the relic reached India.

Transliteration.

OBVERSE

1. . . . . -zêr-ukîn apil-šu ša ^{md}Šamaš-êṭir ina ḫu-ud líb-bi-šu
[^{f}A]-šar-ši-i-bîti ù ^{f}Ina-bîti.pân-kalam-ma-lu-mur-aš šu
. . . -šu a-na 16 šiqlu kaspu a-na šimi ḫa-ri-iṣ a-na
. . . -la (?)-a apil-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-zêr-ukîn apil ^{m}E-gi-bi id-din
5. [bu-ut] si-ḫi-i pa-qir-ra-nu ša ^{f}A-šar-ši-i-bîti
[ù ^{f}In] a-bîti-pân-kalam-ma-lu-mur-šu mârtu-šu la-ta-nu-šu
. . . . -zêr-ukîn na-ši ina a-ša-bi ša ^{f}Ku-ut-ta-a aššati-šu
. . . . . apil-šu ša ^{m}Ṣil-la-a
. . . . . ^{md}Nabû-nâdin-šum

REVERSE

10. . . . . -tu
. . . . . [apil]-šu ša ^{md}Lugal-marad-da-ni
. . . . . ut ša ^{m}Ba-di-ilu
. . . . . ^{arhu}Šabâṭu ûmu 22^{kan}
14. šattu 2^{kan} ^{md}Nabû-kudurri-usur šàr Bâbili^{ki}.

Translation.

. . . -zêr-ukîn, son of Shamash-êṭir, in the joy of his heart [i.e. of his own free will] Asharshi-bîti and Ina-bîti-pân-kalammalumurashshu his . . . for 16 shekels of silver, for a fixed price, to . . lâ, son of Nabû zêr-ukîn, son of Egibi, gave (i. e. sold). (The document of) the *sihî* (and *paqirranu* officers, which (was taken out over) Asharshi-bîti (and) Ina-bîti-pân-lumurshu his daughter (and) his slave, . . . -zêr-ukîn bears. In the presence of Kûttâ his wife. (Witnesses) . . . . ., son of Ṣillâ; . . . . . Nabhû-nâdin-shum; . . . . . -tu; . . . . ., son of Lugal-marad-[144]-dani; . . . . . of Badi-ilu. . . . . month Shebet, day 22, year 2 of Nebuchadressar, king of Babylon.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

"CHARUDATTA"—A FRAGMENT[1]

PANDIT GANAPATI SASTRI of Travancore, to whose indefatigable industry we owe the discovery and publication of the drama *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa,[2] takes evidently for granted that the four Acts of the play published by him

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[1] [QJMS 1919.]

[2] The *Châtudatta* of Bhâsa edited with notes by T. Gaṇapati Sâstrî (=Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXXIX), Trivandrum, 1914.

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form a drama complete in itself. Indeed, the assumption is not entirely groundless ; for, one of the manuscripts upon which the play published by GANAPATI SASTRI is based, does conclude with the words : *avasitaṁ Chārudattam.* ('here ends the *Chārudatta*'), which is a clear indication that the play should end there. But the other manuscript (MS. Kh. of GANAPATI SASTRI) contains no such words—a significant difference which clearly needs some explanation. The MS. Kh. is, moreover, as the editor himself tells us in the preface (p. i), comparatively free from errors.[3] This ought to have roused the suspicions of the learned Pandit, but it apparently did not do so. He unhesitatingly follows the MS. K. and assumes that the drama ends with the fourth Act.

The absence of the words *avasitaṁ Chārudattam*, or other words of like meaning is perhaps, after all, not a matter of much consequence. Their omission may be ascribed to the carelessness of the scribe. Yet another omission in the manuscripts under reference, namely, that of the *Bharata-vākya*, or the benedictory stanza, found at the end of most of the dramas of Bhāsa, is undoubtedly of a more serious nature. Neither of the manuscripts contains any such verse. But it may be urged that the absence of the *Bharata-vākya* (as of the word *avasita*) cannot by itself prove that there are more Acts to follow. For it is easily imaginable that the benedictory stanza, which naturally stands at the fag end of the drama, may have been at first omitted by careless copyists and then entirely lost. Against this latter assumption, however, may be supported a number of arguments which tend to prove the theory advanced in this article, namely, that our *Chārudatta* is a fragment ; and these we shall now briefly discuss.

Even a casual reader of the play will notice that the events narrated in the four Acts before us are of a very humdrum character and are deficient in the organic connection between Character and Plot, wanting in that attempt at grouping round a passion which is natural to a love-drama. In the first Act, Vasantasenā, in order to escape from the undesirable advances of Śakāra and Viṭa, takes shelter in Chārudatta's house, and utilises the pursuit as a very plausible excuse for leaving with Chārudatta for safe-keeping the ornaments which she is wearing. In the second Act, Saṁvāhaka (Chārudatta's former shampooer, since discharged), is rescued, first, through Vasantasenā's generosity from the clutches of his clamorous creditors, and then, by her servant from the tusks of an infuriated elephant. In the third Act, the ornaments which were deposited by Vasantasenā with the hero of the play are stolen by Sajjalaka (the impecunious lover of Vasantasenā's maid servant), whereupon Chārudatta's wife (a minor character) nobly sacrifices a very valuable heirloom belonging to her in order to repay Chārudatta's debt of

[3] It may be added that many readings of Kh. which have been relegated to the footnotes by the editors deserve to be adopted in the text.

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honour. All this is very interestingly told; but the main story—the love romance of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta—does not advaoce any further in either of the last two Acts. And in the text before us there remains only one more Act. In this last Act, Vasantasenā, who has overheard the confession of the thief who has stolen her ornaments, accepts from Maitreya, with a degree of nonchalance, a necklace said to be "worth a hundred thousand" as a compensation for the loss of a few ornaments which, she is told, have been lost by Chārudatta in gambling. Only in the concluding words of this Act is there any indication that the lovers meet once again: there Vasantasenā signifies her intention of taking the necklace back to Chārudatta, which, as the drama stands, remains merely an intention.

What should one think of a drama which ends in this fashion? There is no unity in the plot. Nowhere does the action reach a climax, as it does, for instance, in the eighth Act of the *Mṛchchakaṭika*, in which Śakāra attempts to strangle the heroine, and, having all but killed her leaves her living in the royal park overcome by a heavy stupor, or in the ninth Act, where the virtuous Chārudatta is accused and convicted of the groundless charge of the murder of his own paramour. If, therefore, the *Chārudatta* is to be looked upon as a work worthy of the pen of the author of the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, it must be assumed that the later Acts of the play which yet remain to be discovered complete with a worthy denouement that which was so well begun here.

It was mentioned above that the concluding words of Vasantasenā express her intention of going to Chārudatta with the precious necklace given by him as a compensation for her lost ornaments. The reader naturally wants to know what Vasantasenā is going to do and say when she meets her lover; he is curious about the attitude of Chārudatta towards her, about any dramatic situation arising out of this, apparently limitless passion, things which are far more important than all the interludes connected with Sajjalaka and Saṁvāhaka, which fill the second, third, and fourth Acts of the drama. Indeed, her acceptance of this priceless necklace would, by itself, be a puerile and reprehensible act and imply excessive meanness on her part. She says as much (p. 81):

dhik-khu gaṇiābhāvaṁ | luddhatti[4] *maṁ tuḷadi.*

('Alas, my being a courtesan! He considers me avaricious.')

She finds herself, however, on the horns of a dilemma, and therefore adds:

Jäi ṇa paḍichchhe so evva doso bhavissadi.

('Should I not accept it, even then there will be trouble.')

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[4] Text *ḷuddhatti*. In the text *ṇa* is written for *na* and *ḷa* for *la*, and intervocalic *ya* omitted in the Prakrit passages throughout.

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How she gets over the difficulty is a problem that surely cannot be left entirely to the ingenuity of the reader to solve, as Pandit GANAPATI SASTRI would have us believe. It may be added that the words of the Cheṭī (p. 86) :

edaṁ puṇa abhisāriāsahāabhūdaṁ duddiṇaṁ uṇṇamidaṁ

('And now there is gathering an untimely storm, the ally of the woman going to meet her lover.')

lead us to anticipate a development of the situation somewhat in the manner of the fifth Act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* which anticipation, if the *Chārudatta* were to end with the fourth Act, would be frustrated.

One more point deserves to be mentioned here. The very last words of Vasantasenā, addressed to her maid, (p. 86) :

hadāse mā hu vaḍḍhāvehi

(Oh you stupid, don't be so puffed up with pride.')

may be taken to mean that she is not so very confident about the success of her mission, and to hint dimly at some complications about to be introduced. Indeed, the course of true love never runs smooth.

Let us for a moment, turn to the three characters Śakāra, Sajjalaka, and Saṁvāhaka, and see what they have to tell us with regard to the point at issue.

In the first place, let us inquire for what purpose this figure of Śakāra, the brother-in-law of the King, was introduced into the play. Surely not merely for affording Vasantasenā the excuse for taking shelter in Chārudatta's house ; for, that is the only purpose he now serves in the *Chārudatta*. If so, any ordinary swashbuckler would have served the author's purpose equally well. Chārudatta's rival need not have been *rājaśyālaka*, who is not only a very important personage by virtue of his kinship with the king, but also one capable of much evil. Moreover, what about his dread threat (p. 24 ff) :

nāḍaäitthiā Vaśaṁchaśeniā ṇāma....tava gehaṁpaviṭṭhā | śā suve ṇiyyāäidavvā mā dāva tava, a mama a dāluṇo khoho hoditti vaḍua māḷiśa idaṁ cha bhaṇāhi mā dāśieputta vārāvadagaḷappaviṭṭaṁ via mūḷakandaṁ sīsakavāḷaṁ maḍamaḍāiśśaṁ

("'A dancing girl called Vasantasenā....went into your house. See that you restore her to-morrow. Or else there will be a dreadful bust-up between you and me." Manikin, my good sir, tell him this also : "Or else, you son of a strumpet, I'll chew the skull of your head like a bulbous root caught in the gullet of a pigeon'".)

In the four Acts before us, we hear nothing more about this *dāḷuṇo khoho* ('dreadful bust-up') threatened by the *rājaśyālaka*. Was this threat then

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held out in vain? In the fourth and last Act, moreover, we are told that Śakāra sends his carriage to fetch Vasantasenā, which clearly indicates that his passion for her had not in the least abated. The indignant refusal of Vasantasenā very pertinently raises the curiosity of the reader to know what further steps Śakāra takes to press his suit and to gain possession of Vasantasenā's heart or at least of her person.

The second character alluded to above is Sajjalaka. This character does indeed serve to introduce a very amusing scene in the third Act, but his rôle cannot surely end there. Despite his profession, which he reluctantly pursues, he has noble instincts: and one does feel that he ought to step in once again in order to repay the deep obligation under which he is laid in consequence of the magnanimity of Vasantasenā not only in overlooking the theft of her ornaments (for which she had, in truth, reason to be thankful), but also in emancipating of her own accord her slave girl and his sweet-heart, and thus fulfilling Sajjalaka's heart's desire. It is true that neither manuscript of the *Chārudatta*, which we have before us, contains any reference to the Āryaka and Pālaka of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* whose names are introduced for the first time in the fourth Act of the play in the interlude immediately following upon the interviews of Śarvilaka (the Sajjalaka of the *Chārudatta*) with Vasantasenā. But these characters are not essential to the main love story. And we can only surmise that if these individuals were not introduced by Bhāsa at a later stage of the drama, he must have made Sajjalaka show his gratitude to Vasantasenā in a way different from the one in which Śarvilaka shows it in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. But his words (p. 85): *bhoḥ kadā khalv asyāḥ pratikartavyaṁ bhavishyati* ('Oh, when shall I be able to repay her!') lead us emphatically to anticipate his re-entry later in the course of the play.

Thirdly and lastly, Saṁvāhaka has likewise been placed under an obligation by Vasantasenā, and in the *Chārudatta* he leaves her presence almost without saying a word of thanks in return. It is, therefore, to be expected that he returns once more to pay off his debt of gratitude to the heroine; and, I am persuaded that the words of Vasantasenā (p. 44): *gachchhadu ajjo*[5] *puṇodaṁsaṇāa* ('Go, Sir, *au revoir!*') contain a distinct indication of the intention of the author to reintroduce the character at a later stage of the drama.

I believe these facts justify us in concluding that our *Chārudatta* is only a fragment. Whether the drama was in point of fact ever completed, or whether its author left it in a fragmentary condition are questions which cannot be decided from the material at hand. The above facts entitle us only to conclude that the story is 'to be continued.' It is incredible that the

[5] Text *ayyo*. See PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para 284.

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denouement of the love episode which is the essence of the plot of the *Chārudatta*, the central point around which all the incidents ought to be grouped, should find no place in a play which is replete with many delicate touches, and which, but for this blemish, bears the unmistakable stamp of being the product of a master mind.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the chief motifs which are necessary to complete the dramatic episode, and which are indispensable in the drama are the following : rendezvous of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta : Chārudatta's being falsely accused of a crime committed by some one else (presumably Śakāra) as foreshadowed in his melancholy reflection (p. 10) :

pāpaṁ karma cha yat parair api kṛitam tat tasya saṁbhāvyate :

('And sinful deeds that others do are counted to him also.') ;

vindication of Chārudatta's character ; final union of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta. We know how these incidents have been treated by Śūdraka, but we must await another fortunate discovery which will reveal to us how these self-same motifs were handled by Bhāsa, and how the denouement was worked out by him.

CURIOSITIES OF HINDU EPIGRAPHY*

The corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, which even thirty years ago was a negligible quantity, is to-day—thanks to the energy with which the laborious task of exploration and elucidation has been perseveringly pushed forward by a generation of enthusiastic workers—an opus of voluminous proportions. Extremely numerous and remarkably instructive are the inscriptional remains of Ancient India which have in recent times been unearthed and examined. The themes with which these inscriptions deal are as varied as the languages in which they are written and the materials on which they are engraved. Though not so ancient as the Egyptian, or the Assyrian, or even the Greek inscriptions, they possess an interest and importance which is peculiar to themselves. For, almost the whole of our authentic knowledge of the historical period of Ancient and Mediæval India is derived—principally, if not solely—from inscriptional data. Some records are devoted to the propagation of religion and morality : others are merely vainglorious recitals of conquests and victories. Some are title-deeds of real property, records of the carrying out of public works, compacts of political alliance : others contain certificates of the right to duties, taxes, fees, and other privileges, fiscal details, particulars of local self-government, etc., etc. Each of these themes could be made the subject of an independent thesis. Yet it is not with a view to evaluate this material, nor with the aim of

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* [*The Asian Review 1920* 725-27; 857-60].

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solving any of the riddles which these records present, nor in fact for any other purely scholarly purpose, that this article is written. A learned dissertation would attract the attention, at best, of a very restricted circle of the erudite. The intention of the writer is to appeal to a much wider group of readers, and to bring to popular notice, in a series of articles, a topic of absorbing interest which has hitherto been regarded as the preserve of the savant. This article, which is the first of the series, contains brief notes on about a dozen inscriptions such as distinguish themselves from the rest of the ponderous mass of Hindu epigraphic documents by striking peculiarity, such as contain some element of ordinary, popular interest, [726]—in fact, such as are just curiosities and nothing more.

An inscription of unusual value, both on account of its age and its historic associations, is the dedication of an urn containing the relics of the Buddha, which was exhumed about a quarter of a century ago on an ancient and historic site in North India. The inscription which is held by some to be the oldest epigraphic document discovered upto the present in India, may date back to the fifth century before Christ. The reliquary on which the dedication is engraved was excavated in 1897 from a very ancient memorial mound at Piprava, a village situated on the confines of Nepal. These relic urns of the Buddhist times, of which by the way quite a number have been excavated in various parts of India within recent years, contain besides the relic itself quite a collection of miscellaneous objects deposited in them by friends and relatives of the deceased. Here is a list of such votive offerings : ornaments in gold, flat pieces of gold stamped with figures of human beings or animals ; flowers, both in gold and silver ; Buddhist tridents ; pierced and drilled beads of various sizes and shapes ; pearls ; topaz, amethyst, garnet, coral, crystal, etc., etc. Most of these urns are uninscribed : but the one under description bears a very important dedication. It is engraved in an archaic form of what are called Brahmi characters, which is the name given to one of the oldest alphabets in use in Ancient India. The letters, which are roughly seven-sixteenth of an inch long, are very lightly incised. The simple dedication may be rendered as follows : "*This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the August One, is that of the Sakyas, the brethren of the Distinguished One, in association with their sisters, and with their children and their wives.*" We know from the canonical works of the Buddhists that the Sakyas of Kapilavastu had claimed and obtained a share of the earthly remains of the Master ; and therefore it is more than likely that, as the dedication indicates, we have by accident actually hit upon, not only the remains of the Buddha, but the very memorial mound which was erected shortly after the Nirvana of the August One by his kinsmen over their share of the precious relics. The dedication thus helps us to identify a locality and a reliquary of exceptional interest to Buddhists and to students of Buddhism.

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Nowadays, here as in India, paper almost exclusively serves the purpose of writing material. But in ancient times, in India at any rate, that same purpose was served by a considerable variety of substances such as birch-bark, leaves, wooden boards, linen, skin, parchment, stone, terracotta, metals, etc. We are particularly concerned with metals here. Among metals copper was the one which was most commonly used. We come across all kinds of documents—private and domestic, official and public—committed to writing on plates fashioned out of copper. Specimens of short manuscripts and official documents written on silver plates and silver scrolls have also been preserved; there is nothing very unusual in that. Many readers, however, will be surprised to learn that under circumstances even gold was not considered too precious for use as writing material. But there are on record a few epigraphic finds—for a very obvious reason their number is, comparatively speaking, rather small—which go to show that once upon a time gold plates were regarded as none too precious for the recording of golden thoughts. As an example we may here mention a pair of such plates which was discovered in the Prome District of Burma, and is now preserved in the British Museum. They were found embeded firmly in a brick which was accidentally brought to light during certain excavations carried out near the find-spot of this antiquity, and might originally have been deposited in a memorial mound erected at that spot. They weigh together nearly [727] 260 grains. Each of the plates has just three lines of writing; being thin they are inscribed on one side only. The writing which is fairly deep shows through on the reverse. The inscription consists of some well-known stanzas from the canonical works of the Buddhists in a Middle Indian dialect. Among these finds itself also the most famous Buddhist couplet which we come across engraved on thousands of votive tablets of the Buddhists:

"Of all the things that proceed from a cause,
The Buddha the cause hath told;
And he tells too how each shall come to its end,
Such alone is the word of the Sage."

Perhaps we ought to explain here that according to the Buddhists everything proceeds from a cause. And the true method is to argue from one cause back to the next, from that to the preceding one, and so on and so forth, without attempting to determine the final cause of all. It may be observed that though these inscribed plates are a Burmese product, the script of the engraving on them is of purely Hindu origin. Prome, the find-place of these plates, was at one time a prominent seaport town, and it is more than likely that the Burmese written language was developed by early Indian colonists in Prome.

A unique inscription throwing some sidelight on the intercourse between India and the Western World during the centuries just preceding the Chris-

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tian era is the one engraved on a monolith known to Indian archæologists as the Besnagar column of Heliodoros. Besnagar is the name of a small village in Central India where the monolith stands. The inscription commemorates the erection of a 'standard' by Heliodoros dedicated to the Hindu god Vasudeva. Heliodoros, son of Dion, was the diplomatic representative sent by Antialkidas to the court of the Hindu king Bhagabhadra. The record is dated in the fourteenth year of the reign of the Hindu king. While the coinages of the Graeko-Indian kings, it may be observed, are remarkably abundant, all other records of their rule in India are surprisingly rare. The exact date of Antialkidas is not known. But to judge from the testimony of coins he was one of the early members of the family of Eukratides, who was on the throne in *ca.* 175 B.C. The shaft of the column on which the inscription is incised is a monolith "octagonal at the base, sixteenth-sided in the middle, and thirty-two-sided above, with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions; the capital is of the Persepolitan bellshaped type with a massive abacus surmounting it." The record is interesting as showing that the donor, evidently a Greek, had adopted the Vasudevic cult of Devotionalism. The Greeks were an electic race; especially the Asian Greeks. Therefore the adoption of an Indian faith by a Greek of the type of Heliodoros is not as surprising as it may at first sight appear. Whether the Greek was an honest convert, or whether his eclectism was only a diplomatic move cannot of course be decided from the materials at hand.

Armenians would be interested and surprised to know that thousands of miles away from their land, in a little cemetery outside the city of Madras, there stands a memorial stone bearing an Armenian epitaph, which, by the way, is the only inscription in that language found up to the present in India. It is dated in the era of the Armenian patriarch Moses. On the south of the city of Madras there are three sites connected with the legend of St. Thomas. One of them is the village of St. Thomé, which claims to guard the apostle's grave; the second is the Little Mount, where the apostle is supposed to have suffered martyrdom; and the last is St. Thomas's Mount, which is associated with a famous cross to which we shall presently return in connection with the inscription engraved on it. Now the church at the Little Mount is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears engraved on it a cross, and below the cross a record in the Armenian language and script. The inscription is dated in the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses, corresponding to 1663 A.D., and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant.

[857] At this place we may conveniently describe some other records in non-Indian dialects. We will first turn to certain inscriptions round crosses in two of the churches of Southern India. One of these churches is no other than the one on St. Thomas's Mount near Madras referred to in

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the last paragraph ; while the other is a small church at Travancore in the extreme south of the Indian peninsula. One inscription which is in Syrian is, as far as I know, the only Syrian record discovered in India. It has been identified as the first part of *Galatans* VI. 14 : "*But far be it from me to glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ*". The other inscriptions under reference are short records in a Middle Persian dialect called Pahlavi. These Pahlavi records, which appear to be all of the same import are not altogether free from uncertainty ; but the following tentative rendering of them has been proposed by a celebrated Persian scholar : "*He whom the suffering of the self-same Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, has saved, is offering the plea whose origin was the agony of this.*" Regarding the date of the Syrian record nothing definite can be said ; but the other records may, in the opinion of experts on the subject, be assigned to the ninth or tenth century of the Christian era.

The spade of the explorer at work on the north-western frontier of India has restored to the historian much material which when properly worked up will add many chapters to the mutilated chronicle now available of a very interesting period of Indian history. One of the most remarkable of these discoveries is the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the débris of a house of the first century B.C. The inscription was carved on an octagonal pillar of white marble of which only a small fragment has been recovered. Owing to the mutilated condition of the record its meaning is still enveloped in obscurity. The alphabet and the language, which are archaic Aramaic, are said to suggest a date somewhat later than Carpentras Stele and have considerable affinity with the papyri of the fifth and fourth centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. The discovery of this record enables us to trace with confidence the origin of a Hindu alphabet current in the north-west of India during the fourth and subsequent centuries B.C. It is perhaps necessary to point out here that though the Aramaic language was not —as is sometimes asserted to be the case—introduced as a *lingua franca* by the Persian empire, it was used by the Persian Government for official purposes. In much earlier times the Aramaic writing was in use for trade purposes side by side with the cumbersome cuneiform system, which in course of time was altogether supplanted in Persia by various forms of the Aramaic script.

No list of Indian epigraphic curiosities can be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas have been engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts. Bhoja (*ca.* 1050 A.D.), king of Dhara, was not only an enlightened patron of learning but himself a writer of some ability. Works on poetics, astronomy, architecture, and other subjects are attributed to him. Let into a wall of a building which in his time had probably been an academy of

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some sort were found inscribed slabs which are monuments of colossal industry and [858] superb workmanship. First we will describe an inscription of eighty-three lines, which comprises two poems in a Middle Indian dialect containing together 218 couplets. The engraving has been done with such neatness and precision that this lithic record may rank as the most remarkable specimen of the stonecutter's art of all times. The slab of polished black stone on which the record is encised measures roughly 5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet. It was found set up with the writing facing inwards in a wall of a Muhammadan mosque into which the academy of Bhoja was in subsequent times converted. The peculiar orientation of the slab was the work of the Muhammadans who had usurped the Hindu building for their own purposes, and, as remarked above, converted it into a mosque. The Hindu engraving was a work of the *kafirs*, i.e. the infidels, and as such could naturally not find a place in the House of Allah. The bigoted iconoclasts were fortunately not blind to the value of a massive slab of polished stone, nor to the uses to which such a slab could be put. They replaced the slab in its original position with the inscribed face turned inwards, in which position it remained until a mere chance revealed a few years ago what was on the reverse of this slab as it then stood fixed in the wall of the mosque, and massive block of stone was turned over once again so as to expose the inscribed surface.

An inscription bearing a strong family resemblance to the preceding and containing a fragment of a drama was engraved in the reign of another mediaeval Hindu king, by the name of Arjuna, who was a descendant of Bhoja of Dhara mentioned in the last paragraph. Arjuna was apparently as great a lover of the *belles lettres* as his illustrious ancestor, and he also has the distinction of causing the *chef d'oeuvre* of his favourite court-poet to be committed to writing in indelible letters. The slab on which this inscription is engraved was found set up in the same mosque, and like the other with the writing facing inwards. The slab was taken out in 1903 and is now kept framed at the mosque. The inscription, which is perfectly intact, consists of eighty-two lines of writing and comprises the first two acts only of a four-act drama in Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is to be presumed that the remainder of the play was set down in the same manner on another slab, but this other slab has not been recovered. It is interesting to note that the prologue of the record implies clearly that the play was enacted in the presence of the royal patron who had subsequently caused it to be engraved on stone. As the hero of the drama is no other than the king himself, it appears to be a reasonable presumption that the plot of the drama is not without a historical basis. The little fragment may thus with some probability be regarded as reflecting a more or less faithful picture of the court-life of the times.

At Ajmer in Rajputana we have stone inscriptions which contain the

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fragments of two other Hindu dramas in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The inscriptions are set down on four slabs of polished basalt. The slabs include together 156 lines of writing and measure respectively : 3 feet by 1 foot 10 inches, 3 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 11 ins., 3 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. 2 ins., 3 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. The technical execution is faultless. The dramas deal with the exploits of a mediæval king of Rajputana, and are dated in a year corresponding to 1153 of the Christian era.

The fascination which the study of grammar has at all times exercised over the Hindu mind has materialised itself in one instance in the preparation of certain engravings consisting of alphabetical charts and inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. One scheme—the simpler of the two—takes count of the letters of the alphabet and nominal terminations ; while the other is devoted to verbal terminations [859] exclusively. The first series is arranged so as to form a figure representing a serpent, the letters of the alphabet forming the body of the serpent, and the terminations its tail. The second series is a more complicated scheme including two intertwining serpents so arranged that the elongated bodies of the serpents cut each other at regular intervals and form little meshes in which the terminations are pigeonholed.

In passing it may be pointed out that the Hindus have from the earliest period of their cultural existence shown their predilection for a systematic study of the grammar of their own dialects. Not only did they at a very early stage work out an alphabet which now ranks, in the opinion of those who are qualified to speak on the subject as the most scientific alphabet in general use at the present day, but they also perfected the science of grammar to an astonishing degree. The masterly way in which the Hindus formulated and solved grammatical problems has called forth unqualified words of praise from modern workers in the same field ; and it is not an exaggeration to say that the Hindu grammarians had in some measure anticipated the results of the modern science of comparative philology. In fact it was the study of Hindu grammar which gave the initial impetus to the evolution of the modern methods of linguistic analysis. The above inscriptions, which on palaeographic and other grounds may be assigned to the eleventh century, must have been set up in a grammar school of the period to which they belong, no doubt with a view to place the important factors of Sanskrit grammar constantly before the eyes of the junior students. There are replicas of these engravings at two or three places in Rajputana and Central India.

We will now proceed to the notice of a curious little archaic record inscribed on a wall of a temple in Central India, which quoting a veterinary authority enumerates the average duration of life among a number of domesticated quadrupeds. It is worthy of note that the respective ages assigned in this inscription to the different animals are in remarkable accord

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with the modern estimates of longevity of these animals. It should be borne in mind that exact records regarding the longevity of mammals are remarkably few. The existing records are besides mostly those of animals in captivity, which must differ to some extent from those of the same animals in a free state of existence. The first animal in our list is the Indian elephant. Elephants are usually supposed to be capable of reaching great ages : our record assigns a hundred and twenty years to a healthy elephant. Actual records apparently do not reach above thirty or forty years. Our inscription further assigns thirty-two years to the horse, which is in fair agreement with the limit of thirty to thirty-five wihich is mentioned as the average duration of life of horses and zebras. Domestic cattle may, as is well-known, live from twenty-five to thirty years, and we find that our record assigns twenty-six years to cows and domestic buffalos. There appear to be no exact records of the duration of life of camels. In the absence of these it is interesting to note the age limit twenty-five which we find in this text for these animals. Sheep and goat live from twelve to fourteen years, and deers are reputed to live longer than sheep. Accordingly we find in our inscription rams and goats and deer classed together as animals which attain the age of sixteen years. Even dogs have received a notice in our table of longevities. The duration of their life is set down as twelve, which figure is perhaps just a little too low.

In conclusion we will devote a few lines to the description of a record which is perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, and is certainly the only one of its kind in India. The inscription which is written in characters of the seventh century, is engraved on a massive block [860] of stone situated within the confines of a remote Independent Native State in South India. It consists of nothing less than the text of notes of seven typical modes (*ragas*) of Hindu music arranged for the Indian lute ! The record runs into thirty-eight lines, and refers to itself as the composition of a certain king, intended by him for the use of his pupils. A work scientifically tracing the history of Hindu music is yet a desideratum. This inscription which has preserved unimpaired the music of thirteen hundred years ago is a mine of reliable information for the historian of Indian music. The significance of many of the symbols used in this record is still involved in obscurity. We are moreover in the dark on the subject of the exact scale of notes which was then in use. Thus some pioneer work is necessary before we shall be in a position to do full justice to this remarkable find. But once the key to a satisfactory interpretation of this record is in our hands, the inscription may safely be relied upon to yield its secret of the forgotten melodies of a bygone age.

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BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, being the Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal prize-essay for 1909. By SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D. Pp. viii, 148. Poona, 1915.*

IN this little work the author seeks to provide a brief resumé of the total output in the shape of Indian literature bearing on Sanskrit Grammar from the earliest times upto the end of the eighteenth century. This is a long period : and within the scope of 148 pages of the octavo volume Dr. BELVALKAR may be said to have achieved a great deal. The "Chronological Conspectus" which is a synchronistic table, showing at a glance the relative positions in point of time of the various grammarians, as well as a very exhaustive and carefully prepared Index, enhance the value of the work.

The book divides itself into short chapters devoted to the individual schools, in each of which an attempt is made to put together the available historical information about the founder of the school, characterise briefly the nature of the work and then follow the subsequent development through the maze of the outgrowth of exegetical literature.

Dr. BELVALKAR does not claim any originality for the views expressed in the book. The work is a compact little summary—rich in bibliography—of the labours of previous workers in the field, and serves the extremely useful purpose of collecting together in a very handy form the widely scattered material bearing on the subject. It should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing *in extenso* the many controversial points which are either only touched upon lightly by Dr. BELVALKAR or not noticed at all. In order to make my meaning clearer I shall give just one instance. It would have been, for example, interesting to know the views of the author with regard to the problem of the *Dhâtupâṭha*. The well-known American Indologue, W. D. WHITNEY, alleged that the majority of roots contained in the *Dhâtupâṭha* appended to our editions of Pânini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî* is a purely fictitious product of the imagination of Indian Grammarians, who for some unknown reason took a perverse delight in multiplying their number almost *ad infinitum*. This is at best a very unsatisfactory explanation of the undeniable fact that a very large fraction of the roots of this list is not met with again in the extant Sanskrit literature. Paragraph 36 of Dr. BELVALKAR's book, which deals with the *Dhâtupâṭha* contains, however, no reference to the question ; nor do I find from the Index any indication that it has been dealt with elsewhere.

The earliest history of Indian Grammar, like that of other Indian sciences, is for us shrouded in the impenetrable veil of antiquity. And Dr. BELVALKAR does well perhaps not to lose himself in vague speculations as to the origin of the science (regarding which there is bound to be a great divergence of opinion) but to restrict himself mainly to the historical epoch. In the latter period the author distinguishes twelve distinct schools, each of which has been the focus of further independent development. The first grammarian on the list is naturally Pâṇini. A somewhat detailed treatment is allotted to this school, which takes up nearly

* [*Ind. Ant.* 1917, 106-108.]

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one-third of the whole volume. But even the short notices of the less known schools, such as the [107] Kramadîśvara, Saupadma, Sârasvata, etc., are welcome, inasmuch as they contain information gleaned from sources which are not within easy reach of every one.

In the portion dealing with Pâṇini and his school we read at p. 29 : "Kâtyâyana's work, the vârtikas, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pâṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable," and further on, p. 33 : "his [*scil.* Patañjali's] chief aim was to vindicate Pâṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kâtyâyana." It would appear from this that Dr. BELVALKAR has overlooked a small brochure of KIELHORN'S entitled "*Kâtyâyana and Patanjali : their mutual relation to each other and to Pânini,*" (Bombay, 1876), written with the express purpose of combating this generally accepted but erroneous view and of demonstrating that many of Kâtyâyana's *vârttikas* are meant merely to explain the full scope of the *sûtras* of the *Aṣṭâdhyâyî* : while on the other hand, that Patañjali is not such a blind hero-worshipper as one is apt to imagine, but that the charge of captious criticism may often be laid at his door as well.

The paragraphs dealing with Chandra and Śâkaṭâyana take notice of a great deal of material scattered through various antiquarian journals, Indian as well as Continental. Some of the statements about the Jaina Śâkaṭâyana call forth comment. Dr. BELVALKAR accepts unreservedly a theory propounded by Prof. PATHAK in a somewhat lengthy article entitled "Jain Sakatayana, contemporary with Amoghavarsha I" (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 43, p. 205 ff.), containing copious quotations from all kinds of works, which speaks for the erudition of the author but leaves the mind of the reader in unutterable confusion as to the issues involved and the solutions proposed. In this article Prof. PATHAK elaborates the theory that the Jaina Śâkaṭâyana wrote both the text and the commentary of the *Amoghavṛitti* which was composed in the reign of Amoghavarsha I between Śaka 736 and 789. This statement involves two *independent* issues : (1) that Śâkaṭâyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛitti* and (2) that the *Amoghavṛitti* was written in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The second of these propositions I shall leave aside for future consideration and restrict myself for the present to an examination of the first one. Was Śâkaṭâyana the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*? Of the reasons adduced by Prof. PATHAK in support of his view, which deserve serious consideration, there are two ; firstly, a conclusion to be drawn from certain statements of Yakshavarman, the author of the *Chintâmaṇi*, in combination with the fact that the *Amoghavṛitti* and the *Chintâmaṇi* contain many demonstrable phrases and sentences which are either identical with, or differ but very little from, each other ; secondly, an explicit statement of Chidânanda Kavî (*ca.* A.D. 1700) to the effect that Śâkaṭâyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*. The first point requires further elucidation. In v. 4 of the introductory stanzas of the *Chintâmaṇi*, Yakshavarman tells us that his commentary is merely an abridgment of another very extensive commentary. His words may be interpreted to mean that the author of the latter work was Śâkaṭâyana himself. In fact, this is the view I expressed in my dissertation on the Śâkaṭâyana grammar (submitted to the University of Berlin early in 1914), which was already in press a long time before the appearance of this article of Prof. PATHAK. But since hearing the opinion of so experienced a scholar as Sir Ramkrishna BHANDARKAR, that my interpretation (and incidentally that of Prof. PATHAK too) though grammatically possible, was not in consonance with Sanskrit idiom, I have given up my former view and hold now that the couplet in question is capable of an interpretation different from the one I gave to it. However, if

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Prof. PATHAK adheres to the view that the verse in question must be interpreted in the way in which he does, it would be difficult to dislodge him from his standpoint. But even granting that the Professor's explanation is correct, his identification of the author of the *Amoghavṛitti* with Śâkaṭâyana is by no means certain. For in substantiating this, Prof. PATHAK relies mainly upon the identity of a large portion of the text of the *Chintâmaṇi* and the *Amoghavṛitti*, and attaches a totally wrong value to this circumstance. It is evident that, depending merely on the similarity of the two commentaries, it would be unsafe to conclude that the "extensive commentary" abridged by Yakshavarman must have been the *Amoghavṛitti* and can be no other. The Jainas are such ardent copyists and have at all times exhibited such an utter lack of originality, that it would never do to lose sight of—in their case [108] not the remote, but the very near—possibility of their both having copied from a common source. The Jaina grammarians especially vie with each other in carrying this tendency to a nauseating degree. In evidence I need only point out that not merely the *Amoghavṛitti* and the *Chintâmaṇi*, but along with them also the *Rûpasiddhi* of Dayâpâla and the *Prakriyâsaṁgraha* of Abhayachandra Sûri, have in common not only short pieces of commentary on individual *sûtras*, but contain even lengthy portions of the text which are little more than exact reproductions of each other. Under these circumstances it is evident that it would be fatal to conclude arbitrarily that any one out of the above-mentioned works was a copy of any other chosen at random.

This may be said to be the negative side of the question. But a fact which speaks positively against this theory is supplied by Prof. PATHAK himself on the very first page of the article in question. There the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*, after commenting on the Maṅgala stanza at the beginning of the Śâkaṭâyana *sûtras*, adds by way of introducing the *patyâhâra-sûtras* the following :

evaṁ kṛita-maṅgala-rakshâ-vidhânaḥ paripûrṇam-alpagranthaṁ lagh-ûpâyaṁ-śabdânuśâsanaṁ śâstramîdaṁ mahâ-śramaṇa-saṁghâdhipatir-bhagavân-âchâryaḥ Śâkaṭâyanaḥ prârabhate.

The author of the commentary thus refers to Śâkaṭâyana with the words 'The revered Master (Grammarian) Śâkaṭâyana! This, I think, is the strongest positive argument in favour of rejecting the identification of Śâkaṭâyana with the author of the *Amoghavṛitti*. I am well aware that Indian authors are in the habit of referring to themselves in their own works in the third person. A well-known instance is that of Vishnugupta, the author of the *Arthaśâstra*, subscribing his opinions with the words : *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*. But it will have to be admitted that there is a world of difference between the emphatic personal note struck by the words *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, added at the end of an epigrammatic saying, and the boastful self-praise conveyed by the *bhagvân-âchâryaḥ Śâkaṭâyanaḥ* attributed to Śâkaṭayana. I hold that it will not be possible to find within the range of the whole of the Sanskrit literature a parallel for the alleged instance of an author referring to himself as the "revered master," or with like words.

The second point brought forth as evidence by Prof. PATHAK, viz., the explicit statement of Chidânanda Kavi to the effect that Śākaṭâyana is the author of the *Amoghavritti* has at first sight the appearance of being more reliable. But it must be remembered that although Chindânanda Kavi is nearer to our grammarian than we by something like two centuries, nevertheless, he was separated by a period of nine centuries from the probable date of Śākaṭâyana, and is likely to have been informed as to who the real author of the *Amoghavritti* was, not any better than we at the present day. Until, therefore, some fresh and unequivocal evidence is

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brought to bear on the question, the authorship of this commentary will, in my opinion, continue to be an unsolved problem.

To turn to other matters. At p. 69 we read : "He [*scil.* KIELHORN] inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer, who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspices of a revered name, carefully trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śākaṭâyana." Dr. BELVALKAR seems to have confounded the opinions of KIELHORN and BURNELL. It was the latter (and not KIELHORN) who looked upon the *Śâkaṭâyana-śabdânuśâsana* as an enlarged edition by a Jaina of a grammar of the pre-Paninean Śâkaṭâyana, and maintained that it would be possible to reconstruct the original grammar by discriminating between what is old and what is new in it. KIELHORN, however, was in no doubt, at least when his article in this journal (1887, pp. 24 ff) appeared, as to the real state of things, *viz.*, that the work is an out and out modern compilation. Be that as it may, there can be no question about the name Śâkaṭâyana being a pseudonym adopted by some modern compiler ; for, the principle on which the name is formed, *viz.*, by the addition of the suffix *-âyana* to the strengthened form of the protonym, had long fallen into disuse at the time when the Jaina must have lived. Names such as Bâdarâyana, Kâtyâyana, Śâkaṭâyana, etc., belong to quite a different epoch of the history of Indian names.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

KALIDASA's MEGHADUTA OR THE CLOUD-MESSENGER (*as embodied in the Pârśvâbhyudaya*) with the Commentary of Mallinâtha, literal English translation, variant readings, critical notes, appendices and introduction, determining the date of Kâlidâsa from latest antiquarian researches, edited by KASHINATH BAPU PATHAK, B.A. Second Edition, Poona, 1916. *

The *Pârśvâbhyudaya* is too well-known to Sanskrit scholars to need an introduction. An edition of Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta* based on this metrical biography of Pârśvanâtha by Jinasenâchârya is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to Indology.

The first edition of Prof. PATHAK's book, which appeared in 1894, was characterised by a rather indiscriminate use—or misuse—of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Indian words in the preface and notes accompanying the text. The present edition marks a slight improvement in this respect. Even in this edition, however, the number of the "errata" (printed at the bottom of p. vi) has been considerably underestimated by the author, and the little booklet would have proved much better reading for a thorough revision of the spelling, which in many instances is quite unconventional. From the literal translation and the elaborate exegetical and explanatory apparatus accompanying the reprint of the Sanskrit text, it is evident that the edition is intended chiefly for the use of schoolboys and junior college students : and there is no doubt that it will be greatly in demand with this class of readers. The more is the pity that sufficient attention has not been paid to typographical matters ; for, this example of inaccuracy in minor details set by a veteran is likely to be unconsciously copied by the inexperienced young scholar in whose hands the book falls. No doubt the press comes in for its legitimate share of reproof ; but it must be understood that the responsibility of checking instances of such negligence lies entirely with the author.

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*[*Ind. Ant.* 1917, 79-80].

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At p. vii, the subject-matter of the introduction is indicated by a head-line to be "the date of Kâlidâsa." This is indeed a very modest description of the contents of the introduction which treats of a great many things besides; so much so, that the reader experiences some difficulty in threading his way through the maze of (more or less interesting) digressions. The cannonade of diatribe running through the analysis of the 'critical acumen' of Dr. HULTZSCH (pp. xvii-xix) is distinctly one of the less interesting digressions, and might have been with advantage omitted in its entirety.

The remarks bearing on the date of Kâlidâsa have been reprinted with slight alterations from the author's article on the subject entitled "Kalidasa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 265), where an attempt is made to synchronise the composition of the *Raghuvaṁśa* with the advent of the Ephthalites in the Oxus Valley. To quote Prof. PATHAK'S own words (p. x of the [80] book under review) : "Kâlidâsa must have written his verses about the Hûnas shortly after 450, the date of the establishment of the Hûna empire in the Oxus Basin, but before their first defeat (A.D. 450—455), when they were still in the Oxus Valley and considered the most invincible warriors of their age"; and all this, because it was on the banks of the Oxus (Vaṅkshu) that Raghu during the course of his *digvijaya* is represented by Kâlidâsa (anachronistically, adds Prof. PATHAK) to have encountered the Hûna hordes. It is no doubt possible to argue in this way; but the conclusion of the Professor is by no means inevitable. The Hûnas are evidently introduced as a type of people who had impressed the minds of Indians as formidable foes on the battlefield; and Prof. PATHAK is perfectly right in implying that the Ephthalites belong to a category different from that of the classical enemies of the conquering hero, such as the kings of the Choḷa, Pâṇḍya, Kaliṅga and other kingdoms. But this estimation of their fighting qualities was hardly possible to be formed, unless the Indians of Kâlidâsa's time had known the nomadic hordes nearer at hand than from the remote Oxus Valley. To the same conclusion points the use of the phrase *kapolapâtanûdeśi* by Kâlidâsa, in the same work (canto 4, verse 68), which discloses close intimacy with the customs and manners peculiar to the White Huns. It would be, therefore, equally legitimate to assign Kâlidâsa to an epoch of Indian history following shortly on the expulsion of the Hûna hordes from the confines of India proper. This would be a time when the picture of their ferocious barbarity was still vividly present to the minds of the poet's contemporaries and a reference to the rout of the Hûṇas would have immediately and strikingly appealed to the imagination of the readers. Thus, even under these circumstances there would be nothing incongruous in the fact of the poet making Raghu encounter the retreating Hûṇas in their 'epic' home of the Vaṅkshu Valley. The upshot of this antinomian argumentation seems to be to exclude the possibility of referring Kâlidâsa to the period in which the Ephthalites occupied the position of paramount sovereigns within the limits of India. For, on the contrary supposition, with the Hûṇas actually holding their own in the Panjab and parts of Central India, the statement that Raghu fought with these same people on the banks of the Oxus and defeated them there, would have been incomprehensible to Kâlidâsa's contemporaries. The reference is, in any case, too vague to admit of exact chronological computations like those which Prof. PATHAK attempts.

The determination of the date of Kâlidâsa is, as remarked above, only one of the questions dealt with in the introduction. Another topic discussed there is the value of Vallabha's Commentary on the *Meghadûta* in settling the question of the spurious verses. The verdict of Prof. PATHAK is not favourable to the commentator.

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Dr. HULTZSCH, it would appear, misguided by the opinion of the Pandits Durgaprasad and Parab regarding the age of Vallabha, identifies him with Kaiyaṭa's grand-father of that name and assigns him therefore to the first half of the tenth century (see HULTZSCH'S edition of the *Meghadûta*, Preface, p. ix). Prof. PATHAK would rather place him two centuries later, and the reasons adduced by him in support of his opinion are worthy of careful consideration. If it turn out that the Professor's surmise of the age of Vallabhadeva is correct, this circumstance would detract considerably from the value to which the commentary might otherwise be entitled on grounds of its supposed antiquity. In any event, Prof. PATHAK attaches far too much importance to this fact; for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pârsvâbhyudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kâlidâsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kaśmir Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. PATHAK'S estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee of the entire purity of the respective texts.

In reprinting the text of Mallinâtha's commentary Prof. PATHAK has introduced an innovation. He has expunged the remarks of the commentator regarding the spuriousness of certain verses, a procedure which, being misleading, is not commendable.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

THE JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY, December 1923. Vol. III, Part I. Longmans, Green & Co,*

The *Journal* is edited by the learned Professor of Modern Indian History at the University of Allahabad, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad KHAN, Litt. D., M.L.C., who is also the Honorary Secretary of the United Provinces Historical Society. In the fascicule before us, Dr. KHAN'S paper entitled "Documents on Seventeenth-Century British India, in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane," a scholarly survey of a part of the documentary material available for the study of an interesting chapter in Modern Indian History, [168] is followed by the second instalment of an article dealing with "Place-names in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh" by Paul WHALLEY, Bengal Civil Service (retired), which is a study of place-names in those provinces from the linguistic and historical stand-point. The author begins his study by dividing place-names broadly into compounds and derivatives. The compounds are then sub-divided into three groups, municipal, rural and religious. Then the closely allied category of double names is considered, the analysis ending with an enumeration of the principal prefixes i.e. elements which can be prefixed to the descriptive portion of names, mostly giving them the appearance of double names. The names considered by Mr. WHALLEY belong, with insignificant exceptions, to the period posterior to the Muhammadan influx. "The history of a people," says Mr. WHALLEY, "impresses itself upon its onomatology, and it would be an interesting task to illustrate this by following place-names down the path of history." The author therefore explains that "if we reverse the process, taking the modern names first, it is because the nature of the material at our disposal compels us to do so. We must mount up from the present to the past, because otherwise the past would be unintelligible." This is undoubtedly true.

* [*J. B. B. R. A. S.* (No.) 1, 167-73].

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The object of the inquiry is ethnological and historical, though the point of view adopted by the author in the present investigation is grammatical. The author frankly admits his inability to do full justice to the question, since its grammatical aspect needs to be dealt with by one who has undergone a rigid philological training. Some of the derivations and explanations proposed by Mr. WHALLEY are not wholly satisfactory. We cannot endorse, for instance, the derivation of *kubja* (in the place-name Kānyakubja) from *kūpa* 'well'; it is equally difficult to follow the author in assigning the meaning 'new' to *kānya* or *kanya*, which, according to him, is the hypothetical positive corresponding to the defective comparative Skt. *kanîyas*: Gr. *kainos* (for * *kainyos*). Whatever its explanation, we think that the name is a compound of two elements meaning 'maiden' and 'hump-backed'; compare the analogous formation Kanyākumārī, which evidently means 'virgin damsel.' It seems equally inadmissible to trace Auñccha to Skt. *varṣa* 'a division of the world.' Notwithstanding a few [169] such shortcomings, the paper is full of wise observations and interesting derivations. We hope that this very suggestive essay of Mr. WHALLEY will inspire Sanskritists to turn their attention to this sadly neglected field of study.—The extract from a letter from Mr. H. BEVERIDGE to the Editor, which follows, fails to throw any light on the mystery of the stone elephant at Ajmere.—The next article, "Indian Education in the Seventh Century A.D." by Dr. Radha Kumud MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, University of Lucknow, is an able and useful summary of information, gleaned from the itinerary of I-tsing (672-88 A.D.), regarding the condition of elementary and higher education as well as rules governing the education and organization of the monasteries, as given by the pilgrim. The adequacy of dealing these questions together is explained by Dr. MOOKERJI on the ground that "the entire system of Indian education, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, was based upon the principle of a personal touch or relationship between the teacher and the taught, whether the sphere of its working lay in the individual household of the teacher or in the collective establishment of the monastery."—In a remarkably well-written article, Mr. S. Iftikhar Husain SAHEB unfolds the life of "A Nineteenth Century Saint," Haji Sayyad Shah Waris Ali SAHEB of Dewa, a very famous Sufi (born *ca.* 1235 A.H.). In dealing with the creed of Haji Saheb, the author has a few words to say on the cardinal principles of Sufism, its origin, elevation and degeneration.—The last paper in this issue, which is by Mr. W. H. MORELAND, seeks to throw "Some Side-lights on Life in Agra, 1637-39." The author has utilized for this purpose the original documents containing the expenditure accounts of the Agra factory for the years 1637-9, which now form Nos. 120 and 123 of the W. Geleynssen de Jongh Collection in the Public Record Office at the Hague. The documents at the disposal of Mr MORELAND do not show the commercial transactions of the Dutch factory in Agra, but detail what may be called the 'overhead' charges. They give month by month the expenditure on diet of factors,, stable, servants' wages, messengers, etc. A patient and systematic study of the short entries in accounts and commercial documents, and a few continuous narratives, enables the author to gather valuable information bearing on the life of the Dutch factors, [170] the economic life and monthly prices in Agra, the means of communication, and the building costs of that period, and thus to give us a glimpse of the life and activities of the Dutch factors and their contemporaries in Agra of the second quarter of the seventeenth century.—The issue before us contains much good material and the *Journal* is full of promise. We compliment the learned Editor on this fine achievement, which challenges comparison with the best conducted Journals of its kind.

V. S. S.

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A PRACTICAL SANSKRIT DICTIONARY with Translation, Accentuation, and Etymological Analysis. By ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONNELL, M.A., Ph. D., Hon. LL.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol College, Fellow of the British Academy. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. xii+382. (Price 30 shillings.)

The Oxford University Press has brought out a "reissue, corrected," of Professor MACDONELL's well-known Sanskrit-English Dictionary, which has been out of print for some time. The aim of the dictionary, we are told, in the Preface, is "to satisfy, within the compass of a comparatively handy volume, all the practical wants not only of learners of Sanskrit, but also of scholars for purposes of ordinary reading. The work probably does satisfy the modest wants of the learners of Sanskrit at the British Universities, but it is doubtful to us whether it meets the requirements of scholars, even for purposes of ordinary reading.

Two radical defects that should have been removed in a reissue of the work are these: (1) the obsolete, unsightly and irritating system of transliteration which yields in the roman script such equivalents as *KHRID* of Sanskrit छृद् and *ghaṇa-ghaṇâya* of Sanskrit झणझणाय and (2) the inadequacy of the publication to serve as a complete and satisfactory glossary even to the 120 Vedic hymns, 1 Brāhmana, 3 Sūtra texts and about 40 post-Vedic works, for which, professedly, the dictionary is meant to supply a vocabulary.

[171] The recourse to an anastatic reprint of Professor MACDONELL'S dictionary appears at first sight to disparage the learned activities of the past generation of oriental scholars, because it seems to imply that during the last thirty years no significant additions have been made to Sanskrit lexicography, which is unquestionably a progressive science and in which some progress has undoubtedly been made since the appearance of the first edition of the dictionary in 1892. But evidently no such disparagement is intended by the learned Professor or the enterprizing Publisher. There is every indication that the work is designed principally to meet the practical requirements of junior college students in England, and to them the advance made in the science of Sanskrit lexicography during the last three decades is, we suppose, a matter of little or no consequence.

Many words and meanings appear in this dictionary with an asterisk (*) against them, precisely as in the original edition. This asterisk was affixed to them by the painstaking author for the purpose of drawing the attention of the reader to the important fact that the respective words and meanings are "quotable only from native grammarians and lexicographers." Users of the dictionary are therefore advised to refer, in all important cases, to the new revised edition of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, now being published in Germany, where they may find quite good attestations for many of the words and meanings condemned, some thirty years ago, by the erudite Boden Professor.

Even though the work may have been reprinted mainly to satisfy the practical needs of junior students of Sanskrit at British Universities, the learned doyen of Oriental studies at Oxford and the accredited publisher to the University would—we cannot refrain from remarking—have done greater service to the cause of Sanskrit learning by placing at the disposal even of these students a work from which the defects referred to above had been eradicated than by prolonging, by means of photographic reproduction, the life of an antiquated publication.

V. S. S.

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[172] RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT. By SIR FLINDERS PETRIE, F.R.S., F.B.A. Constable, London, 1924. Pp. x+221.

This is an excellent little book—a companion volume to that on the *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*—to place in the hands of those who wish to learn something about the ancient Egyptian religion as part of the daily life and in its social connections. "The more primitive and popular beliefs," we are told, in the Preface, "are placed together, as representing those earlier stages which must be grasped before we can understand the growth of the system of later times." Our knowledge of the origins of the Egyptian religion and institutions has been greatly extended by the new material of the early ages which has been found in recent work. The aim of the present volume is to link the information gleaned from the new discoveries with the historical records already known.

In successive chapters the author deals with the following aspects of the Egyptian religion : the gods and their temples, the priesthood and its teaching, the faith in the gods, the future life, the burial and the tomb, and finally, the folk beliefs ; and he gives us a vivid and accurate insight into the religious activities of Ancient Egyptians. There is a charming coloured frontispiece reproducing a scene from a tomb of the XIXth dynasty (*ca.* 1500 B.C.) in which the Tree-goddess is shown as appearing in the branches of a sycomore tree and holding a tray of cakes and fruits and a vase of drink which she pours out to the lady before her, who is accompanied by a seated official, "the keeper of the garden and lake of the palace of Rameses II in the temple of Amen."

In connection with the question of the dissemination of Indian ideas and beliefs, we may here draw attention to the view of Sir Flinders PETRIE that the "mystic frame of mind [of the Egyptian] was largely influenced by Indian thought during the Persian dynasties." "The doctrine of rebirth," he adds, "favoured by throwing all the bodily senses into abeyance, and brought to pass by driving out the twelve inner torments by their antitheses, is evidently due to Indian influence."

The gifted author of the little volume noticed here has been credited with possessing "the art of taking a mass of detail and [173] evolving from it a scheme at once so simple and so convincing that the reader is surprised that it was never thought of before." One has only to glance over the contents to realize the truth of this remark.

V. S. S.

OLDEST HINDU DRAMA *

Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft 1 ; Bruchstuecke Buddhistischer Dramen herausgegeben von Heinrich LUEDERS. Reimer. Berlin. 1911.

One continental publication of special interest to Indologists which appeared nearly a decade ago has for some unaccountable reason not received that recognition and publicity in India which the inherent merit of the work and the epoch-making importance of its contents demand. We allow ourselves therefore the privilege of inserting here a rather belated notice of the book which is entitled *Bruchstuecke Buddistischer Dramen* (Fragments of Buddhist Dramas by Prof. Heinrich LUEDERS of the University of Berlin. This work represents the first fascicle of a series of annotated editions of Short Sanskrit Texts included in the import-

* [*Modern Review*, July 1920, p. 37.]

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ant finds of the Prussian Turfan Expeditions. The dramas under reference, which are unfortunately all fragmentary, were found by Dr. VON LE COQ in one of the cave temples of Ming Oi by Kysyl, west of Kucha. The largest fragment, which is made up of eight or nine smaller pieces is 34.5 em. long. Though found in Turfan the manuscripts must have originated in India, as is made evident by the editor of these fragments. Moreover in the light shed by palæography on their script, Prof. LÜDERS feels justified in assuming that the manuscripts were written in the time of the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Kushans. Not only are they the oldest Indian manuscripts which we possess, but they contain also fragments of the oldest Hindu dramas preserved. One of the dramas to which these fragments belong was on allegorical play introducing among others, the personified qualities of Buddhi, Dhriti and Kirtti as characters. In another we have the figures of the Buddha, Sariputra, Maudgalyayana, and Kaundinya among the dramatis personæ. It is evident that they are all Buddhist plays. It is interesting to note that the characteristic figure of the Vidushaka of the Hindu drama is not absent from these plays. This is not the place to enter into the complicated question of the bearing of this find on literary-historical problems, but we may advert here very briefly to the specimens of Middle Indian Dialects (otherwise Prakrits) which are preserved in these dramas. As in the classical Hindu drama we have here the regular alternation of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects. Here we can again distinguish at least three different dialects—Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardha-magadhi. But the really important fact in this connection is that the dialects of these dramas represent older stages of the Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi of the dramas hitherto known. Accordingly Prof. LÜDERS calls them Old Sauraseni, Old Magadhi, and Old Ardhamagadhi.

The volume contains six plates reproducing photolithographic facsimiles of the palm-leaf fragments as also a transliteration of the texts in Roman characters. The introduction is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Indian Palæography and Milddle Indian dialects. The author of these dramas, as shown by Prof. LÜDERS in a subsequent publication, was no other than Ashvaghosha, that prodigy of learning who has left his mark on every branch of literature and philosophy which he touched. We earnestly recommend this work for careful study to all students of the Indian drama, epigraphy and linguistics.

"EPIGRAPHIST."

THE ART OF INDIA *

THE lack of understanding of Hindu art, which until lately has been universal among European critics, has led many to accept the notion invented by European writers on Indian archæology that all that is great in the art of India is the creation of foreigners. Hindu art has thus come to be regarded as a mere appendix of various schools of Persian, Greek and Saracenic art, and is valued accordingly. Mr. HAVELL, however, in his volume, "A Handbook of Indian Art," refuses to give credence to the elaborate theories of the official archæologists, and suggests a new conception of his own. He is frankly a rebel, and his handbook—which summarizes and enlarges upon the conclusions of his earlier works—is a challenge to the accepted theories on the origin, development and meaning of Hindu art.

Mr. HAVELL's treatment of the beginnings of Indian architecture is of special interest. His object is, as he says, to enable the reader,

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* [*The Freeman*, 7 Dec. 1921, pp. 309-10.]

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to perceive the intention of the builder, and correlate stupa, temple, monastery, palace, mosque and tomb with the thought and life of the period to which they belong, rather than to classify them in a dry academic manner which makes the builder's intention as unintelligible as the historian's explanation.

The earliest known monuments of India represent a comparatively high state of development, a fact which has been a stumbling block to many an archæologist. This fact is in some measure responsible for the general assumption that Indian art has a foreign origin, but at bottom lies the fallacy that the Indo-Aryans were dreamers who lacked constructive genius and technical skill. Mr. HAVELL shows that this is a very one-sided view of Indo-Aryan history. In his view, the building-traditions of the Indo-Aryans are not only co-eval with their settlement in India, but reach still further back to the hoary past of Aryan rule in Mesopotamia. The generations of masons who toiled on the noble stupas of Sanchi and Amaravati, says Mr. HAVELL, were not mere imitators; "they drank at the same fountain as the great masters of Hellas, though like the latter, they were heirs to a craft-tradition of many centuries."

The adoption of stone as a building-material ushered in the era of imposing monuments such as those at Sanchi, where some of the sculpture is primitive and archaic, and some "as cultured in design and accomplished in technique as Italian Cinquecento work." The next important epoch in the history of Indian art coincides with the supremacy of the Guptas (*circa* 40 A.D.). This was a period of unusual intellectual activity in divers fields. The fine rock-cut cloisters of that epoch reflect the spirit of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry "in the greater refinement of technique, elegance of design, and carefully studied proportions." Coming down to the Mohammedan period, Mr. HAVELL shows that the term Saraceni as applied to the Mohammedan architecture in Gujarath and elsewhere is a misnomer. He admirably explains that the combination of the three schools of Rome, Byzantium and Persia,

> working together under conditions laid down by Islamic law, produced what is called Saracenic architecture, which, however, had not developed into an independent style before Islam began to draw upon the artistic resources of India in the same way as it had borrowed Indian science—mathematical, medicinal and astronomical—to build up the schools for which Arab culture became famous in Europe.

The Mogul school marks, according to Mr. HAVELL, the period of the Renaissance of Indian architecture, and he draws the following brief comparison between the Renaissance in India and in Europe:

> The Mogul building-tradition was therefore wholly Indian, only a new departure analogous to that of the Renaissance in Europe. The Hindu builder threw his old structure formulæ into the melting-pot, and reshaped them himself, with astonishing constructive skill, in new forms of such fantasy and variety that the European critic, accustomed to the archæological rules of the Renaissance and generally profoundly ignorant of Indian history, finds it difficult to follow them: for while the Renaissance tied down the European master-builder to narrower constructive limits than the Gothic, the changes in craft-tradition made by the Mohammedan conquest of India gave the Indian master-builder a new and much wider field for his invention and skill.

The section of Mr. HAVELL's handbook that is devoted to sculpture explains the ideas which inform the Buddhist and Hindu conceptions of the Deity and of divine worship as embodied in the works of different epochs. Mr. HAVELL argues

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that there was an original and highly developed school of figure-sculpture in India long before the Hellenistic sculptors of the Indo-Scythian court introduced into Buddhist art the innovation of representing the person of the Blessed One.

The third and last section of the book contains an all too brief survey of the different schools of Indian painting. The material is admittedly scanty, especially for the early period. Mr. HAVELL traces the different schools to their origins and discusses the influences under which they prospered. For nearly a millennium before the dawn of Mohammedanism, India had exercised a powerful influence on the art of Asia. The Buddhist craftsman, like the Buddhist teacher, was a nomad, and sowed broadcast over Asia the seeds of his art. Fresco-paintings of the Ajanta school are found to this day in some of the oldest temples of Japan ; and the painting on silken banners recently excavated in the sand-buried cities of Chinese Turkestan are plainly reminiscent of Indian art.

Future historians of art will undoubtedly be obliged to follow Mr. HAVELL's lead in correlating art and history with religion and psychology and making them mutually interpretative. The present writer is, in the main, in agreement with Mr. HAVELL : he differs from him only in details. Mr. HAVELL is in the first place an artist, and in the second place an art-historian. His application of Indian art is as genuine as his study is deep. It would be unfair to demand of him an equally exhaustive knowledge of the literatures, philosophies and religions of India extending over a period of five or six millenniums. The course has been admirably planned out by Mr. HAVELL ; the details must now be filled in by some one more fully conversant with the varied—and, to a foreigner, complicated and puzzling—phases of Hindu life and thought.

There is, however, one aspect of Mr. HAVELL's interpretation of Hindu art with which the present writer is in sharp disagreement. To Mr. HAVELL and critics of his school, all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr. HAVELL says, for instance, that "the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art," he overshoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art, he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact, Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that Hindu art is the product of a yogic hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that.

Mr. HAVELL holds that in Indian, and perhaps all Asian art "it is very rarely the case that any attempt at portraiture is made, as often happens in Western sacred art : it is an ideal racial type rather than an individual that is represented." No doubt the images of the Buddha represent an ideal racial type ; but does Mr. HAVELL believe that either the mediæval or modern pictures and images of Christ and the Apostles are to be regarded as photographic representations? Mr. HAVELL admits that there is "an undertone of intense realism" beneath the concep-[310]-tions of Indian religious arts in an "abundant evidence of the most careful study of nature and the most ancient of the figures, in the expressive drawing of the past." Yet he declares that the ideal of Greek art is athletic, that of Hindu art spiritual ; and in support of this theory, he compares the emaciated starving Buddha with the healthy, well-fed Apollo. This is, of course, a wholly unfair comparison. With the Apollo we must compare the torso of the robust and athletic Bodhisattva if we are seeking a correct perspective. The truth of the matter is that when due

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allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

DER HINDUISMUS. RELIGION UND GESELLSCHAFT IM HEUTIGEN INDIEN. By *Helmuth von Glasenapp. Kurt Wolff Verlag.* Pp. *XVI 505. Muenchen, 1922.**

A very large number of books deal with India of the bygone ages, with her culture and her religions. Few books have appeared in recent years, which deal with the society and the currents of religious thought in India of the present day. German readers have, therefore, reason to be particularly thankful for the timely appearance of a work which purports to throw light on some aspects of the socio-religious life of the Indians of the present generation. This work of Dr. VON GLASENAPP may, however, be read profitably not only by foreigners but by Indian students as well. It is a trite observation, but it is nevertheless true, that the familiar is by no means that which is easily intelligible. It should interest even Hindu readers to know the views on the structure of Hindu society and the movements of religious thought in India, entertained by an intelligent, sympathetic and competent foreign observer. For, even though such an observer is handicapped by the disadvantage implied by the distance, he has the compensating advantage of possessing a certain amount of detachment, which is a very valuable asset in criticism. This handsome, informing and readable volume is in every sense a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject. The well-chosen illustrations, an exhaustive bibliographical appendix and the twenty-page Index add appreciably to the value and utility of this volume.

The aim of the author is to present a comprehensive, perspicuous and intelligible picture of the life of the Hindus of the present day in so far as it finds expression in the socio-religious complex which goes by the name of Hinduism. And we congratulate the writer on his having done ample justice to a theme both difficult for a foreigner to grasp and difficult to expound within the limits of a handbook. The learned author, it may be added, comes well-prepared to deal with the task he has set himself. Eight years ago appeared his brochure on the "Doctrine of Karma in the Philosophy of the Jainas"; Jaina theology has in fact formed a subject of his special study. But the learned doctor has published several booklets and numerous short articles, which have appeared in the columns of the *Neue Orient* and the *Deutsche Rundschau,* dealing with different phases of Hindu religion such as Madhvaism, Sikhism, Arya Samaj, Deva Samaj, Lingayat and others.

After stating briefly his views on the essence of Hinduism and the historical development of this socio-religious complex, the author discusses in order, the following main topics: (1) the objects of religious thought in India; (2) the religious literature (classified as Revelation, Tradition, and the remaining literature); (3) Hindu views regarding the world and life in general; (4) social life; (5) sects; (6) and lastly, occidental influences. The different aspects of the subjects have been set forth with admirable lucidity and a deal of understanding and sympathy. Behind the popular exposition lies a mass of well-digested knowledge, a series of well-documented facts, and a deal of shrewd observation and research. The volume is characterised by lucidity and soundnes of judgment. We cannot help referring in conclusion [689] to one sentiment to which we cannot accord our assent.

To the author,—to use his own words, or rather the words he quotes with complete approbation—"Everything in India is Religion!", Religion spelt with a

*[*Mod. Rev.* June 1928, Pp. 88-9.]

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capital R. From this view-point, he surveys longitudinally and transversely, historically and sociologically, all the activities of the Hindus. The brief dictum is a convenient maxim, but, like all generalisations of the kind, falls considerably short of the truth. We, for instance, refuse to accept an interpretation of the history of India which would explain, for example, the military expeditions of the armies of Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupta Vikramaditya as "religious" pilgrimages. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Hindu treatises on mathematics, medicine, botany, architecture, elephant lore, archery, warfare in general, politics, music, dancing, rhetoric, dramaturgy, and the rest of the sixty-four kalas and vidyas (including the Kamasastra) are "religious" tractates. In fact, we are of opinion that this oft-quoted maxim embodies but a partial truth, and as such is distinctly misleading, not to say mischievous. With this reservation and caution, we recommend the volume cordially to students of Hindu Society and Hindu religions.

V. S. S.

Het Oudjavaansche Bhīṣmaparwa, uitgegeven door Dr. J. GONDA (= Bibliotheca Javanica uitgtgeven door het Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, No. 7.). Bandoeng 1936.*

By bringing out a critical edition of the Old-Javanese Version of the Bhīṣma-parvan, Dr. J. GONDA of the University of Utrecht has placed all students of the Great Epic of India under very deep obligation. Only eight out of the eighteen parvans of the Javanese Version of the Mahābhārata have been (as far as it is commonly known) hitherto traced, namely, the Ādi, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Āśramavāsika, Mausala, Mahāprasthānika and Svargārohaṇa. Three of these formed the subject of a doctor dissertation submitted to the Leyden University, as early as 1893, by Dr. H. C. JUYNBOLL. The Javanese Version was edited by the Doctor, in Roman characters, and rendered into Dutch. Thirteen years later (1906) the same scholar published the text of the Ādi, also in Roman characters, with different readings culled from Mss. utilized for the edition. Of the Old-Javanese Adiparvan only some few episodes have been so far translated into a European language. The translated episodes are the Parvasaṁgraha, Pauṣya, and Amṛtamanthana, the story of Parikṣit and the Sauparṇa.

The immense value of this Javanese adaptation of the Mahābhārata, as distinguished from other adaptations, lies in the fact that throughout the Old-Javanese text, there are scattered quotations from the original Sanskrit text used by the Javanese translator.

These quotations culled from the Javanese adaptation of the Ādiparvan and the Virāṭaparvan were studied in connection with the work of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. For ready reference a complete list of these excerpts has been given in Appendices of the two published volumes of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, where the Javanese readings have been compared with those of other important published editions of these two parvans. This comparative study of the Javanese readings has been not without interest. It shows that when the Javanese Version was compiled (namely, ca. 1000 A.D.) [2] *both* the recensions of the Mahābhārata—the Northern and the Southern—were in existence. The Javanese Ādiparvan was found to be almost entirely free from any specific Southern additions. The Javanese Virāṭaparvan, on the other hand, goes back to a mixed source, a conflated text,

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* [*Old* May 1938, 1-3.]

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an exemplar which had tried to combine Northern and Southern features, in fact, an early prototype of the future Kumbakonam Edition, specimens of which are to be found mostly in the Telugu Version of the Mahābhārata. The Udyogaparvan, which is now being edited for the Institute by Prof. Dr. SUSHIL KUMAR DE of Dacca University and of which the first fascicule (= fascicule 9 of the entire edition) has just been published, shows again a purer tradition. The source of the Javanese Udyogaparvan, according to Dr. DE, is the Northern Recension, for (as he has pointed out in the Editorial Note to the Udyogaparvan fascicule), "while we find [in the Javanese adaptation] citation of an additional passage belonging to the Northern tradition, there is not a single passage in the Javanese Version which can be traced to the characteristic Southern additions." The readings adopted in the Critical Edition of the Udyogaparvan, on independent grounds, are happily confirmed by the Javanese extracts supplied by Dr. JUYNBOLL.

We next come to the Bhīṣmaparvan. One of the sections of this parvan has been already cursorily compared with the published Sanskrit Versions. Dr. GONDA, who has carried out the comparison, writes that the Javanese Version "is *not* an adaptation of a Sanskrit text which is identical or nearly identical with the printed editions. . . . It differs from the texts much more than these texts depart from each other" (*Tijdschrift* 1935, 38).

The Javanese Version of the Bhagavadgītā can claim not unnaturally more importance for itself on account of the interest which intrinsically attaches to this "Gospel of Modern Hinduism." A large number of variants occurring in the Old-Javanese Bhagavadgītā have already been published and discussed by Prof. F. O. SCHRADER in the Introduction to his edition of the Kāśmīrī Recension of the Bhagavadgītā (Stuttgart 1930.) SCHRADER tries to make [3] capital out of the fact that the Old—Javanese Version does not contain *anything* corresponding approximately to the portion of the Gītā text which has uniformly been declared by German scholars to be an interpolation, but we do not think much of this *argumentum ex silentio*. The Old-Javanese Version is admittedly an abridgement, and it it difficult to say, from cursory local comparisons, what motives may precisely have induced the adapter or adapters to accept certain portions and reject others. There are numerous abridgements of the Bhagavadgītā in existence, and, as is to be expected, no two of them agree with each other, even approximately, as regards what they retain and what they omit of the original. The Song Celestial is a difficult work; its baffling difficulty lies in its deceptive simplicity. It appeals to different people in entirely different ways, and each adapter retains as much as he can clearly comprehend and considers helpful. But this is not the place to pursue this difficult question further and to examine it in all its ramifications.

We have already given expression above to our gratitude to Dr. GONDA for publishing this important Javanese text, the lack of which has been keenly felt by students of the Mahābhārata. We would add here that we should be immeasurably more indebted to him if he would take the trouble to bring the published text within the reach of the average scholar by publishing a literal translation of the Old-Javanese text into a more widely understood language; because, as Dr. GONDA has himself pointed out elsewhere, "it is necessary to study the *entire* Old-Javanese text, and not only the Sanskrit quotations", which latter is all that has so far been utilized by scholars outside that fortunate circle of the *élite* who can justly boast of being able to read and understand the language of the people of Java of a thousand years ago.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

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The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin. Edited by MYLES DILLON, Lecturer in Comparative Philology and Sanskrit, University College, Dublin. Vol. I, Text. Oxford University Press, London : Humphrey Milford. 1937. Pages xx + 147. Price 15 shillings.*

We cordinally welcome this extremely well got-up *editio princeps* of an interesting and important treatise on Indian dramaturgy, prepared from a Devanägarī copy of the only extant Ms. of the work discovered in Nepal, in 1922, by the late Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI. According to the learned editor, the Näṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa (NL.) may be as early as the thirteenth century, but the inferior date adopted by him is A.D. 1613, a difference of nearly four centuries. But this gap might have been easily reduced. The French savant, who discovered the MS., had already pointed out (*Journal Asiatique*, xciii, 210) that the text was actually quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in an unpublished commentary on the Amarakośa, written in A.D. 1431, and it ought to be possible to verify these data from MSS. of Rāyamukuṭa's work, which are extant. This would give us an inferior date for the work much higher than A.D. 1613, which is overcautiously adopted by DILLON, especially as, according to SYLVAIN LÉVI, the original paml-leaf MS., preserved in Nepal, appears to date from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. We trust some one who has access to a complete MS. of Rāyamukuṭa's work will take the trouble to verify the quotation and settle the point.

The great importance of this work on Indian dramaturgy may be judged from the fact that the author quotes *by* name ten ancient authors and about one hundred old Sanskrit dramas, many of which were hitherto quite unknown or only imperfectly known. Of special interest is the reference to the Svapnavāsavadatta (presumably of Bhāsa), a [2] drama which has been the centre of furious controversy in recent times. On p. 51 of our edition we have now the extract from the prologue of a Svapnavāsavadatta, which illustrates a device by which the transition from the preliminaries to the main action of the play is achieved and a character is introduced. Unfortunately the prologue of our play is worded slightly differently. But the same elements are present in both : the stage director, the hermitage, a dispersal (*vatsāraṇā*) of the crowd behind the scenes, entrance of Yaugandharāyaṇa in the crowd which is being dispersed by Padmāvatī's men. We may therefore safely assume —as we have already pointed out elsewhere (*JBBRAS*. NS. 1, 127 ff)—that though the Trivandrum play is not identical with the drama known to and quoted from by Sāgaranandin, it does not differ from the latter very considerably : the two are near enough to be styled different recensions of the well-known drama by Bhāsa, a fact which at once authenticates the interesting little play discovered and published by the late Mahamahopadhyaya GANAPATI SHASTRI. It is needless to point out that it is far more rational to assume the existence of two different versions of one and the same Svapnavāsavadatta by Bhāsa than to assume the existence of two different Bhāsas as the authors of the two different Svapnavāsavadattas. However, the discussion has now unfortunately reached the stage of dogmatic controversy and it is extremely unlikely that even the most patent proofs adduced to prove the authenticity of our Svapnavāsavadatta will induce the "anti-Bhāsites" to revise their opinions and to re-orient their ideas which have now crystallized once for all.

To return to our edition of the NL., we may draw attention to the excellent typographical arrangements of the text : the *termini technici*, which are illustrated by the author, have been carefully underlined, and the citations have been wisely printed in small type [3] —devices which improve visibility and facilitate reference. The numbering of the lines of the text and the references to the extracts and quotations

* [*OLD*, Dec. 1937, 1-3.]

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had been printed, instead, in opposite margins, which would have avoided their interference with each other, but that is a minor blemish. Professor DILLON deserves the cordial thanks of all lovers of Sanskrit literature for his conscientious labours in producing a critical edition of this important treatise on Indian drama. The value of the edition is enhanced by the Pratīka Index (covering eight pages), the Index of quotations from the Nāṭyaśāstra, Index of titles, and finally the Index of authors, which accompany the text--edition and facilitate its study. The editor promises (Preface, p. x) to publish a translation of the text with explanatory notes and an introduction discussing the NL. in relaion to other works on Indian drama in a separate volume. We shall look forward eagerly to the appearance of the second volume of this excellent publication.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

Verse Index to the Bhagvadgītā. Pāda-Index Compiled by Dr. W. KIRFEL, Professor at the University, Bonn. Pages 45. Otto Harrassowitz Leipzig, 1938.*

Many have been the atttempts to interpret the Gītā, since the time of the great Ācārya Śaṁkara and before his time. The most important among the European essays have been those by GARBE and OTTO. Professor KIRFEL felt that "the attempts of Prof. GARBE and Prof. OTTO to interpret the present form of the Gītā seem to be unsatisfactory" (Preface), and we agree with him. He came then to the conclusion that "in discussing the problem of its origin and its hpothetical interpolations we must compare its texts and its stanzas with those of other works of Indian literature." As a necessary and practical help in such an independent and unbiassed investigation of the question, he had prepared an alphabetical pāda-index to the Bhagvadgītā. It was a happy thought of his to publish the index he had prepared for his own use. Thanks to the zeal and enterprise of Herr Otto Harrassowitz of Leipzig, whose well-known firm has more than thirty important Indological publications to its credit, we have at last a Verse-Index to the Bhagavadgītā. Prof. KIRFEL has filled up a gap left by the appalling apathy of Indians towards their magnificent literary heritage, a heritage of which any nation might just be proud. It is to be hoped that some Indian scholars will at last wake up to the necessity of preparing at long last a complete *Index Verborum* of this "crest-jewel" of Indian literature, an index in which every occurrence of every inflected and uninflected word and every grammatical form, will be separately indexed and cited as in GRASSMANN'S *Wörterbuch* to the Rigveda. These indexes are mere tools no doubt; but tools are indispensable if you want to do some difficult and high-class work. Works such as these are definitely worth publication, because they are really of some use to the public; whereas many of the fatuous and sentimental ebullitions of inexperienced writers on the Gītā which have been springing up regularly, like mushrooms, in season and out of season—can hardly be of much use even to the authors of those lucubrations themselves.

[2] The index of Prof. KIRFEL is based on the Vulgate text of the Gītā, but the *variae lectiones* of the Anandashram edition and of Prof. SCHRADER'S edition of the Kashmiri version have also been noted, which is a distinct advantage.

We offer our cordial thanks to the author as well as to the publishers of the Verse-Index. It is an extremely useful addition to Gītā literature as well as to the Mahābhārata literature.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

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*[*Old* Nov. 1938, 1-2.]

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The Mahābhārata, Analysis and Index. By Edward P. RICE. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xvi + 112. (Price Rs. 5.)*

"The *Mahābhārata* is much more than an epic story of the heroic age of Ancient India," as the Rev. Mr. RICE has well remarked in the short but interesting Preface to this little book; "it is a vast repository of Hindu traditional lore, philosophy and legend...It is accepted as an authoritative *smṛiti* by a hundred million followers of Brāhmanical tradition...In it have been incorporated extensive treatises on law, philosophy, religion and custom, together with numerous episodes, legends and discussions—amounting in all to four-fifths of its bulk...It discloses to us an age-long quest, made by a religiously minded people, for a solution of the perennial problems of the human race with regard to the relation of man to the seen and unseen Universe, death and the hereafter, sin and sorrow, the standards of conduct, and the way to eternal bliss." A knowledge of the results of this quest is essential for any adequate comprehension of the morals and religious ideals of the Indians. This is the thought that has led—and rightly led—the Rev. Mr. RICE towards the Great Epic of India.

The Mahābhārata has often been described, and justly, as a "jungle" of information. Mr. RICE's Analysis and Index of its contents is an attempt—as he says—to provide "a *map* of this jungle—a plan of paths and byways through it, which shall make its contents easily accessible." And we have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Professor L. D. BARNETT, expressed in his short Foreword to the book under review, that Mr. RICE'S Analysis and Index will prove immensely useful to students of the Mahābhārata.

Mr. RICE would have been greatly helped in his work had he made use of Professor Hermann JACOBI'S *Inhaltsangabe* (published as long ago as 1903), which is a far more complete and far [316] more accurate summary of the Mahābhārata, but Mr. RICE (as he tells us himself in his Preface) had no knowledge of Professor JACOBI'S work till he had made some progress with his own attempt. Even so Mr. RICE could have, with advantage, made greater use of it.

When drawing up the Index, Mr. RICE would likewise have been considerably helped by the late Professor S. SORENSEN'S elaborate *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London, 1925), comprising over 800 pp. (large quarto). Mr. RICE appears to have had no knowledge of this work whatsoever, as he does not mention it even in his little book.

Mr. RICE has done his work well on the whole, but there are a few inconsistencies and inaccuracies, especially in the spelling of Sanskrit words, mistakes which are likely to confuse or mislead those users of his Analysis who do not know how these words are pronounced. The Sanskrit व for example, is correctly transcribed by *va* in the initial position (cf. Index under *v*); but in other positions, although there is no difference in the pronunciation of the sound, the old spelling with *w* has frequently crept in; for example, in Aświns (p. 22), Dwāravatī (pp. 14 twice, 79 etc.), Dwaitavana (pp. 18 twice, 24 etc.). All these names are again spelt correctly (with *v*) in the Index, in the preparation of which Mr. RICE had probably taken the help of JACOBI'S *Inhaltsangabe*, mentioned above.

Other errors of transcription are: p. 13 *Vidura-gamana-parva*, p. 14 Chitrāngada (for °gadā), p. 15 *Sabhā-kṛiya*, p. 21 Lopamudrā, p. 22 Ashṭavakra, p. 32 Upalava for (Upalavya), p. 46 *Aishīkāparva*, p. 56 Suka, p. 84 Bhārata Sāvitṛi.

* [*ABORI*, 16. 315-18].

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These are, however, minor blemishes, and any Sanskritist (the writer for one) would be glad to help Mr. RICE out by revising the spelling of Sanskrit words, in the event of a second edition being called for, as we fervently hope it will be.

We may draw attention to some other errors, of a more serious nature, which should have been avoided. By some strange lapse of memory, Mr. RICE calls Śaunaka a *king* (pp. 5 and 7), when he was, in fact, a very well-known Brahman Ṛṣi, a Kulapati, in fact, an *ascetic* dwelling in the sacred Naimiṣa forest! P. 11, Kṛipa's sister was Kṛipi, not Kṛipā.

[317] In citing the original Sanskrit names of the sub-parvans, Mr. RICE has given in parenthesis, what appears to be, at first sight, a translation of these Sanskrit words; but sometimes these parenthetical additions are quite irrelevant, not to say erratic.—P. 14, *Haraṇāharaṇa* is not "the capture of the captor" but the bringing of the dowry.—P. 29 *Samaya-pālana* is not "a wrestling match," but the observance of the compact (viz., to remain incognito during the last year of the exile).—P. 31 *Yānasandhi* is not a "council to decide peace or war," but the interval between the missions. P. 40 *Nārāyaṇās tra-moksha*, is not the neutralization of the Nārāyaṇa weapon" but the release or discharge of that magical weapon.—P. 47 *Jalapradānika* is not the "reconciliation of Dhṛitarāshṭra and the Pāṇḍavas," but offering of water-libation (as part of the funeral ceremony).

In the summary of adhy. 132-133 of the Ādi. it is said that Arjuna "cruelly rid himself of a Nishāda rival," but it may be pointed out that, in the original no cruelty is implied on the part of Arjuna; it was Ācārya Droṇa who asked for the thumb of the right hand of the Niṣāda prince Ekalavya and got it, incapacitating Ekalavya for life. Extreme caution is necessary in making a summary.

Of the two Indices which the book contains, I have already referred to one: the Index of Names. The other Index is far more important, the Index of Subjects. Here Mr. RICE is all but a pioneer, the only other attempt being again that of Professor JACOBI, who, at the end of his *Inhaltsangabe*, has devoted a little over a page to it. JACOBI's "*Kurzes Sachregister*" contains the following ten main headings, with some sub-divisions: (1) Philosophical, (2) Cosmological, (3) Caste, (4) Āśramas, (5) Women, (6) Religion, (7) Morality, (8) Dharma, (9) Nitī, and (10) Literary. Mr. RICE has added some more headings and has introduced many new sub-divisions. Mr. RICE'S main rubrics are as follows: (1) the Relation of Man to the Material and Spiritual Universe; (2) Conceptions of Deity; (3) Worship and Religious Rites; (4) Sacrifices; (5) Death and the Hereafter; (6) Ethical Teaching; (7) Problems of Life; (8) Women, Marriage, Parenthood; (9) the Four Castes; (10) the Four Āśramas; (11) King-[318]-craft; (12) Warfare; (13) the Material Universe; (14) Chronology and History; and (15) Literary.

This is unquestionably the most valuable part of Mr. RICE'S work, and all Sanskritists will feel grateful to him for it. Everyone realizes and admits that a subject-index to the Mbh. is an essential prerequisite for a critical study of the Great Epic, but no one has had the necessary leisure and patience to index systematically all the heterogenous subjects dealt with in those 100,000 stanzas. If properly made, a complete (or nearly complete) Index of this kind might easily require for itself a book larger than Mr. RICE'S; but we must be grateful for what we now possess.

The book was not compiled for the consumption of the scholar, *qua* scholar. Mr. RICE'S idea was to introduce and popularize, among his countrymen, the study

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of the Great Epic of the Indian people and pave the way for bringing about a better understanding of each other's ideas and ideals—a laudable object in itself. So we must not be too exacting and captious in our criticism of minutiæ. We shall therefore close this short notice by expressing the hope that the book will have a wide circulation, and will soon see a second edition, which will give Mr. RICE an opportunity to remove some of the minor blemishes pointed out above, and to increase further the usefulness of the book by adding some new titles and references to his excellent subject-index. He will then surely earn the merit of having made a solid contribution to Mahābhārata studies.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

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IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR MORITZ WINTERNITZ (1863-1937)*

The world of Indological studies has suffered a great and irreparable loss in the passing away of Professor Dr. Moritz WINTERNITZ of the University of Prag. This Institute has cause to deplore the sudden and premature death of the late lamented scholar, perhaps more than any similar institution in India. Professor WINTERNITZ was not merely an Honorary Member of the Institute, but also an active member of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, and of the Mahābhārata Board of Referees. His relations with the Institute were indeed never of a purely formal and nominal character; but they were appreciably strengthened in 1919, when the Institute undertook the work of preparing a *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. In this connection Professor WINTERNITZ gave the young and inexperienced organizers of the scheme much sound advice and very cordial encouragement; and subsequently, from time to time, rendered the Institute especially valuable services in connection with the Institute's monumental project of preparing this critical edition.

His services to the cause of Mahābhārata studies, in general, have been indeed of a striking and memorable character, and deserve to be recorded fully in the *Annals* of this Institute.

There is perhaps no scholar who had studied and pondered over the Mahābhārata problems longer, and at the same time written, agitated and worked for a critical edition of our Great Epic more energetically, than Professor WINTERNITZ. He appears to have begun his scholar's career by writing a paper on a subject connected directly with the Mahābhārata. It was a critical review of HOLTZMANN's *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, published in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (1884-85). In 1897, he contributed a paper of about 50 pages to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, entitled "Notes on the Mahābhārata", which is in fact a very detailed review of DAHLMANN's *Das Mahābhārata, als Epos und Rechtsbuch* (Berlin 1895). In the same year, at the session of the International Congress of Orientalists at Paris, he first drew attention of scholars to the importance of [314] South Indian MSS. for the restoration of a critical text of the Great Epic of India. Even at that time he pointed out that for all critical and historical researches the current printed editions of the epic were altogether insufficient and that a critical edition of the Mahābhārata was a *conditio sine qua non* of all Mahābhārata research. In the following

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* [*ABORI*, 18. 313-20.]

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year (1898) he contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a paper "On the South Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata", in which he published also for the first time lengthy extracts from the Southern Recension and gave some account of the Southern MSS. of the epic. In the same year he contributed an article to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* "On the Mahābhārata MSS. in the Whish collection of the Royal Asiatic Society." The same volume has two informing letters from him, both of which are about Gaṇeśa in the Mahābhārata (*JRAS* 1898, 380 ff., 631). In the next year (1899), at the Oriental Congress in Rome, he proposed the foundation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society, "with the aim of collecting all the materials as well as the necessary funds" for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata ; the text of the proposal was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1901, 117 ff. As a consequence of this, "a committee was formed which was to consider the matter and report on the subject at the next congress." Next year (1900), he published a paper in *WZKM* entitled "Genesis des Mahābhārata," which is in fact an elaborate review (27 pp.) of DAHLMANN's book with the same title, which had appeared in the meantime. This paper was followed next year (1901) by a paper on the "Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvölker," published in the *Mitteilungen* of the Anthropological Society of Vienna, in which he has ably discussed the flood legends of antiquity, among them our legend of Manu. In the same year he presented a memorandum ("Pro Memoria") on the necessity of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata to the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, which is published in the *Almanach der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, 1901, 206-210. In 1902, he appears to have again brought his proposal about the critical edition of the Mahābhārata before the International Congress at Hamburg. In 1903, he was serving as a member of a committee appointed by the United German Academies and learned Societies to discuss the question of the preliminary work necessary for a critical edition of the [315] Great Epic, which met at München and recommended the presentation of a "Pro Memoria" to the International Association of Academies. The "Pro Memoria" was presented and a definite plan was laid before the Association. In 1903 he contributed two papers on the subject of his favourite study, one in the *JRAS* on "The Mahābhārata and the Drama," the other in *WZKM* on the Sabhāparvan according to the Southern Recension. In 1904 he published an important study bearing on the snake sacrifice of the Mahābhārata in *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt* : "Das Schlangenopfer des Mahābhārata." This was followed in the year 1906 by a paper in *WZKM* on the Bṛhaddevatā and the Mahābhārata. In 1908 the question of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata again came up before the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen, and two meetings of the Mahābhārata-Komission were attended by WINTERNITZ as a member of the editorial committee (on 14th and 18th August 1908). In the following year (1909) he published the second part of the first volume of his

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monumental history of Indian Literature (German Version), the only comprehensive and authoritative book on the subject, which devotes nearly 150 pages to the Mahābhārata and still remains the *most reliable* general account of our Great Epic. Besides containing an accurate summary of the epic story, the volume contains the considered views of the author on the interesting question of the beginnings of epic poetry in India, and a detailed discussion of the question of the age and history of the Mahābhārata. It may also be noted that this is the *only* work which gives a complete, systematic and impartial account of the progress of Mahābhārata studies during the last hundred years with exhaustive bibiliography and exemplary thoroughness, and as such is indispensable to every serious student of the Mahābhārata. In 1910 he published a review of SÖRENSEN'S *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (parts I-IV) in *ZDMG* (64.241-243). Then for about five years, from 1911-1915, Professor WINTERNITZ appears not to have published anything about the Mahābhārata. This interval he seems to have devoted to his private studies of the Sabhāparvan, the book assigned to him in the scheme of the International Association of Academies for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. As a bi-product of these studies may be regarded his short paper, [316] "Mahābhārata II. 68. 41 ff., and Bhāsa's Dūtavākya" in *Festschrift E. Kuhn* (1916), which was followed in 1917 by a review of HOPKINS' *Epic Mythology*, which had appeared in 1915. The brief regime of mutual hate, disorder and vandalism prevailing in Europe during the Great War gave its quietus to this international project among others; the undertaking of the Associated Academies was silently abandoned in the years that followed the war. That was a great disappointment to WINTERNITZ.

The end of the war marked, however, the beginning of a *new* project of preparing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata: this time in India. This Institute, making a fresh start, enthusiastically undertook the work in 1919, as a national undertaking—a venture cordially welcomed by Professor WINTERNITZ, for he saw in it a fresh promise of the fulfilment of his dreams, which had been ruthlessly shattered by the cruel war. In 1922, when WINTERNITZ came to India, he took the earliest opportunity to visit the Institute, and to see for himself the work of the Mahābhārata Department of this Institute, which had already made some progress. On the 20th of November 1922, he delivered an address at the Institute, which contains a succinct account of what had been done and planned in Europe, and expressed the fervent hope that ways and means could be found for the *collaboration* of Indian and Western scholars in the new project (*Annals*, 1922-23, pp. 145-152). When he went to Santiniketan, he taught the students there how to collate Mahābhārata MSS. and ultimately established there a collation centre for the collation of Bengali MSS. of the Mahābhārata, which is even now doing excellent work under the supervision of the Principal of the Visvabharati. In 1924, he contributed a paper entitled "The Mahābhārata" to

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the *Visvabharati Quarterly,* in connection with the work he had been doing at Santiniketan. In the same year, he appears to have read a paper containing a report on the Institute's edition, before the German Conference of Orientalists at München. Later in the same year (1924) he published in the *Annals* of this Institute, a very detailed review of the late Mr. UTGIKAR'S tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan, containing a frank criticism of the work as well as many valuable suggestions for improvement. When the Mahābhārata Department of [317] the Institute was reorganized in 1925, Professor WINTERNITZ was made a member of the Honorary Board of Referees, and also a member of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board. As such, in 1928 he read a paper at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Oxford, on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, drawing attention of the delegates to the important work the Institute was doing in connection with its critical edition. A discussion was opened by Geheimrat Professor Dr. H. LÜDERS, who moved three resolutions regarding the Institute's edition, as well as regarding the disposal of the collations made, and funds collected, for the European edition. These resolutions, which were seconded by Professor WINTERNITZ, were unanimously adopted by the Indian Section of the Congress. The paper read by Professor WINTERNITZ, was subsequently published in the first issue of the *Indologica Pragensia* (1929), the journal founded by Professor WINTERNITZ. There he declared that after a careful examination of the first fascicule of the new edition, he was convinced that this edition would be *the* edition that is wanted and that he had in mind when thirty-one years ago he urged the necessity of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. His frank and evident enthusiasm for our edition did not, however, blind him to what he considered its shortcomings; and to his paper in the *Indologica Pragensia* he appended some critical remarks on the first fascicule of the new edition of Ādiparvan prepared by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR. While expressing his whole-hearted agreement with the general principles underlying the reconstruction of the text, he gave a list of passages wherein he differed from the editor with respect to the readings of the constituted text, qualifying his remarks by emphasizing that he was not offering his criticism to find fault with the way in which the critical edition was being prepared; there would always remain differences of opinion in special cases, *whoever the editor be.* The Institute highly values the considered opinion of the eminent savant expressed before the Oriental Conference at Oxford in the following words: "And here I may say that in my opinion neither in India nor in Europe any one scholar would be found who would have done the work better than Dr. SUKTHANKAR had done in his first fascicule." In 1932 he published in the *Forschungen und Fortschritte* (a record of German Science) an article entitled "Die [318] kritische Ausgabe des Mahābhārata," giving an account of the work of the Institute in connection with the Mahābhārata edition.

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He read a considerable portion of the Ādiparvan (according to the Critical Edition) with his pupils in the Indologisches Seminar at Prag, to initiate them into the mysteries of Indian textual criticism. From the notes made by him for these lectures, he published in these *Annals* (1934) the last important paper he wrote on the Mahābhārata, which is an appreciation of the first volume of the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, completed in 1933. In the volume of essays presented to him by his pupils, friends and admirers (*Festschrift Moritz Winternitz*), there were two Mahābhārata articles, written no doubt with the full knowledge that they would be warmly welcomed by Professor WINTERNITZ : the one by Dr. Hermann WELLER of Tübingen University, on the Textual Criticism of the Mahābhārata ; the other by Prof. F. Otto SCHRADER of Kiel University on the Recensions of the Bhagavadgītā. Latterly his onerous duties as Professor of Indology in the German University of Prag as well as his failing health had prevented Professor WINTERNITZ from devoting much time to a serious study of the Sabhāparvan, which he had undertaken to edit for the Institute : a study which was suddenly and prematurely terminated by the ruthless hand of Time. But even in 1936, when the Raja Saheb of Aundh, his colleague on the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, visited him in Prag, Professor WINTERNITZ was very optimistic and full of buoyant hope of being able to complete the Sabhāparvan in a year or two. Alas, that was not to be !

A certain amount of pathetic interest attaches to the letter reproduced below, which was penned by the deceased scholar on the 8th January last,—probably the last letter written by him !—and forwarded after his lamentable death by his daughter-in-law, Frau Dr. Anna WINTERNITZ. It is a tragic piece of evidence of the fact that Mahābhārata problems occupied his thoughts to the very last day of his life ! Here is the letter :

[319] *January 8th 1937.*

My dear Dr. SUKTHANKAR,

Many thanks for kindly sending me a copy of the reprint of your Epic Studies VI : The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata. I have now read it and found it of intrinsic interest. It is truly astonishing, and has not occurred to me before, that the Bhārgava material was represented in the Mahābhārata to such an extent as you show it to be. Your hypothesis that our Mahābhārata received its present form with its masses of Bhārgava material, and the admixture of Dharma and Nīti material by a Diaskeuasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence at some time or other (if we could only know at which time !), seems to me plausible enough. Your thesis is strengthened very much by the parallel of the Manusmṛti. I should, however, underline what you say about "further additions" being made after the Bhārgava diaskeuasis : The great mass of what I have called "Ascetic Literature" (see my lecture in 'Some Problems of Indian literature', p. 21 ff.) which is nearer to Jaina and Buddhist than to Brahmanic lore and ethics, and which lays so much stress on Ahiṃsā, and also some of the philosophical sections, must have come into the Epic through other channels. Surely the

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feat of Bhārgava Rāma filling five lakes with blood by exterminating the Kṣatriya race thrice seven times (repeated ten times!) cannot by any means be brought into accord with the doctrine of Ahiṃsā.

Thinking of the words, "Da wird sich manches Rätsel lösen und manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch", I hope you will continue, in your excellent "Epic Studies," to solve many a riddle of the Great Epic of India.

I am, with kind regards,
Yours sincerely
M. WINTERNITZ.

PS. I am very sorry to have to inform you that my father-in-law Prof. WINTERNITZ passed away this night in consequence of a new attack of his heart-disease.

Yours faithfully
Dr. Anna WINTERNITZ.

For more than fifty years, continuously, Prof. WINTERNITZ took active interest in Mahābhārata studies and in the Mahābhārata problem, contributing himself in a great measure to the elucidation of some of them, both theoretically and practically—a record of deep and sustained interest in the Great Epic of India, difficult to be matched in India itself!

[320] His Mahābhārata researches constituted but a small fraction of the multifarious intellectual activities of this broad-minded and versatile scholar. It remains for others, who stood nearer to him and who knew him more intimately, to speak at length on the labours of Professor WINTERNITZ in the several fields he graced. Here we merely record our deep gratitude to him for his manifold services to the cause of Mahābhārata studies, as also our profound sorrow upon the untimely death of an honoured member of our Institute, and of our esteemed collaborator in the stupendous work, to the completion of which the Institute is pledged.

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THE POSITION OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN INDIA*

I am very grateful to you indeed for the honour you have done me by electing me to preside over the Philological Section of this august Conference. But I do not think, if you will pardon my saying so, that the choice of the present sectional president has been either exceptionally wise or happy. The fact is that in recent years my preoccupation with our *Mahābhārata* work has divorced me more and more from this fascinating but difficult subject and I have been devoting less and less of my time to any intensive study of it. In spite of this outward divorce, however, I will confess, I have always preserved a soft corner in my heart for my first love, Comparative Grammar, and that must be my excuse for the few remarks that I shall now proceed to make on the subject of this Section.

If now, gentlemen, instead of treating you to a technical discussion of some abstruse linguistic problem or giving you merely a list or summary of linguistic works or papers which have appeared during the last two or three years and which you can get from booksellers' catalogues, I offer you some observations of common interest on the subject of linguistics in general and Indian linguistics in particular, I trust they will not be unwelcome to you.

Language, as you all know, plays an immense rôle in our life,—in the life of an individual, of a country and of a nation—how great, it is really difficult to estimate. Language is the foundation of this Conference. Without a language, you will realize, even this address which I am now delivering about it would have been impossible. Perhaps it is just because of this very familiarity and its all-pervasiveness that we rarely observe it, taking it for granted as we do breathing or walking. Furthermore, the effects of language are quite remarkable and include much of what distinguishes man from animals. Nevertheless, it may be noted, language as such has no recognized place in our general programme of education or in the speculations of the average modern philosopher. However, none but those who shut their eyes to the hasty readaptation to totally new circumstances which the human race has been blindly endeavouring to achieve during the last decade or two can pretend that there is no need to examine critically the most important of all the instruments of civilization.

We Indians, I am proud to say, have the unique merit and distinction, which is indeed very great in the history of civilization, of having realized at an early date, the importance of linguistic studies and applied our innate re- [24] -flective nature and speculative spirit to observing the facts of language

* The text of Presidential Address to the Linguistic Section of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Tirupati (1940). [*Bhāratīya Vidyā* 2.23-35.]

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and building up a grammar of our own speech. India may justly claim to be the cradle of the linguistic science.

Several nations of the ancient and the mediaeval world had developed linguistic doctrines, chiefly on—what may be called—antiquarian basis. A grammar of the classical form of the language as it appears in the Qoran had, for instance, been worked out by the Arabs. Taking this as their model, the Jews in Muslim countries constructed a Semitic grammar. At the Renaissance, European scholars became acquainted with this tradition; the Semitic grammarians have contributed, for instance, to English grammar the term "root" as a designation for the central part of a word. Our word for it, as you know, is entirely different, "*dhātu*", which means a "constituent element" or "essential ingredient." In the Far East a great deal of antiquarian linguistic knowledge, especially in the way of lexicography, had been gained by the Chinese. In a later epoch a Japanese grammar seems to have grown up somewhat independently. The Romans, and especially the Greeks, had made a considerable advance in the subject, which was inherited by modern Europe and which formed at first the basis of their studies.

But it was here in India—as is commonly recognized—that there arose a body of knowledge that was destined to revolutionize European ideas about language. The grammar of Pāṇini, which dates from somewhere round B.C. 800 to 500, has been pronounced to be "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence." And it is no exaggeration to say—as, in fact, it is freely admitted by competent European authorities on the subject—that the Indian grammatical researches form the solid bed-rock on which the stately edifice of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages—which has been the model of all subsequent studies in Comparative Grammar—was only during the last century reared by the assiduous exertions and signal devotion of European grammarians. While the Europeans have made good use of our heritage, we have failed to derive any profit from it. We read with pardonable pride the encomiums lavished by foreign scholars on the great grammar of our Pāṇini, and we are complacent enough not to realize that these very encomiums are at the same time the most crushing indictment of his unworthy descendants, who have shamefully neglected the study of this important subject and completely lost their grip over it, since the days of the holy sage of Śālātūra.

It is, I know, usual to speak of *Munitraya*, the Triumvirate of Munis, in this connection. But in my humble opinion there was only one Muni, Pāṇini. Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* do supply an effective list of addenda and corrigenda to the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini; but already with Patañjali, notwithstanding that his *Bhāṣya* is an imposing work exhibiting great virtuosity and critical acumen and also a veritable mine of information to the student of culture, the rich vein of grammatical research which culminated in the work of

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[25] Pāṇini, comes to abrupt end, and Patañjali's interest lies mainly in showing how to interpret the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini so that they involve no contradiction or deficiency. His work is but a product of scholastic activity, with only distant kinship to that divine spark which is necessary for creative work. We might almost say that our grammatical achievements begin and end with Pāṇini. This is of course only a partial truth, like most other truths. For Pāṇini did not in any complete sense create Sanskrit grammar. Generations of labour must have preceded the composition of the oldest treatise that has come down to us. And we have, as a matter of fact, the *Prātiśākhyas*, the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta* of Yāska, not to speak of the stray grammatical speculations and allusions embedded in the *Brāhmaṇas*, some of which must be earlier than Pāṇini. But even these put together do not make up the whole of Sanskrit grammar.

While we must deplore our lack of knowledge of the early history of Indian grammar, I do not know in what terms to describe the woeful neglect of the subject in mediaeval and modern times. The lack of interest in the subject has in recent years been so appalling that even so beautiful a work as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, which is surely one of the most magnificent specimens of the polished and vivid Sanskrit prose—I think, the best that we possess as far as classical Sanskrit goes—containing a deal of information on subjects other than the technicalities of Pāṇinean grammar, written in a lively style, combined with much real humour—even this precious work of Indian antiquity, owing to its being labelled a grammatical treatise, has almost become an ornament of the bookshelf. Therefore, the disinterested labours of Mahamahopadhyaya Vasudeva Shastri ABHYANKAR in giving us an accurate Marathi rendering of this important work, which, I believe, is the first translation of the book in a living language, merits the highest praise, and the learned translator and expounder of the *Mahābhāṣya* deserves the most grateful thanks of all Indologists.

Our appalling lack of knowledge regarding the Middle Indian languages and dialects in contradistinction to the abundance of information for the still earlier period is no doubt to be traced to that unreasonable contempt which is often felt and sometimes even freely expressed—not merely in India, but throughout the world—by speakers of the high standard language for provincial standard and sub-standard types of speech.

The information given by our Prakrit grammars is so meagre that what the names Ardhamāgadhī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa mentioned by Prakrit grammarians exactly mean, exactly where, when and by whom these languages or dialects were spoken, is now largely a matter for speculation. All that the Indian grammarians have to say about them amounts to a brief and unsatisfactory list of particulars in which these dialects differ from Sanskrit. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini describes with meticulous care every inflection, derivation and composition and every syntactic usage of its author's

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speech, with a precision which is phenomenal. No other language to this day, it has been said, has been so perfectly described. What a sad contrast [26] is presented, on the other hand, by our extant Prakrit grammars, such as those of Vararuci, Mārkaṇḍeya, Hemacandra and others, where whole dialects are disposed of in a few cryptic words, whose precise meaning even is not now easy to ascertain without drawing in the aid of commentaries and sub-commentaries.

The twilight of Prakrit grammar becomes complete and impenetrable darkness when we reach the period of the tertiary dialects of India. Language study, in the sense of language research, seems to have, for some reason hard to imagine, completely lost interest. And no serious attempt was made in India to study systematically, from a grammatical standpoint, the early phases of our modern Indian languages. We have drifted far away from the ambitious achievements of our ancestors and not even known that we have done so.

The mist which overhangs the mystery of our languages in the tertiary period is now, after centuries of apathy and inertia, being fitfully lifted under the influence of the stimulating contact with European savants to whom we must be grateful for giving a new direction to our studies. The first scientific grammar of Marathi to be written was by a French philologist, M. Jules BLOCH, of the University of Paris, which is still a standard work on the subject. Since the publication of that work, however, a number of Indian scholars have come forward to shoulder the burden and carry forward linguistic research in India. Pre-eminent among these is undoubtedly my learned friend, Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI, of the University of Calcutta, a scholar with an international reputation, who is carrying aloft the banner of Indian linguistics and in whom are centred our hopes for the renaissance of linguistic studies in India. Excellent work is being done in the North, silently but enthusiastically and effectively, by Dr. Siddheshwar VARMA, a former President of this Section of our Conference, whose penetrating researches have been shedding welcome light on the present condition and past history of little known Northern dialects. These are our stalwarts. But praiseworthy work is being done also by men who have come later in the field, by Dr. B. SAKSENA and by L. V. Ramaswamy AIYAR, who have enriched the literature on the subject of Indian linguistics by their contributions in the shape of books and papers of considerable merit. There are not wanting neophytes who have shown promise but who have yet to win their spurs. But this is not enough. In order to cope with the enormous mass of work to be done and to make up for leeway, many more men must take up linguistic study in India, which must be also carried on more vigorously and in yet wider fields, if we are to reclaim some of the glory for which our forefathers are justly famed.

India affords rich—nay, unique—opportunities for linguistic work of the

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highest order. India is in fact an extraordinary rich mine of linguistic research waiting to be worked up. It is my belief—but I am open to correction—that the Indian languages are the only system of languages in the world which has a continuous, and more or less clearly documented history [27] extending over nearly 4000 years. This is certainly true within the Indo-Germanic family, and it is probably true in relation to any other family of languages. This continuity of documents belonging to the Indian speech, it is needless to point out, is a factor of capital importance, affording unique opportunities for the study of the life-history of a large number of related languages, but it is also of importance for the study of linguistic problems in general. And who is better equipped, by nature and by tradition, to undertake these studies than we ourselves?

We Indians of the present generation are however so conservative—and I may even say, intellectually so inert and slothful—that it never even occurs to any one of us to study any language outside our special, hallowed system of languages: even the English language, which everyone nowaways almost compulsorily studies, belongs of course to our own system. I find it truly remarkable that in a civilized and highly cultured country like this out of the tens of thousands of young men passing annually through the different Indian Universities, there is a very inconsiderable fraction of students who take up for study anything but a language belonging to their special linguistic group. A Hindu, at least in Western India, though he is constantly brought into the closest contact with Muslims, would ordinarily no more think of studying seriously Arabic or Persian, than he would think of learning the language, say, of the Hottentots or the Eskimos. There is a reciprocal lack of interest commonly exhibited by Muslims in India in the study of Sanskritic languages. This, I think, is not due wholly to any racial or cultural antagonism. It is just lack of interest. This is proved, it seems to me, by the fact that we Indians—at least the inhabitants of Western India—present the same attitude to the Zoroastrian literature and religion, which are akin to the ancient Indian in many respects, and which are free from racio-political conflict-associations and yet fail to interest those Indians who do not belong to that particular religious persuasion. There are a few noteworthy exceptions, I know; but these exceptions only prove the rule.

There is another curious little phenomenon which I do not know whether you gentlemen have observed. If, as a very great exception, some Hindu should perchance happen to study Persian or Arabic, or, *vice versa*, if a Muslim should study Sanskrit, he seems to lose caste, so to say, not explicitly but implicitly. His labour and his attainments are appreciated neither by his own people nor by the other people. He is hated by his kinsmen for his unorthodoxy and despised by the others for his supposed incompetence. This, I submit, is unreasoning intolerance, which is not in keeping with our best traditions.

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If this is the case with our fellow-men, with whom we are daily rubbing shoulders, is it strange that hardly any one in India bothers himself seriously about the languages of countries surrounding us like the Burman, Tibetan and Afghan languages or about the languages of the so-called backward peoples within the confines of India, like the Bhils, the Todas or the Badagas? Chinese is to us nearly the same as Greek. And even Japan, [28] with her enormous commercial possibilities, which are being keenly exploited, to their immense profit, by our merchant princes, has not been able to stimulate our interest in her language. It is not necessary to tell you, gentlemen, that almost all the big Western Universities make adequate provision not only for the teaching of the important foreign classical languages like Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Chinese (in addition to their own classics like Greek and Latin) but also for imparting at least elementary instruction in many of the living languages of Asia and Africa.

Our conservatism and lack of interest in any language but our own are in my opinion an index of low mentality, and a most deplorable feature of Indian conditions, which must be combatted with vigour and eradicated completely. I submit that to understand even one's own language completely and thoroughly, it is necessary to have a nodding acquaintance with some foreign languages. You can cram all Sanskrit grammars and lexicons and all the works written in Sanskrit in the bargain, but that alone is not going to help you to understand the internal mechanism of the Sanskrit language, which is only possible from a comparative study of many different languages,—and the more the better. Only by an intensive study of many different languages you can advance to the study of Language, which is after all the goal of the modern linguistician.

Linguistics should, however, not be considered as synonymous with grammar, etymology or lexicography, and should not be confused with any of them. Grammar, etymology and lexicography are three of the departments of linguistics and do not constitute the whole of the subject. They form, in fact, only a portion of the material and the tools with which the linguistician operates. Remember that even the Taj Mahal would not have been possible, had not that hard and intractable material, marble, of which the Taj is built, been first quarried, cut, shaped correct to a fraction of a centimetre and then polished with infinite labour, patience and skill. Likewise linguistics, and as a matter of fact every science worth the name, has an aspect which is not very attractive, involving as it does a deal of labour and drudgery, but which is essential for its future developments. Starting from a minute study of particular idioms, working out the genetic relations between individual members of a language-family and then between the different language-families of the world, the human mind becomes fortified and braced up to investigate such a theme as the nature and the structure of language in the abstract or a theme like the influence of language upon thought,—the latter

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a fascinating problem of psycho-philosophical order, which is the subject of the C. K. OGDEN's brilliant book with the rather startling title *The Meaning of Meaning* (Kegan Paul, London, 1927).

Here through the *thought* expressed by language, linguistics has contact with logic and philosophy. But it has points of contact with other branches of science as well, as was recently pointed out by Prof. Dr. Otto JESPERSON, of the University of Copenhagen. Through phonetics it has contact with physics and physiology ; through the linguistic communities with sociology [29] and thence with anthropology and ethnology, further with history, and especially cultural history ; and, finally, through the dissemination of lang-usages, linguistics has contact with geography ; thus, for instance, in the study of place-names and in the great linguistic atlases, which have been published or are under preparation in many countries.

No doubt the linguistician learns from all these sciences ; but it would be hazardous to maintain that linguistics is not capable of throwing light on the present or future problems in any of these disciplines. It will be found in fact that there is really a fruitful and stimulating interaction between all these diverse branches of human knowledge.

There have been striking developments in the domain of linguistics during the last half a century : most noticeably perhaps in the waning interest evinced by present-day linguisticians just in those subjects which were most popular in the days of BRUGMANN and Joh. SCHMIDT : etymologies, sound laws of the Indo-European, reconstruction of hypothetical forms belonging to the primitive Indo-European speech, and so on. Such "starred" forms played an immensely greater rôle in the linguistics of about fifty years ago. Philologists of those days took much näive pleasure in constructing little conversational sentences made up entirely of "starred" forms, sentences such as might have been spoken by the primitive Indo-Europeans in the "Urheimat," somewhere in Asia or Europe. It was an excellent pastime, like the nursery games played by boys and girls all over the world with wax dolls and tin soldiers. The linguisticians have now outgrown that stage. They have realized the futility of those jejune exercises and abandoned them for more serious and fruitful pursuits. They have become, in other words, more realistic. Linguistics has become more of a living science than it ever was before.

Indo-Germanic Philology has been for most linguisticians the starting point of their studies and a deal of time and energy has been expended on the development of this special branch of linguistics. As I said above, the leaders of philological researches some fifty years ago were very confident regarding their reconstructions of the Indo-European parent speech. Speculations on its aspect have of late been profoundly modified by the fortuitous discovery of Tokharian and Hittite, two long-forgotten languages of Asia.

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The study of these languages has upset much of what was regarded as self-evident or axiomatic by older linguisticians and has necessitated the recasting or at least restating of many an old hypothesis. The question of possible old kinship between the Indo-Germanic and the Finno-Ugrian groups—a kinship that was postulated in former times by more than one linguistician—was again mooted at the Rome Session of the International Congress of Linguists. The most characteristic feature of the linguistic studies of the present period is the broadening of the basis of study. The period is therefore fertile in bold, comprehensive theories, whose validity remains to be tested. It is unquestionable, however, that the study of the general theory of language has much profited through a closer study of such groups of languages as [30] those of Africa, of the Far East and of the American Indians, languages which were formerly almost completely neglected.

As an onlooker—for in this great field I have been no more—I have reached the conviction that recent years have seen linguistic research in Europe enter on yet another new phase, one in which practical observations and experimental studies are going deeper than ever before into the nature of linguistic phenomena and yielding results of unforeseen promise.

On the other hand, when I look round in India I am overpowered with the feeling that linguistic studies have not been in as healthy a condition as they might have been. We linguists in India, I must regretfully observe, are far behind even our own brethren working in other fields of knowledge, like Mathematics, Physics or Botany, in which India has produced men who have by their researches made a substantial contribution to world knowledge —that must after all be the final goal of all scholars—and acquired thereby international celebrity, I mean, men like RAMANUJAN, RAMAN, SAHNI, to mention only a few top-names.

I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, and I am certainly not a victim of what psychologists call the inferiority complex. I only wish to impress upon you, gentlemen, on the one hand, the great advances made in the linguistic science in other countries, and on the other hand the necessity of strenuous exertion and devoted application on our part to make up for lost time and lost opportunities.

The linguistic students of India, I confess, have been so far lacking equipment, training, opportunity and encouragement—in short, lacking everything that makes research possible. There is however no need to despair. There are indeed very hopeful signs which augur well for the resurrection of linguistic studies in India and which are even full of promise for the future. I have already referred to the Linguistic School of Calcutta presided over by Dr. CHATTERJI, which has again put India on the linguistic map of the world.

It will be, I imagine, a welcome piece of news to most of you, gentlemen, that the Government of Bombay have recently opened a department of

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linguistic research as one of the regular and permanent departments of the revived Deccan College of Poona, which has been operating since August 1939. The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute scheme envisages the employment of a full-time Professor of Indo-European Philology and of Readers in Dravidian and Semitic Philology. The Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay for the reorganization of the Deccan College is understood to have recommended to the Government that the Professor and the Readers of this Department of the Institute should be entrusted with purely linguistic work comprising such essential preliminaries as the phonetic recording and study of the major Indo-Aryan and Dravidian dialects of India, preparation of grammars, glossaries and anthologies of these dialects and even the preparation of dialect atlases. It is understood that the Government have further decided to equip the deparment not only [31] with an up-to-date library of linguistic literature but also with a full-fledged laboratory of experimental phonetics.

The department has already been partly organized and is now working under the direction of Dr. S. M. KATRE, who has been appointed Head of the department. The results of the labours of Dr. KATRE and his pupils during the first term have been published in the first volume of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, which has already been published. Dr. KATRE, who is trained in the best of schools, is an indefatigable worker and has an enthusiasm for his subject which is quite contagious. There is every hope that he will be able to communicate some of his own enthusiasm to his pupils. Dr. KATRE's work impresses an impartial observer like myself, who stands a little outside the narrow group of specialists in the subject, by his fundamental grasp of the subject, illuminated by a wide vision and marked by a precision which is the *sine qua non* of all scientific work and which inspires confidence. Let us hope that this department of the Deccan College Research Institute under the direction of Dr. KATRE will build up an independent school of linguistics in the near future in the West of India and thus make this laudable experiment of the Government of Bombay a signal success, helping in its own way to regenerate linguistic studies in India, which have been in a moribund condition during so many centuries.

I must not omit to mention here the work of the Linguistic Society of India, with its organ *Indian Linguistics*. After a somewhat chequered early career, hampered chiefly by financial difficulties, both the Society and its organ have gathered new strength under the fostering care of the Calcutta University. The issues of the *Journal* which have been just published from its new home not only eclipse the old ones, but challenge comparison with similar journals published elsewhere. They are a feather in the cap of the energetic President of the Society and his able adjutants who may justly feel proud of their work. If it continues in this fashion, it will surely be a herald of a new era in the history of Indian linguistics.

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While I am on the topic of the Linguistic Society of India I should like to mention another little thing, the consummation of which I should very much like to see. The Society has so far been holding its meetings under the wings of this Conference. That is a very happy combination indeed and is quite in the fitnes of things. There is no reason, however, why the Linguistic Society could not hold *annual* meetings, as most Societies of that type do elsewhere. The formal foundation of a school of linguistic studies in Poona is in my opinion a fitting occasion for inaugurating the practice of holding annual meetings, to be held for the present alternately at Poona and Calcutta, in addition of course to its meetings held in conjunction with the Oriental Conference. I consider that, at least in the early stages, in the interests of more active co-operation and co-ordination, closer contact between the handful of workers in this field might be more helpful. I make the suggestion for what it is worth. It is up to the Linguistic Society and [32] the Deccan College authorities to consider the feasibility of the scheme, if it should appeal to them.

As there appear to exist clear signs of a gradual awakening among the language students in India, it would not be inopportune to make some observations on the lines and methods of work.

Before I do that, however, I must draw your attention to an alarming feature of the trend of linguistic studies in India, namely, the growing indifference of our Colleges and Universities to grammatical studies. All University examiners will, I am sure, vouchsafe for the fact that the candidates year by year betray an ever increasing lack of knowledge of the elements of grammar. This prevalent indifference to grammatical studies has induced some of the Indian Universities to reduce the requisite proficiency to a bare minimum. So much so that in certain of our Universities, I fear, it may be actually possible to pass the highest examinations in our classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, without the student ever suspecting the existence of a science like the Comparative Grammar of Indo-European or Semitic languages.

But the educationists who frame and control the course of University studies in India ought to remember that even though grammar, as ordinarily taught in our schools and colleges, is bugbear to most students, a student of language can no more do without a thorough knowledge of grammar than a physician can nowadays do without a knowledge of anatomy, or a physicist without a knowledge of mathematics. Moreover, the study of grammar need not be dry at all. It is made by our imperfect methods of teaching and perhaps to some extent by a lack of good teachers also. M. MEILLET in his *Aperçu de la langue greque* and later in his *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine* has shown what interest for the general reader, and scientific profit for the student, may be had when a master of the linguistic science

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displays the main lines of development of a single language-group and the chief influences in its history.

To bring us Indians abreast of modern linguistic research, we have to put in, as I have already remarked, a deal of hard and serious work. Now, as regards methods, it may be observed that the methods of grammatical analysis have in recent years altered to a great extent, due chiefly to extended study of divergent groups of languages, and we must familiarize ourselves with the most modern aspects of the subject.

For the older phases of our language, we lack critical editions of texts. Prakrit and Old-Prakrit texts have to a large extent been critically edited, but there is still a scarcity of good editions of Apabhraṁśa works. The scarcity of such reliable editions is still keener for the next great linguistic epoch, the early phases of modern Indian languages. For the use of beginners Chresthomathis of these languages have to be prepared, like the readers of Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Middle English and so on, made by European scholars.

[33] Phonetic studies have to be developed more intensely,—partly by the use of laboratory methods for the analysis and recording of sounds. Our knowledge of the subject is so defective that even the ancient authors of the *Prātiśākhyas* of hoary antiquity, with their acute powers of observation and the general grasp of their subject would put to shame our modern professors of Sanskrit in India.

Next, dialects must be studied more widely and intensively. We are sorely in need of comparative glossaries of Indian dialects. They must be compiled at least for principal dialects of the more important languages of India and Ceylon.

In the modern study of the dialects, the subject of dialect geography is assuming increasing importance. The comparative method developed in the last century by European philologists, with its assumption of uniform parent languages and definite cleavage, always leaves a residue of forms that cannot be explained on this arbitrary assumption. The conflicting large-scale isoglosses in the Indo-European area, for instance, show us that the branches of the Indo-European family did not arise by the sudden break-up of an absolutely uniform parent community. Either the parent community was dialectically differentiated before the break-up, or else after this period various groups of daughter communities remained in communication : which is tantamount to saying that areas which already differ to some extent may make cleavages in common. The result of successive changes is a net-work of isoglosses over the entire field. Accordingly the study of local differentiation in a linguistic field, which is in fact dialect geography, supplements the use of the old comparative methods and is a necessary complement to them. Except for a complete and organized description of every single dialect, which would

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naturally be a very complicated and cumbersome piece of work, the map of distribution is the clearest and the most compact form of statement conceivable. The dialect atlas made on these lines allows us to compare the distribution of different features by comparing the different maps. Such dialect atlases have been made by linguisticians for Germany, France, Italy, Denmark and some other countries. It is highly desirable that similar dialect atlases be prepared for India ; for that is now regarded as the most effective and comprehensive way of advancing language study. I might here mention that if these things are to be done, that is if the dialects are to be studied and dialect atlases are to be prepared, the work had better be started forthwith. For dialects, in spite of their apparent rigidity and fixity are some of the most unstable things in the world. They are especially bound to change most rapidly in India in the immediate future as a direct and inevitable consequence of the comparatively rapid spread of education and of the increasing ease of inter-communication between the metropolis and the provincial centres. Thus the evidence which is easily available still, may not be available at all ten years hence or perhaps even five years hence.

A beginning of dialect study has already been made in GRIERSON's *Linguistic Survey of India*. But that work was planned and carried out according to [34] the time-honoured routine of departments of the Government of India. While that style may be the best possible for administrative purposes—I am no judge of the mater—it will hardly work, I fear, in the sphere of linguistic research. It is a regrettable fact that you cannot collect linguistic data—of any serious value—for the whole of India, sitting in a comfortable arm-chair in London or even in Delhi or Simla. What is needed is direct and personal field-work. By the time the material collected by the Government agents has passed through the graded sieves of the offices of the *patel* and *mamlatdar* of the village, the Collector of the district and the Commissioner of the province, it becomes a concoction of very doubtful quality and flavour.

Apart from sundry mishaps, there is one radical defect in that method which it will be well to bear in mind. It is well known that the observer who sets out to study a different language or a local dialect often gets data from his informants, only to find them using entirely different forms when they speak among themselves. They consider these latter forms as inferior and are in fact ashamed to give them to an observer. An observer may thus easily record a language entirely unrelated to the one he is looking for. Thus a great deal of tact and circumspection is required in collecting linguistic data of this type.

This has been, I fear, more or less of the nature of a digression. My chief object was to bring home to the rising generation of Indian linguists that this woeful neglect of a subject which we have every reason to call our

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own must not be continued. The rot which has worked as a canker in Indian society, inhibiting our energies and sapping our strength, must stop here.

This is a matter in which I personally feel very strongly, I must say. I do not mind if we study mathematics and science, psychology and social science, economics and medicine, and even our own history from text-books written by foreigners. But we owe it, gentlemen, to ourselves and to our country that we study at least our own mother tongues with zeal, with affection and with devotion, and render a scientific account of them, in all their aspects, in the full light which modern science and ingenuity can throw on their history, producing work which will be a model and guide to the world. If we have any ambition left in us to hold up our heads in civilized society, we must not besmirch the fair name of Pāṇini and other illustrious linguisticians whom our country has produced, by leaving even this field of study and research to foreigners, who never can, no matter what they do, understand all the *finesses* of our language as we could do, if we only tried conscientiously and with singleness of purpose. Just consider for one moment. Do you think the French people or the Germans would be content with a grammar of their languages, written for their use, by a Japanese or an Indian? Such a work would never be anything more than a laughing stock. Whereas we have been all these years studying with complaisance and nonchalance grammars of our Indian languages compiled by foreigners, which are prescribed by our Universities,—naturally, for want of better indigenous books on the subject. India [35] becomes again only a market for raw material. It is up to you, gentlemen, to make good this defect, and work up the material yourself.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not making cheap Swadeshi propaganda. I am not what is called "anti-foreign". Far from it. I admire the European savants. I acknowledge and appreciate fully the splendid work done by European savants in this field of research in a purely disinterested spirit, work done in an exemplary manner for the advancement of knowledge. I appreciate their work and I thank them for it, cordially. But we could do the same and even better perhaps, if we only prepared ourselves for it properly and set to work with determination. Why not? We have done it in the past. Why not now? That work done in the past by our ancestors will, however, not suffice for us for all eternity. We must imbibe and assimilate what has already been done and then from that point make further progress along new lines. In these democratic days it is customary to ask what you yourself are and what you yourself have done or can do and not what your ancestors were and what they had done. The German poet Goethe has expressed that idea admirably as follows: "Was Du von deinen Vätern ererbt hast muss Du erwerben um es zu besitzen". You must acquire for yourself whatever you have inherited from your forbears: then alone can it be said to be yours! Work alone can give us the right to claim as our own our ancestral heritage.

The Scriptures tell us that every man is born burdened with three debts,

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which he must endeavour to discharge during his life-time, to the best of his ability : the debt to the gods, to the ancestors and to the ṛṣis. We are paying our debt to our ancestral gods. We are a very religious nation and we do maintain our gods, I think, with due reverence and grandeur. Witness, for instance, the magnificence of the Tirupati Devasthanam, whose unbounded courtesy and lavish hospitality have made it possible for us to meet and confer in this holy place in great comfort, nay, in luxury. We have also been regularly paying our debt to our ancestors. We are a prolific nation, as the next census returns will undoubtedly prove. It is the debt to the ṛṣis, which is difficult to discharge and which usually remains unpaid. Let us, however, follow the mandate of our scriptures and let us not forget our debt to the ṛṣis, even if it has been neglected in the past. Let us not forget our debt to the Maharṣi Pāṇini, who has made the name of our country resound in the halls of the academies of the world. Let us endeavour by our assiduous and fruitful study to keep bright the fair name of that illustrious Muni of imperishable fame, Pāṇini !

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VĀSAVADATTĀ

Being a translation of an anonymous Sanskrit drama

SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA

attributed to

BHĀSA

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PREFACE

The Svapnavāsavadatta is one of a highly interesting group of Sanskrit dramas discovered a little over a decade ago in the course of a search for Sanskrit manuscripts conducted under the distinguished patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. The authorship of these plays is still under discussion ; but several well-known critics, men whose researches in Sanskrit literature entitle them to speak with authority, agree in attributing them to the celebrated playwright *Bhasa*, one of the earliest of the great Sanskrit dramatists. They have made out a strong *prima facie* case, and, to our mind, the attribution of the plays to Bhasa has not been satisfactorily disproved. Nevertheless we wish to make clear that, in publishing a translation of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* as a drama attributed to Bhasa, we have only tentatively accepted the theory of his authorship.

There are thirteen dramas in this group, several of which deserve, in our estimation, to rank as *chefs-d'œuvre* of Hindu dramatic genius. If they are as old as some critics think, they will undoubtedly prove of high importance for the study, not merely of Hindu drama, but of drama in general. They are rough-hewn and unpolished, with the impress of the embryonic stage of an art, yet one strong and virile ; and they afford us, we believe, a peep into the workshop of the Hindu dramatist. His art we find fully developed in the plays of Kalidasa : they are the finished product. A happy feature of the Travancore plays is their simplicity and vigour. This will be of special appeal to students of the Sanskrit drama. Much of the late drama, in its period of decline, is characterised by a predominance of descriptive and narrative elements, and the laboured and excessively ornate style of that late drama is a disfigurement. "Rhetorical embellishment" is assigned a place proper to itself in the scheme of composition of the Travancore plays : the main appeal is direct and vitally human. Further, the plays shed light incidentally on much-discussed literary-historical problems, such as the inter-relation of the Hindu drama and the Hindu epic ; but these are questions of a technical character, and must not detain us here.

The interest of the plays, whatever be their significance in the eyes of the philologist, extends beyond the narrow circle of savants. A play like the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, it may be said without fear of contradiction, is the glorious heritage of the whole civilised world. The eternal lesson of the reward of devotion and love, taught by our author in simple language and with penetrating directness, is one of universal application. All that is best in human nature here finds noble expression. This estimate of the merits of the drama is vindicated by the feelings of genuine interest which it has evoked among the *literati* of Europe. Independent translations have already appeared in German, French and Italian.

The plot of this love drama is derived, like that of so many other Hindu dramas, from the singularly rich storehouse of Hindu legendary lore. The romance of *Udayana* and *Vāsavadattā* was at one time as popular a theme of fiction in India as those of Tristan and Isolde, Romeo and Juliet, and Paolo and Francesca were in the West. The touching and romantic episodes in their eventful life-history have formed the warp and woof of many an alluring tapestry of love-romance, deftly woven. We may mention the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, another of the dramas belonging to the group. It is based on an episode gleaned from the

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same legendary cycle, and deserves to be read along with the play that we have translated. Of all the dramas written round this theme, however, the *Svapnavāsavadatta* stands out as easily the best. The picture painted in it in broad outline is as different from the scenes of petty intrigue, gallant adventure, and shallow sentimentality of plays like the *Priyadarsika* and *Ratnavali* as the grand mural frescoes of Ajanta are from the miniature paintings of a later age.

Incorporated in an old collection of stories that goes by the name of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* ("The Ocean of the Streams of Story") is a metrical version of the romance of Udayana and Vasavadatta. In the appendix will be found Mr. C. H. TAWNEY'S translation, abridged, with slight alterations. It was this legend, or perhaps an older version of it, that in all likelihood suggested his plot to our dramatist. The differences between the narrative and the dramatic versions are of varying importance. We will single out for comment here one that we think reveals the genius of the dramatist more clearly than any other. It will be seen that in the narrative Udayana is allowed to suspect that the conflagration in which Vasavadatta is supposed to have perished is but a stratagem of the resourceful Yaugandharayana, leaving room for the hope that Vasavadatta may in the fulness of time be restored. The dramatist, rightly feeling that this weakened the plot, eliminates all possibility of such an inference. In the drama the minister is supposed by the king to have perished along with the heroine. A comparison of other details of the narrative and dramatic versions cannot but show the felicitous utilization by the dramatist of all the effective *motifs* of the original .The plastic modelling of the prosaic incidents of the original legend testifies to the great dramatic talent of the author. A studied unity of purpose runs through the drama, binding the component parts closely together. The aim of the dramatist is to portray on the one hand the complete self-abnegation of the noble queen, who suffers martyrdom for the sake of her lord with cheerful resignation, and on the other hand to depict her husband as at heart true to his love, while unwillingly submitting to the exigencies of the life of a king. The burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast, unfaltering, undying Love, for which no sacrifice is too great. The action is kept free from all trace of melodramatic surprise : the movement is smooth, measured, and characterized by classic dignity.

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DRAMATIC PERSONÆ

THE KING. UDAYANA, king of Vatsa.

YAUGANDHARAYANA, chief minister of Udayana, appearing disguised as a wandering mendicant.

THE JESTER. VASANTAKA, the confidant of Udayana.

A STUDENT OF THEOLOGY.

TWO GUARDS, one of whom is called SAMBHASHAKA.

VASAVADATTA, daughter of Pradyota Mahasena king of Avanti, and wife of Udayana, appearing disguised as AVANTIKA.

PADMAVATI, sister of Darsaka king of Magadha.

A HERMIT-WOMAN.

PADMINIKA
MADHUKARIKA } gentlewomen attending on Padmavati.

A DOOR-KEEPER by name VIJAYA.

THE NURSE OF VASAVADATTA by name VASUNDHARA.

THE NURSE OF PADMAVATI.

Stage-director (appearing in the Prelude), hermits, chamberlains, and palace attendants.

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PRELUDE

The invocation being ended, enter the stage-director

THE STAGE-DIRECTOR

"*May*[2] *the arms of Baladeva protect thee,—the arms which are of the colour of the new-risen moon, languid from the effects of wine, resplendent with manifest beauty, thrilled with the joy of Spring!* 1

I beg to inform the honourable gentlemen as follows :—Ah! How now! Even as I am on the point of making the announcement, it seems to me I hear a noise. Well, I'll see.

Behind the scenes

Make way, make way, sirs. Make way!

THE STAGE-DIRECTOR

Well, now I understand.

The devoted servants of the king of Magadha[2], *who are escorting the princess, are turning away unceremoniously all the people of the hermitage.*

Exit

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ACT THE FIRST

TWO GUARDS

Entering

Make way, make way, sirs. Make way !

Enter Yaugandharayana in the garb of a wandering mendicant, and Vasavadatta, disguised as Avantika

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Listening

What, even here people are being turned away ! Why—

molest the serene and venerable folks that dwell in the sacred grove, clad in bark of trees and content with fruits of the forest ? Oh, who is this haughty, insolent fellow, blinded by fickle fortune, who by issuing a command profanes this tranquil grove of penance. 3

VASAVADATTA

Sir, who is this that turns us away ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

My lady, he is one who turns himself away from duty.

VASAVADATTA

Sir, I did not mean that. But—am I one that may be ordered to make way ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Deities unrecognized are even thus spurned my lady.

VASAVADATTA

Sir, the fatigue causes not such pain as this humiliation.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

These things[3] have been enjoyed and discarded by my lady. Be not anxious on that account. For—

once thou hast had likewise all thy heart's desires, the victory of thy lord will restore to thee all that is worthy of praise. Like the array of the spokes of a wheel does the cycle of worldly fortune revolve with the course of time ! 4

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THE TWO GUARDS

Make way, sirs, make way!

Enter the chamberlain

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Sambhashaka, indeed, indeed you must not turn the people away here! Look!

Bring not the name of the king in disrepute; for one may not deal harshly with those that dwell in a hermitage. In order to be free from the humiliations of the city do these magnanimous souls retreat to the forest and dwell there. 5

BOTH [GUARDS]

So be it, sir.

[Guards] retire

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Ah, his appearance indicates discrimination. My child, do let us approach him.

VASAVADATTA

So be it, sir.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Approaching [chamberlain]

Oh, why are the people being turned away?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

– O ascetic!

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

Ascetic is an excellent title indeed. But, being unfamiliar, it does not fasten itself on my mind.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Listen, sirs. This is Padmavati, the sister[4] of our great king, who has received from the elders[5] the name Darsaka. After having visited the queen-mother Mahadevi, who has made this hermitage her home, the princess is to proceed, with her permission, to Rajagriha[6]. That is how she takes pleasure in spending the day here in this hermitage. You may nevertheless—

fetch from the forest at your pleasure holy water, faggots, flowers, and grasses, which are the riches of the hermits. The law is cherished by the

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princess. Never would she offend against the law of the hermits. This is a vow taken by her family. 6

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

So ! This is the Magadha princess Padmavati, of whom the soothsayers Pushpabhadraka and others have predicted that she would be the consort of my master. Hence—

hatred and esteem spring alike out of our desires; because out of my fervent desire to see her wedded to my lord springs up in me a feeling of great devotion towards her.[7] 7

VASAVADATTA

To herself

After hearing that she is a princess I feel even a sisterly affection towards her.

Enter Padmavati, accompanied by her retinue and a maid

THE MAID

Come, princess, come. Enter this hermitage.

A hermit-woman is discovered seated

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Welcome, princess !

VASAVADATTA

To herself

This is the princess. Her looks beseem well her noble birth.

PADMAVATI

Madam, I salute you.

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Long life to thee ! Come in, child, come in. A hermitage is indeed the home of the wayfarer.

PADMAVATI

Enough, madam, enough. I feel reassured. I am beholden unto you for these courteous words.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Not only her appearance but her voice also is sweet indeed.

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THE HERMIT-WOMAN

[To the maid]

Dear child, has no king proposed marriage to this sister of our gracious king?

THE MAID

Yes, there is king Pradyota of Ujjayini[8]. He sends ambassadors on behalf of his son.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Well, well! She has now become ours[9].

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Her noble form well deserves this honour. Both these are highly exalted royal families. So we have heard.

PADMAVATI

Sir, did you come across any ascetics disposed to favour us?—Invite here all the hermits, with a view to giving them what they want, and ask, "Does anybody here want anything?"

THE CHAMBERLAIN

As you wish, my lady. O ascetics, all ye that inhabit this sacred grove! Listen, sirs, listen. Her ladyship the princess of Magadha, who is here, with the confidence engendered by your confidence, invites you all that she may bestow largess as a religious duty.

Who wants a pitcher? Who seeks a garment? Does any one who has duly completed his investiture need anything for presenting to his preceptor? The princess, who is a friend to the pious, asks as a personal favour that whoever desires anything may speak out. What may we give to-day, and to whom? 8

YAUGANDHARAYANA

[To himself]

Ah, I see an expedient. (Aloud.) Sir, I would ask a favour.

PADMAVATI

Happily my visit to the hermits' grove has borne fruit!

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

All the ascetics in this hermitage are well contented. This must needs be some stranger.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Oh, what may we do?

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YAUGANDHARAYANA

This is my sister. Her husband has gone abroad. I would therefore wish her ladyship to look after her for some time. For—

I seek not riches, nor raiment, nor pleasure; not for making a living do I don the hermit's robes.—This prudent young woman knows well the path of duty, and will therefore be able to guard the virtue of my sister. 9

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Humph! The noble Yaugandharayana wishes to leave me here. So be it. He will not act rashly.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

His expectation soars very high indeed, my lady. How can we consent? For—

it is easy to part with wealth, with life, with ascetic power. Everything else is easy to do, but difficult the guarding of a deposit. 10

PADMAVATI

Having first proclaimed, "Does anyone want anything?" it is improper now to hesitate. Pray do as he says, sir.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

These words are worthy of you, my lady.

THE MAID

Long life to the princess, who thus makes good her word!

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Long life to thee, my child!

THE CHAMBERLAIN

So be it, my lady. (He approaches Yaugandharayana.) Oh, her ladyship accepts the guardianship of your honour's sister.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

I am beholden to her ladyship. Approach her ladyship, child.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

What is to be done? Here I go, unlucky I!

PADMAVATI

Well, well. She has now become ours[10].

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Judging by her looks I should say she also is a princess.

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THE MAID

Well said, madam. I too think that she has enjoyed prosperity.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

Ah, this relieves me of half of my burden. It turns out just as it was planned with the ministers. And now, when my lord has been reinstalled, her ladyship the princess of Magadha will be my surety for the conduct of her ladyship[11]. For—

Padmavati will be wedded to the king: so it is predicted by those that first foretold our [present] calamity. Relying on their words have I taken this step; for the well-considered words of the seers are never transgressed by Fate. 11

Enter a student of theology

THE STUDENT

Looking upward

It is midday. I am very tired. Where shall I rest now? (He walks about.) Yes, I know. This must be a hermitage all around. Then—

here serenely the fawns are grazing unperturbed, feeling sure of their ground; the trees, all tenderly nurtured, have their branches laden with fruits and flowers; there also abound these splendid herds of tawny kine; and nowhere a sign of soil that is tilled. Then again this smoke that rises aloft from many places. This is doubtlessly a hermits' grove. 12

I'll walk in. (He enters.) Hallow, here is a person[12] whose presence is not in keeping with a hermitage. (He looks in another direction.) But here are some hermits also. There can be no harm in joining them.—Oh, but the woman-folk!

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Walk in freely, sir, freely. The hermitage is common to all.

VASAVADATTA

Humph!

PADMAVATI

To herself

Ah, this lady shuns the sight of strangers. Well, it will not be difficult to look after my charge.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Sir, we were here before you. Pray accept the hospitality due to a guest.

THE STUDENT

Sipping water

Enough, enough! The fatigue has passed.

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YAUGANDHARAYANA

Oh, where are you from? Whither going? Which is your home?

THE STUDENT

Oh, listen. I am from Rajagriha. With a view to qualifying myself in the knowledge of the Vedas I have been sojourning in Lavanaka, a village in the country of the Vatsas[13].

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Ah, Lavanaka! The utterance of the name Lavanaka reopens old sores.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

And have you finished your studies?

THE STUDENT

No, not yet.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

If you have not finished your studies, why have you returned?

THE STUDENT

There occurred in that place a very terrible catastrophe.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

And how?

THE STUDENT

In that village there dwelt a king by name Udayana.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

We have heard of his honour Udayana. What of him?

THE STUDENT

Deeply did he love his wife, by name Vasavadatta, daughter of Avanti's king.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Assuredly. Then? Then?

THE STUDENT

Then, once while the king was away hunting, she perished in a village fire.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

It is false. It is false. Alas, I live, unlucky I!

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Then? Then?

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THE STUDENT

Then, a minister by name Yaugandharayana, who sought to rescue her, fell in the same fire.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Did he really ! Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then the king, having heard the news on his return, was so grieved at the loss of them both, that he sought to end his life by throwing himself in that very fire. The ministers had great difficulty in holding him back.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

I know, I know my noble lord's sympathy with me.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then the king, pressing to his heart the charred remains of the ornaments that had adorned her body, fell into a swoon.

ALL

Alas !

VASAVADATTA

To herself

The noble Yaugandharayana is now satisfied I hope !

THE MAID

Princess, this lady is crying forsooth.

PADMAVATI

She must have a sympathetic nature.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To be sure, to be sure. My sister is sympathetic by nature. Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then, by degrees he regained consciousness.

PADMAVATI

To herself

Happily he lives ! When I heard that he had swooned, there was a void in my heart.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Then ? Then ?

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THE STUDENT

Then the king—his body red with dust with rolling on the ground—got up all of a sudden and lamented incoherently : "Oh Vasavadatta !— O princess of Avanti !—O darling !—O beloved pupil !" In short :

Now his sorrow is not to be compared to that of the chakravaka[14] ; nor of any others parted from their mates. Blessed is the woman so cherished by her lord. Though consumed by fire, she endures in life, through the love of her husband. 13

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Oh, but did not some minister seek to console him ?

THE STUDENT

Oh, yes. The minister Rumanvat tried his utmost to console his honour. For he—

like the king, abstains from food ; a constant flow of tears has worn his cheek hollow ; sorrowing with his master he even neglects his toilet ; night and day he waits on the king with diligence. Should the king perchance depart this life, he too would surely die ! 14

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Happily my noble lord is in good hands.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

Oh, what a burden Rumanvat has to bear !

The burden I bear admits of rest ; but he has to toil unceasingly. For on him does all depend on whom the king himself depends. 15

(Aloud.) And, sir, has the king been now consoled ?

THE STUDENT

That I know not. The ministers departed, with great difficulty removing from the village the king, who lamented saying : "Here I laughed with her !—Here I conversed with her !—Here we passed the night !—Here we had a quarrel !—Here we slept !"—and so forth. With the departure of the king the village lost all its charm, like the sky when the moon and the stars have set. And so I came away too.

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Verily he must be a virtuous king, since even this stranger praises him so.

THE MAID

Princess, I wonder, will he give his hand to another ?

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PADMAVATI

To herself

That is just what my own heart seeks to know.

THE STUDENT

I would take leave of you. Pray let us go.

BOTH

Go then, sir, and may success wait upon you !

THE STUDENT

Amen !

Exit [student]

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Well, I would also depart with the leave of her ladyship.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

He would depart with the permission of your ladyship.

PADMAVATI

Your honour's sister will be lonely in the absence of your honour.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Being confided to the care of good persons she will not feel lonely. (He looks at the chamberlain.) Pray let us go.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Go then, sir, and may we meet again !

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Amen !

Exit [Yaugandharayana]

THE CHAMBERLAIN

It is now time to retire.

PADMAVATI

Madam, I salute you.

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Child, mayest thou find a husband worthy of thee !

VASAVADATTA

Madam, I salute you.

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Mayest thou also be united with thy husband ere long !

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VASAVADATTA

I am beholden to you.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Come along then. This way, this way, my lady. Now—

have the birds retired to their nests ; the hermits have entered the waters of the pools ; the lighted fires shine forth brightly ; the smoke makes its way through the hermits' grove. And lo ! descended down from high, even yonder Sun, with rays drawn in, turns back his car and slowly alights on the peak of the Western Mount ! 16

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE SECOND

INTERLUDE

Enter a maid

THE MAID

Kunjarika, Kunjarika ! Where, where is the princess Padmavati ? What does thou say : " Here is the princess playing ball near the jasmin bower " ?—Then I'll approach the princess.

(She walks about and looks around her.)

Ah, here comes the princess herself playing ball. Her earpendents are swinging in the air. Her face, which wears the beauty of fatigue, is bespangled with beads of perspiration excited by the exercise. I'll approach her.

Exit

Enter Padmavati, playing ball, accompanied by her retinue, and Vasavadatta.

VASAVADATTA

Here is thy ball, my dear.

PADMAVATI

That will suffice now, madam.

VASAVADATTA

This long game of ball play has made thy hands so red that they seem not to belong to thee at all, my dear.[15]

THE MAID

Play on, princess, play on. Make the most of this charming period of maidenhood.

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PADMAVATI

Madam, why dost thou regard me as though thou wouldst make fun of me?

VASAVADATTA

Not at all, not at all, my dear. To-day thou art looking unusually beautiful. And I am looking at thy beautiful face from every side as it were.[16]

PADMAVATI

Away with thee! Pray do not make fun of me.

VASAVADATTA

I shall be mute, O would-be bride of Mahasena's son!

PADMAVATI

And who may this Mahasena be?

VASAVADATTA

There is a king Pradyota of Ujjayini who, on account of the vast size of his army, is known as Mahasena.[17]

THE MAID

The princess does not desire alliance with that king.

VASAVADATTA

Whom would she marry then?

THE MAID

There is a king of Vatsa by name Udayana. The princess is enamoured of his virtues.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

She wants my noble lord for her husband! (Aloud) For what reason?

THE MAID

Because he is so sympathetic.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

I know, I know. I too was infatuated in the same way.

THE MAID

Princess, if the king should be ugly?—

VASAVADATTA

No, no. Indeed he is beautiful.

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PADMAVATI

How dost thou know, madam?

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Partiality to my noble lord has made me overstep the bounds of propriety. What shall I do now? Yes, I have it. (Aloud) The people of Ujjayini say so, my dear.

PADMAVATI

That is so. Indeed it would not be difficult to see him in Ujjayini. And beauty, I suppose, captivates the mind of all alike.

THE NURSE

Entering

Victory unto the princess! Princess, thou art betrothed—

VASAVADATTA

To whom, madam?

THE NURSE

To Udayana, king of Vatsa.

VASAVADATTA

Is it well with the king?

THE NURSE

The king arrived here quite well, and has accepted the hand of the princess.

VASAVADATTA

What an outrage!

THE NURSE

Where is the outrage?

VASAVADATTA

I suppose it is nothing that after having grieved in that manner he should now turn indifferent!

THE NURSE

Madam, sacred precepts take a pre-eminent place in the hearts of great men, and they are therefore easily consoled.

VASAVADATTA

Madam, did he ask for her hand of himself?

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THE NURSE

No, no. He came here for some other reason. And our king, finding in him a union of nobility, learning, youth and beauty, himself offered her hand.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

So! Then my noble lord is not to blame.[18]

ANOTHER MAID

Entering

Make haste, madam, make haste. Our queen says: "To-day the stars are propitious, and the ceremony of tying the nuptial knot shall take place this very day."

VASAVADATTA

To herself

The more they hasten, the more densely does gloom encircle my heart.

THE NURSE

Come, princess, come.

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE THIRD

Enter Vasavadatta meditating

VASAVADATTA

Leaving Padmavati behind in the inner court in the bustle of the nuptial celebration, I have sought this pleasure garden in order to dispel the sorrow laid upon me by Fate. (She walks about.) Oh, what an outrage! Even my noble lord now belongs to another. I will seat myself (She sits down.) Blessed is the female chakravaka[19]! Parted from her mate she does not live. But I do not die. I live on just in the hope of seeing once again my noble lord, unlucky I!

Enter a maid carrying flowers

THE MAID

Where can madam Avantika have gone?

(She walks about and looks around her.)

Oh, there she is, seated on the stone bench under the priyangu creeper. Dressed in an unadorned but graceful garment, she sits there in meditation absorbed, resembling the crescent moon obscured by mist. I'll

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draw near to her. (She approaches her.) Madam Avantika, I have been looking for thee ever such a long time.

VASAVADATTA

And why?

THE MAID

Our queen says: "Madam comes of a noble family; she is affectionate and skilful. Let her therefore make this wedding wreath."

VASAVADATTA

And for whom am I to make it?

THE MAID

For our princess.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Ah me, this too has fallen to my share! Oh, verily the gods are pitiless.

THE MAID

Madam, pray let not anything else occupy thy thoughts now. Here is the bridegroom having a bath in the mosaic room. So do make the wreath quickly, madam.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

I cannot think of anything else. (Aloud) Hast thou seen the bridegroom, my dear?

THE MAID

O yes. I saw him, led to do so by my affection for the princess and my own curiosity.

VASAVADATTA

And what is the bridegroom like?

THE MAID

Madam, I tell thee, never have I seen his like before.

VASAVADATTA

Tell me, tell me, my dear, is he handsome?

THE MAID

He is god Kama[20] incarnate, without the bow and arrow.

VASAVADATTA

Let that suffice.

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THE MAID

Why dost thou stop me?

VASAVADATTA

It is improper to listen to the praise of a stranger.

THE MAID

Then hurry on with the wreath, please, madam.

VASAVADATTA

Give them here. (To herself) Here am I making the wreath, unlucky I! (She discards some flowers, examines others.) What herb is this?

THE MAID

It is called 'Ward-off-widowhood.'

VASAVADATTA

To herself

This I shall use in plenty, both for myself and for Padmavati. (Aloud) What herb is this?

THE MAID

It is called 'Crush-thy-rival'.

VASAVADATTA

This must not be used.

THE MAID

Why not?

VASAVADATTA

His wife is dead. Thus it is useless.

ANOTHER MAID

Entering

Make haste, madam, make haste. Here is the bridegroom being conducted by the matrons to the inner court.

VASAVADATTA

Oh, I say, take this.

THE MAID

Good. I'll go then, madam.

Both [maids] retire

VASAVADATTA

She is gone. Oh, what an outrage! Even my noble lord now belongs to another. Ah! I shall go to bed and dispel my sorrow—if I am able to get sleep.

Exit

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ACT THE FOURTH

INTERLUDE

Enter the jester

THE JESTER

Gleefully

Oh, fortunately have I seen this joyful occasion of the happy marriage of his honour the king of Vatsa! Oh, who would have known that after being submerged in such a whirlpool of misfortune we should have come to the surface again? Now we live in palaces, bathe in the wells of the inner apartments, and eat dainty, delicious confections. I am enjoying thus a sojourn in Paradise, but for the company of celestial nymphs. There is just one great drawback. I cannot digest my food properly. I get no sleep [even] on a bed furnished with luxurious coverlets. I notice [signs of] gout everywhere. Oh, there is no happiness [in life] devoid of good health and good cheer!

Enter a maid

THE MAID

Where can the noble Vasantaka have gone? (She walks about.) Oh, here is the noble Vasantaka. (She approaches him.) Noble Vasantaka, I have been looking for thee ever such a long time.

THE JESTER

Observing her

Why hast thou been looking for me, good girl?

THE MAID

Our queen asks whether the son-in-law has bathed.

THE JESTER

Why does she want to know?

THE MAID

What else for, but that flowers and unguent may be brought to him?

THE JESTER

His honour has bathed. Thou mayest bring anything except foodstuffs.

THE MAID

Why except foodstuffs?

THE JESTER

Unlucky that I am, my inside is going round and round like the eyes of the cuckoo!

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THE MAID

Thus mayest thou be!

THE JESTER

Be gone, my lady. I for my part will join his honour.

Both retire

Enter Padmavati, accompanied by her retinue, and Vasavadatta

THE MAID

What brings the princess to the pleasure garden?

PADMAVATI

I came to see whether the sephalika bushes have blossomed or not, my dear.

THE MAID

They have indeed blossomed, princess. They are laden with flowers that look like pendents of pearls interspersed with coral.

PADMAVATI

If that be so, my dear, why delay?

THE MAID

Then let the princess sit down for a while on this stone bench, and I for my part shall gather flowers.

PADMAVATI

Shall we sit here, madam?

VASAVADATTA

So be it.

Both sit down

THE MAID

Having collected flowers

Behold, princess, behold. My joined hands are filled with sephalika blossoms that shine like crystals of arsenic.

PADMAVATI

Observing them

Oh, what a variety of tints these flowers have! Behold, madam, behold.

VASAVADATTA

Oh, what lovely flowers!

THE MAID

Princess, should I gather more?

PADMAVATI

No, my dear, gather not any more,

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VASAVADATTA

Why dost thou stop her, my dear?

PADMAVATI

Because when my noble lord comes here and sees this abundant wealth of flowers, I shall be honoured.

VASAVADATTA

Dost thou love thy husband, my dear?

PADMAVATI

I know not, madam, but when he is away from my side I feel so lonely.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Hard indeed is the lot I suffer when even she speaks thus!

THE MAID

In a dignified way the princess has said: "I love my husband."

PADMAVATI

There is one thing about which I feel some doubt.

VASAVADATTA

What is it? What is it?

PADMAVATI

Whether my noble lord was the same to madam Vasavadatta as to me.

VASAVADATTA

And yet more!

PADMAVATI

How dost thou know?

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Ah! Partiality to my noble lord has made me overstep the bounds of propriety. This is what I shall say now. (Aloud.) Had her love been less, she would not have forsaken her own people.

PADMAVATI

That is so.

THE MAID

Princess, tell thy husband nicely that thou wouldst also learn to play the lute.

PADMAVATI

I did say that to my noble lord,

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VASAVADATTA

Then what did he say?

PADMAVATI

He said nothing. He heaved a deep sigh and kept still.

VASAVADATTA

What dost thou surmise from that?

PADMAVATI

I surmise that he recalled the virtues of madam Vasavadatta, and only out of delicacy he restrained the tears in my presence.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Blessed am I if that be true!

Enter the king and the jester

THE JESTER

Hi! Hi! How lovely the pleasure garden looks with the bandhujiva[21] blossoms lying thinly scattered where they have fallen in the course of plucking! This way, your honour.

THE KING

Here I come, friend Vasantaka, here I come.

When I went to Ujjayini and saw the daughter of Avanti's king, I was thrown into an indescribable state of mind, and then did Kama discharge at me unchecked all his five arrows. The barbs of these still lodge in my heart. And here have I been struck again. When Kama has but arrows five, how could this sixth one be discharged? 1

THE JESTER

Where can her ladyship Padmavati have gone? Has she gone to the arbour of creepers; or to the stone bench called the 'Forehead-mark of the Hill,' which being strewn with asana blossoms appears to be covered with a tiger's skin; or to the sapta-chhada[22] grove of very pungent odour; or to the pavilion daru-parvataka adorned with frescoes of birds and beasts? (He gazes upward.) Hi! Hi! See that flight of cranes advancing steadily along the clear autumnal sky. Does it not look like the outstretched, beautiful arm of Baladeva?

THE KING

I see it, friend.

Now extended straight, now broken in parts; now rising aloft, now sinking low; in its revolutions it is twisted like the figure of the Great Bear,

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Like a boundary line it divides in twain the sky, which is spotless like the belly of a serpent in the act of shedding its skin. 2

THE MAID

Look, princess, look. See this flight of cranes advancing steadily, white and lovely like a garland of kokanada lotuses. Oh, here is my lord!

PADMAVATI

Humph! My noble lord! Madam, for thy sake I shall avoid meeting my noble lord. So let us enter this jasmin bower.

VASAVADATTA

So be it.

They act accordingly

THE JESTER

Her ladyship Padmavati must have come here and gone away.

THE KING

How does your honour know?

THE JESTER

Your honour may witness these sephalika bushes from which the flowers have been plucked.

THE KING

O Vasantaka, what a variety of tints these flowers have!

VASAVADATTA

To herself

The utterance of the name Vasantaka takes me back to Ujjayini once more.

THE KING

Vasantaka, let us sit down on this stone here and wait for Padmavati.

THE JESTER

Oh, so be it. (He sits down and rises up again.) Hi! Hi! The heat of his autumn sun is unbearable! Let us enter this jasmin bower.

THE KING

Very well. Lead the way.

THE JESTER

So be it.

Both walk about

PADMAVATI

The noble Vasantaka is about to spoil everything. What shall we do now?

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THE MAID

Princess, I can keep my lord away by shaking this pendent creeper in which the bees are lurking.

PADMAVATI

Do so then.

The maid acts accordingly

THE JESTER

Help, help ! Keep back, your honour, keep back.

THE KING

Why ?

THE JESTER

I am attacked by these bastard bees.

THE KING

Nay, say not so. We must refrain from frightening the bees. Look !

Our footsteps will annoy the melodiously humming bees intoxicated with honey and closely embraced by their passion-smitten mates, and like ourselves they too will be parted from their sweethearts. 3

Let us therefore seat ourselves just here.

THE JESTER

So be it.

Both sit down

PADMAVATI

Happily my noble lord has seated himself.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Happily my noble lord is enjoying good health.

THE MAID

Princess, we have in truth been made prisoners.—Princess, madam's eyes are filled with tears forsooth.

VASAVADATTA

The pollen of kasa[23] blossoms set wantonly flying by these bees has made my eyes water.

PADMAVATI

Even so.

THE JESTER

Oh, this pleasure garden is deserted. I want to ask your honour something. May I ?

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THE KING

At your pleasure.

THE JESTER

Whom do you love : her ladyship Vasavadatta of yore, or Padmavati of the present time ?

THE KING

Why would you place me now in such an extremely awkward predicament ?

PADMAVATI

O dear ! My noble lord is in such predicament now !

VASAVADATTA

To herself

And I too, unlucky I !

THE JESTER

Tell me without reserve, without reserve. One is dead ; the other is nowhere near.

THE KING

No, my friend. I shall not say. You are talkative.

PADMAVATI

That speaks volumes, my noble lord.

THE JESTER

Oh, I swear to you truthfully. I shall never repeat it to anyone. Here I bite my tongue.

PADMAVATI[24]

Ah, what importunity ! That does not suffice to make him understand the sentiments of my noble lord !

THE KING[24]

No, friend, I dare not tell you.

THE JESTER

You will not tell me ? If you do not, you shall not stir a step from this stone bench. I hold your honour prisoner.

THE KING

What, by force ?

THE JESTER

Yes, by force.

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THE KING

Well, then, we shall see.

THE JESTER

Forgive me, forgive me. In the name of our friendship I conjure thee to tell me the truth.

THE KING

What is to be done? Listen.

Even though by reason of her beauty, virtue and sweetness I hold Padmavati in high regard, she has no hold on my heart, which is firmly attached to Vasavadatta. 4

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Well, well. That has given me the recompense for this suffering. Ah! Even this disguise has many merits!

THE MAID

Princess, really my lord lacks all courtesy.

PADMAVATI

Nay, not at all, my dear. Indeed my noble lord has shown great courtesy in remembering even now the merits of madam Vasavadatta.

VASAVADATTA

Dear child, thy words are worthy of thy noble birth.

THE KING

I have spoken. It is now your honour's turn to say whom you like: Vasavadatta of yore, or Padmavati of the present time.

PADMAVATI

Now my noble lord is playing Vasantaka's part.

THE JESTER

No use of idle talk. Both the ladies I hold in high esteem.

THE KING

Fool, after having thus forcibly heard me, dost thou refuse to speak now?

THE JESTER

What, me too, by force?

THE KING

Yes, by force.

THE JESTER

Then you will never hear it.

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THE KING

Forgive me, O *great* Brahman, forgive me. Speak of your own sweet will, of your own sweet will.

THE JESTER

Then listen, your honour. I held her ladyship Vasavadatta in great regard. But her ladyship Padmavati is young and beautiful, without anger and without conceit, affable and courteous. She has this other great virtue. Delicacies in hand, she comes forward saying: "Where can the noble Vasantaka have gone?"

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Very well, Vasantaka, very well. Now just remember this.

THE KING

Very well, Vasantaka, very well. I shall relate all this to queen Vasavadatta.

THE JESTER

Alas! Vasavadatta! Where is Vasavadatta? Vasavadatta is long dead!

THE KING

Dejectedly

So it is! Vasavadatta is no more!

With that jest of yours didst thou bewilder my mind, and by force of old habit did these words escape me. 5

PADMAVATI

Truly a charming romance has been spoiled by the wretch.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Well, well. I feel reassured. Ah! How sweet to hear unobserved such words!

THE JESTER

Courage, your honour, courage! Fate is inexorable. It is just so!

THE KING

Friend, you understand not my condition. For—

it is hard to forget a deep-rooted passion; memory constantly revives one's sorrow. It is the way of life that only after paying its tribute of tears does the mind, redeemed, regain tranquillity. 6

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THE JESTER

[To himself]

His honour's face is wet with tears. I'll fetch water for washing his face.

Exit [jester]

PADMAVATI

Madam, the face of my noble lord is hidden behind a screen of tears. Let us slip away meanwhile.

VASAVADATTA

So be it. Or rather, stay thou here. It would be wrong for thee to go away leaving thy husband in a wistful mood. I shall go alone.

THE MAID

What madam says is right. Let the princess go herself.

PADMAVATI

Should I really go?

VASAVADATTA

Yes, go, my dear.

Exit [Vasavadatta]

THE JESTER

Entering with a lotus leaf filled with water

Here is my lady Padmavati!

PADMAVATI

Vasantaka, what is this?

THE JESTER

This is—that! That is—this!

PADMAVATI

Speak, speak, sir. Speak.

THE JESTER

My lady, the pollen of kasa[23] flowers wafted by the breeze got into the eyes of his honour, and his face is bathed in tears. Take him this water for washing his face, my lady.

PADMAVATI

[To herself]

Ah, the chivalrous master has a chivalrous man! (She approaches the king.) Victory to my noble lord! Here is water for washing the face.

THE KING

Ah, Padmavati! (Aside.) Vasantaka, what is this?

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THE JESTER

Whispering in his ear

It is like this—

THE KING

Good, Vasantaka, good. (Sipping water.) Padmavati, be seated.

PADMAVATI

As my noble lord commands. (She sits down.)

THE KING

Padmavati,—

O beauty, the pollen of kasa[23] *flowers, white as the autumnal moon, tossed about by the winds, is the cause of the tears that cover my face.* 7

To himself

This young girl is newly wedded. Should she learn the truth, she will be distressed. She is no doubt a courageous little soul; but a woman is by nature easily alarmed. 8

THE JESTER

Your honour, it behoves that this afternoon his honour the king of Magadha should receive his friends, giving you the place of honour. And courtesy reciprocated with courtesy engenders affection. So let your honour arise.

THE KING

Exactly. A prime idea! (He rises.)

It is easy to find among people those that possess great virtue and constantly show courtesy; but it is difficult to find such as appreciate these qualities duly. 9

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE FIFTH

INTERLUDE

Enter Padminika

PADMINIKA

Madhukarika, Madhukarika! Come here quick.

MADHUKARIKA

Entering

Here I am, my dear. What may I do?

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PADMINIKA

Dost thou not know, my dear, that princess Padmavati is suffering from headache?

MADHUKARIKA

Ah me!

PADMINIKA

Go quick, my dear, and call madam Avantika. Tell her merely that the princess is suffering from headache, and she will come of her own accord.

MADHUKARIKA

And what will she do, my dear?

PADMINIKA

Why, by telling pretty stories, she relieves the headache of the princess.

MADHUKARIKA

That is right. Where has the bed of the princess been arranged?

PADMINIKA

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread. Go thou on. I for my part shall look for the noble Vasantaka and through him send word to my lord.

MADHUKARIKA

So be it.

Exit [Madhukarika]

PADMINIKA

Now where shall I find the noble Vasantaka?

Enter the jester

THE JESTER

In the heart of his honour the Vatsa king, distracted by separation from the queen, the fire of love, now fanned, as it were, by his marriage with Padmavati, burns brighter than ever to-day on the occasion of these extremely joyful nuptial celebrations. (He beholds Padminika.) Hallo Padminika! What is the news, Padminika?

PADMINIKA

Why, noble Vasantaka, dost thou not know that princess Padmavati is suffering from headache?

THE JESTER

No, really I knew it not, lady.

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PADMINIKA

Well, now inform my lord of it. I for my part will in the meantime hurry up with the ointment for her head.

THE JESTER

Where has the bed of Padmavati been arranged?

PADMINIKA

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread.

THE JESTER

Go along then, lady. Meanwhile I for my part will inform his honour.

Both retire

Enter the king

THE KING

As now again in course of time I take up the burden of wedded life, my thoughts revert to the virtuous [Vasavadatta], worthy daughter of Avanti's king, whose tender frame was burnt in the flames at Lavanaka like a lotus creeper withered by frost. 1

THE JESTER

Entering

Come quick, your honour, come quick.

THE KING

Why?

THE JESTER

Her ladyship Padmavati is suffering from headache.

THE KING

Who told you so?

THE JESTER

Padminika told me.

THE KING

O alas!

My marriage with a wife endowed with virtues and beauty of form had softened somewhat my grief to-day, though the former wound still rankles in my heart.—Having tasted once the bitter cup of misery, I [am led to] anticipate a like fate for Padmavati also.[25] 2

Well, where is Padmavati?

THE JESTER

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread.

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THE KING

Then show me the way there.

THE JESTER

Come, come, your honour. (Both walk about.) This is the Ocean Pavilion. Enter, your honour.

THE KING

You go in first.

THE JESTER

Oh, so be it. (He enters.) O help ! Stand back, your honour, stand back.

THE KING

Why ?

THE JESTER

The light of the lamp reveals the form of this cobra here wriggling along the ground.

THE KING

Enters and looks on smiling

Oh, this is what a dolt believes to be a cobra.

Fool, for a cobra didst thou mistake a tremulous wreath dropped from the entrance arch and lying outstretched on the ground below. It is that which, swayed by the gentle evening breeze, but faintly makes the movements of a serpent. 3

THE JESTER

Looking attentively

What your honour says is right. This is indeed not a cobra. (He enters and looks around himself.) Her ladyship Padmavati must have come here and gone away.

THE KING

Friend, she could not have come here.

THE JESTER

How does your honour know ?

THE KING

What is there to know ? Look

The bed is unruffled, even as when spread ; undisturbed is the quilt ; the pillow is not crushed, nor stained with the cures against headache. No adornments are placed to divert the patient's eye. No person who goes to bed through sickness will leave it in a hurry of his own accord ! 4

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THE JESTER

Then let your honour sit down on this bed for a while and wait for her ladyship.

THE KING

Very well. (He sits down.) Friend, I am feeling sleepy. Tell me a story.

THE JESTER

I'll tell you one. Let your honour respond with a 'hum!'[26]

THE KING

Very well.

THE JESTER

There is a city called Ujjayini. In it there are some very charming bathing pools.

THE KING

What, Ujjayini?

THE JESTER

You do not like this story. I'll tell you another.

THE KING

Not indeed that I do not like it. Only—

it reminds me of the daughter of Avanti's king, who, at the time of starting, as she thought of her people, shed on my own breast copious tears of love that clung to the corner of her eyes! 5

Moreover :

How often during the course of her lessons would her eyes be fixed on me and then her hand, from which the plectrum had dropped, would aimlessly swing in the air! 6

THE JESTER

Well, I'll tell you another. There is a city called Brahmadatta. In it there ruled a king called Kampilya.[27]

THE KING

What, what?

THE JESTER

Repeats what he has said

THE KING

Fool, say rather, king Brahmadatta, and Kampilya city.

THE JESTER

What, the king Brahmadatta, and the city Kampilya?

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THE KING

Just so.

THE JESTER

Then let your honour wait a moment while I commit that to memory. —King Brahmadatta, city Kampilya! (He repeats what he has said to himself several times.) Now listen, your honour. Hallo, his honour has fallen asleep. The hour is very cold. I'll fetch my mantle.

Exit [jester]

Enter Vasavadatta and a maid

THE MAID

Come, madam, come. The princess is suffering from a very severe headache.

VASAVADATTA

Alas! Where has the bed of Padmavati been arranged?

THE MAID

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread.

VASAVADATTA

Then lead the way.

Both walk about

THE MAID

This is the Ocean Pavilion. Enter, madam. Meanwhile I for my part will hurry up with the ointment for her head.

Exit [maid]

VASAVADATTA

Oh, verily the gods are pitiless towards me! Even this Padmavati, who used to comfort my noble lord in his bereavement, has fallen ill. I'll go in. (She enters and looks around her.) Oh, the carelessness of servants! Padmavati is lying ill, and they have left her here with just a lamp for her companion. There lies Padmavati asleep. I'll sit down.—But, if I sit aloof it will seem as though I am indifferent. So I'll seat myself on this bed. (She sits down.) Why is it, I wonder, that as I am sitting beside her to-day, my heart seems to throb with pleasure? Happily her breathing is easy and regular. Her disease must be on the wane. Occupying just a corner of the bed, she seems to invite an embrace. I'll lie down then. (She acts lying down.)

THE KING

Talking in his sleep

O Vasavadatta!—

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VASAVADATTA

Rising abruptly

Humph! It is my noble lord and not Padmavati! Have I been seen, I wonder? The great vow[28] of the noble Yaugandharayana will, by my being seen, have been made in vain.

THE KING

O daughter of Avanti's king!

VASAVADATTA

Happily my noble lord is only talking in his sleep. There is no one about. I'll stay here awhile and gladden my eyes and heart.

THE KING

O darling! O beloved pupil! Answer me.

VASAVADATTA

I am speaking, my lord. I am speaking.

THE KING

Art thou angry?

VASAVADATTA

O no! O no! I am so unhappy.

THE KING

If thou art not angry, why hast thou laid aside thy ornaments?

VASAVADATTA

What could be better than this?

THE KING

Are you thinking of Virachita?[29]

VASAVADATTA

Wrathfully

O fie! Even here Virachita!

THE KING

Then I implore your ladyship's pardon for Virachita. (He stretches out his hands.)

VASAVADATTA

I have stayed long enough. I may be seen. I'll go. But I'll first replace the arm of my noble lord that is hanging over the edge of the couch.

She does so and retires

THE KING

Rising abruptly

Vasavadatta! Stay, stay! Alas!

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In hurrying out I run foul of a panel of the door. And now I know not for sure whether this vision is a reality! 7

THE JESTER

Entering

Ah, his honour is awake!

THE KING

Friend, I have good news to give you. Vasavadatta is alive!

THE JESTER

Alas! Vasavadatta! Where is Vasavadatta? Vasavadatta is long dead!

THE KING

Nay, not so, friend.

After waking me, friend, as I was lying asleep on the couch, she has disappeared. Rumanvat was deceiving me when he said that she had perished in the flames. 8

THE JESTER

Alas! Such a thing is impossible. Maybe you saw her in a dream. Ever since I mentioned the bathing pools, you have been thinking of her ladyship.

THE KING

If that be a dream, would that I had not been awakened. And if it be an illusion, may that illusion last for ever! 9

THE JESTER

Make not yourself ridiculous! But a fairy called the Belle of Avanti does frequent this palace. Maybe now it is she whom you saw.

THE KING

No, no!

On waking from sleep I saw those eyes without illyrium and that unbraided hair of her who is still guarding her virtue. 10

Moreover, look, friend, look!

This arm which was tightly clasped by that queen in her agitation has the hair still standing on end, though it came in contact with her but in sleep. 11

THE JESTER

Imagine not absurdities now. Come, your honour, come. Let us retire to the inner court.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Entering

Victory unto my noble lord! Our great king Darsaka[30] sends the following message: "Here is your honour's minister Rumanvat arrived, with a

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very large force for attacking Aruni ; also elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers—my own auxiliaries of victory—are ready equipped. Let your honour therefore arise. Furthermore :

Thy enemies have been divided ; and confidence restored among thy subjects, who are still faithful to thee. Precautions have been taken for the guarding of the rear during thy march. All that is possible to do for the demolition of the enemy has been accomplished by me. Our forces have even crossed the river Ganges. And the land of Vatsa is in thy hands! 12

THE KING

Rising

Excellent ! Here now—

I shall assail that Aruni,[31] *adept in misdeeds, and on a battlefield traversed by horses and elephants, like a mighty ocean, having for its furious breakers the scatter of arrows, I shall crush my foe.* 13

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE SIXTH

INTERLUDE

Enter a chamberlain

THE CHAMBERLAIN

What ho ! Who is here on duty at the arched Portal of Gold ?

THE DOOR KEEPER

Entering

Sir, it is I, Vijaya. What may I do ?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Lady, take this message to Udayana, whose glory has been enhanced by the acquisition of Vatsaland. Say unto him : " Here comes the chamberlain[32] of the Raibhya clan, sent by Mahasena ; and Vasavadatta's nurse, the noble Vasundhara sent by her ladyship Angaravati.[33] They are waiting at the door.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Sir, this is not the proper time and place for the message.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

And how is this not the proper time and place ?

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THE DOOR-KEEPER

Listen, sir. There was someone in the Eastern[34] Palace of my lord playing on the lute to-day. On hearing it, my lord said : " It seems to me I hear the sound of Ghoshavati."[35]

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Then ? Then ?

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Then going up to him he asked the man whence that lute came there. He replied : " I saw it lying in a thicket on the bank of the Narmada. If my lord has use for it, he is welcome to it." Taking it to himself, my lord placed it in his lap and swooned away. Then on coming to himself, with his face convulsed with tears, my lord said : " I see you, Ghoshavati. But *her* I see not ! " That is how the hour is not suitable, sir. How can I announce you ?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Announce us, lady. This also has something to do with it.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

I'll announce you at once, sir. Here comes my lord, descending from the Eastern Palace. So I shall inform him here.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

So be it, madam.

Both retire

Enter the king and the jester

THE KING

O sweet-toned [lute] ! Thou didst once repose on the breasts and in the lap of the queen. How didst thou support the terrible sojourn in the jungle where flights of birds scattered thy body with dirt ? 1

And thou art unfeeling, Ghoshavati. How else couldst thou forget that the unfortunate queen—

hugged thy sides as she carried thee on her hip ? [How couldst thou forget] the happy embraces between her breasts during moments of fatigue ; and her plaints for me when she was parted from me ; and her chatter and her smiles in the intervals of lute play ? 2

THE JESTER

Enough now of this excessive sorrow, your honour.

THE KING

Nay, not so, friend.

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My passion long dormant is re-awakened by the lute. But I see not that queen,[36] *to whom Ghoshavati was so dear!* 3

Vasantaka, take Ghoshavati to an artisan, have her restrung and bring her back speedily.

THE JESTER

As your honour commands.

[Jester] retires with the lute

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Entering

Victory to my lord! Here this chamberlain of the Raibhya clan, sent by Mahasena, and Vasavadatta's nurse, the noble Vasundhara, sent by queen Angaravati, are waiting at the door.

THE KING

Then call Padmavati.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

As your lordship commands.

Exit [door-keeper]

THE KING

How now! So soon has this news[37] reached the ears of Mahasena!

Enter Padmavati and the door-keeper

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Come, princess, come.

PADMAVATI

Victory to my lord!

THE KING

Padmavati, didst thou hear that the chamberlain of the Raibhya clan sent by Mahasena, and Vasavadatta's nurse, the noble Vasundhara, sent by her ladyship Angaravati, have arrived and are waiting at the door?

PADMAVATI

I shall be glad to hear the good tidings of my relatives, my noble lord.

THE KING

It is befitting that my lady should look upon the family of Vasavadatta as her own family. Be seated, Padmavati. Why wilt thou not be seated?

PADMAVATI

Would my noble lord have me seated by his side when receiving these people?

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THE KING

What harm is there?

PADMAVATI

It seems callous, as I am the second spouse of my noble lord.

THE KING

But it would be a grave fault to forbid such persons to see my wife as are entitled to do so. Be seated therefore.

PADMAVATI

As my noble lord commands. (She sits down.) I feel quite uneasy at the thought of what father or mother would have to say, my noble lord.

THE KING

Just so, Padmavati.

My heart misgives me as to what he will say. I carried away his daughter, and I have failed to guard her. Fickle fortune has brought about the obliteration of the merit I had acquired. Like a son that has roused the ire of his father, I feel afraid.

PADMAVATI

There is no way to help anything whose hour of doom has come.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

The chamberlain and the nurse are waiting at the door.

THE KING

Conduct them here speedily.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

As your lordship commands.

Exit [door-keeper]

Enter the chamberlain, the nurse and the door-keeper

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Oh!

Great is my joy on coming to this allied kingdom; but when I recall the loss of the princess, sorrow overtakes me. O Fate, could you not have been content to have robbed him of his kingdom by enemies and spared the life of the queen? 5

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Here is my lord. Sir, approach him.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Approaching

Victory to my noble lord!

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THE NURSE

Victory to my lord!

THE KING

Respectfully

Sir!

He who on this earth has power to work the rise and fall of royal houses —the king whose alliance I sought—is he well? 6

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Yes, Mahasena is well. He inquires if all be well here also.

THE KING

Rising from his seat

What are the commands of Mahasena?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

This is worthy of the son of Vaidehi. But let your honour be seated, and hear the message of Mahasena.

THE KING

As Mahasena commands. (He sits down.)

THE CHAMBERLAIN

"Glory to you for regaining the kingdom that had passed into the hands of enemies! For—

the timid and the weak are incapable of enterprise; and only the enterprising spirits enjoy as a rule kingly dignity." 7

THE KING

All that is the prowess of Mahasena, sir.

When I was vanquished of yore he fondled me along with his sons. Then not only did I run away with his daughter, but I have failed to guard her. Now after hearing about her end, he keeps for me still the same regard. Is it not then due to the king that I regain my proper Vatsaland? 8

THE CHAMBERLAIN

This is the message of Mahasena. This lady here will communicate the message of the queen.

THE KING

Ah, mother!

She who is senior among sixteen queens, the holy goddess of the city, my mother, who was afflicted by grief at our departure,—is she well? 9

THE NURSE

My lady is well. She inquires of my lord if all be well here.

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THE KING

All is well! Mother, well, in this way!

THE NURSE

Enough now of this excessive sorrow, my lord.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Courage, my noble lord! Sorrowed after thus by my noble lord, Mahasena's daughter, though dead, is yet not dead. Surely,—

who can arrest the hand of death when the victim's hour has come? Should the rope now break asunder, who can save the pitcher? The same law holds for men and trees: in season they perish, in season they spring. 10

THE KING

Nay, not so, sir.

Mahasena's daughter, my pupil and beloved queen—how can I fail to remember her even in births to come? 11

THE NURSE

My lady sends this message: "Vasavadatta is no more. Thou, that art to me and to Mahasena as dear as our Gopalaka and Palaka, hast been from the first the son-in-law we wished for.[38] And for that purpose we brought thee to Ujjayini. Then on the pretext of the lute,[39] we placed her in thy hands, even without the fire witness. With thy impetuosity thou didst elope without waiting for the nuptial celebrations. So then we had the portraits of thyself and Vasavadatta painted on picture-boards, and we celebrated the nuptial rites. We send the picture-boards to thee now. May the sight make thee happy!"

THE KING

Ah, surpassing kind and happy are the words of her ladyship!

These words are more precious than the gain of a hundred thrones! Despite our offence the queen has not forgotten her love for us. 12

PADMAVATI

My noble lord, I would see the portraits of the elders and pay my homage to them.

THE NURSE

Behold, princess, behold. (She shows her a picture board.)

PADMAVATI

To herself, on seeing it

Humph! Truly she bears a striking likeness to madam Avantika. (Aloud.) My noble lord, is this a good likeness of her ladyship?

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THE KING

It is not a likeness. It is her own self, I imagine. O alas!

How has the delicate complexion been cruelly destroyed, and how this sweet face has been ravaged by the flames! 13

PADMAVATI

Could I see the portrait of my noble lord, I should know whether the other is a good likeness of her ladyship or not.

THE NURSE

Look, princess, look.

PADMAVATI

On seeing it

The portrait of my noble lord shows a speaking likeness. I infer from it that the other is a good likeness of her ladyship.

THE KING

O queen, after seeing the portraits, I noticed, thou didst look first pleased and then uneasy. How is that?

PADMAVATI

My noble lord, in this very palace there lives one who resembles this portrait closely.

THE KING

What, of Vasavadatta?

PADMAVATI

Yes.

THE KING

Then bring her here speedily.

PADMAVATI

My noble lord, before my marriage a certain Brahman left her with me as a deposit, saying that she was his sister. Her husband being away, she shuns the sight of strangers.

THE KING

[To himself]

If she be the sister of a Brahman, evidently she is someone else. One does come across persons that resemble each other closely. 14

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Entering

Victory to my lord! Here is a Brahman from Ujjayini, who says that he left his sister in the hands of my lady as a deposit, and is waiting at the door to claim her back.

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THE KING

May he be that Brahman, Padmavati?

PADMAVATI

He must be.

THE KING

Bid the Brahman welcome, with the formalities proper to the inner apartments, and conduct him here speedily.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

As your lordship commands.

Exit [door-keeper]

THE KING

Padmavati, wilt thou also conduct her here?

PADMAVATI

As my noble lord commands.

Exit [Padmavati]

Enter Yaugandharayana and the door-keeper

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Ho there!

To himself

I concealed the queen in the interest of the king. 'Tis true the thought of his welfare alone inspired my act. Though success has crowned my venture now, my heart misgives me as to what he will say. 15

THE DOOR-KEEPER

Here is my lord. Approach him, sir.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Approaching

Victory to your honour, victory!

THE KING

It seems to me I have heard the voice before. O Brahman, did you leave your sister in the hands of Padmavati as a deposit?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Why, yes.

THE KING

[To the door-keeper]

Then bring his sister before us with all speed, with all speed.

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THE DOOR-KEEPER

As your lordship commands.

Exit [door-keeper]

Enter Padmavati, accompanied by her retinue, and Vasavadatta[40]

PADMAVATI

Come, madam, come. I have good news for thee.

VASAVADATTA

What is it? What is it?

PADMAVATI

Thy brother is back.

VASAVADATTA

Happily he remembers me still.

PADMAVATI

Approaching [the king]

Victory to my noble lord! Here is the deposit.

THE KING

Padmavati, render her back. A deposit should be returned in the presence of witnesses. His honour the noble Raibhya and her ladyship here will form the tribunal.

PADMAVATI

Sir, take the lady.

THE NURSE

Regarding Avantika closely

Ah, this is princess Vasavadatta!

THE KING

What, the daughter of Mahasena? O queen, go inside with Padmavati.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

No, no. She shall not go in. Assuredly she is my sister.

THE KING

What does your honour say? Assuredly she is the daughter of Mahasena.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

O king!

Thou art born in the race of the Bharatas. Thou art self-controlled, pure and enlightened. To stop her by force is unworthy of thee, who shouldst be the model of kingly duty. 16

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THE KING

Well, let us see then the resemblance of form. Draw the curtain aside.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Victory to my lord !

VASAVADATTA

Victory to my noble lord !

THE KING

Ah, this is Yaugandharayana, and this is the daughter of Mahasena !

Is it reality or but a dream that I see her once again ? That last time too I saw her thus, and was none the less deceived ! 17

YAUGANDHARAYANA

I plead guilty to having taken away the queen, my lord. Will my lord deign to forgive me ? (He throws himself at the feet of the king.)

THE KING

Raising him

You are Yaugandharayana !

Through feigned madness, through wars, through plans described in works on statecraft, all through your exertions have we been saved when we were plunged in distress deep ![41] 18

YAUGANDHARAYANA

I but follow the fortunes of my lord.

PADMAVATI

Ah, this is that noble lady.—In treating your ladyship as a companion, I have overstepped the bounds of propriety. I bow my head and beg to be forgiven. [She throws herself at the feet of Vasavadatta.]

VASAVADATTA

Raising Padmavati

Rise up, rise up. O fortunate woman, rise up. The suppliant herself is to blame.[42]

PADMAVATI

I am beholden to you.

THE KING

What was thy intention, friend Yaugandharayana, in taking the queen away ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

The saving of Kausambi[43] solely.

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THE KING

Why didst thou leave her as a deposit in the hands of Padmavati?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

The soothsayers Pushpabhadraka and others had predicted that she would be the consort of your lordship.

THE KING

Did Rumanvat know this also?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

My lord, everyone knew it.

THE KING

Oh, what a villain Rumanvat is, to be sure![44]

YAUGANDHARAYANA

My lord, let his honour Raibhya and her ladyship return this very day to announce the safety of the queen.

THE KING

No, no. We will all go, along with queen Padmavati.

EPILOGUE

May our lion-like king rule over this sea-girt earth, adorned with the ear-chains of Himalaya and Vindhya and enjoying the distinction of the Solitary [imperial] umbrella.![45] 19

Exeunt omnes

THE END

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

1 This stanza combines a benediction with a word-play on the names of the four principal *dramatis personæ* : Udayana, Vasavadatta, Padmavati, and Vasantaka. Its meaning is obscure, but is immaterial to the context.

2 Magadha corresponds roughly to the southern part of the modern province of Bihar. Its capital Rajagriha has been identified with the modern Rajgir.

3 'These things,' *i.e.*, the paraphernalia of royalty.

4 In another version of the story, Padmavati is called the *daughter* of the king of Magadha. See Appendix, page 91.

5 In speaking of his majesty the chamberlain should refer to him as 'Maharaja'. Feeling that, in this instance, it is necessary to specify him by his personal name, the chamberlain, in all humility, avails himself of a circumlocution.

6 See note 2.

7 This justifies the sudden change of attitude of Yaugandharayana towards Padmavati. See verse 3.

8 Ujjayini was the capital of the kingdom of Avanti, the home of Vasavadatta.

9 'Ours,' because Padmāvatī would then become the sister-in-law of Vasavadatta.

10 Padmavati unwittingly repeats the words already spoken by Vasāvadatta. This is intended to show a spontaneous reciprocity of feeling between them.

11 The minister is now solely answerable for the safety and the honour of the queen ; hence his concern.

12 This person is the chamberlain.

13 Vatsa was the name of the kingdom of Udayana. Its capital was Kausambi, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad.

14 Chakravaka. According to a poetic convention the male and female chakravaka keep together during the day ; at night, however, they are always separated, as, in consequence of a curse, they are destined to pass the night apart. They are frequently mentioned in Indian literature as patterns of marital constancy. See another allusion to the chakravaka at the beginning of the third act.

15 The original contains a pun, depending upon the double meaning of the Sanskrit word *rāga* ('redness' and 'love'), which it is difficult, if not quite impossible, to reproduce in English. The idea is this. The hands of Padmavati being extremely red, they show that they are tired with the long game. Consequently Padmavati cannot control their movements now as well as she did at the beginning of the game. The poet expresses this idea fancifully by suggesting that the hands, being inspired with love (*rāga*), are behaving as though they would have nothing to do with Padmavati ; they just follow their own inclinations and disregard completely the wishes and directions of Padmavati.

16 Here is another pun. The hidden meaning is : "I fancy I see the faces of thy suitors on every side."

17 Mahasena literally means 'one who has a large army'.

18 The refusal might have been construed as a gratuitous affront, especially as the king of Vatsa was then supposed to be a young widower, without issue.

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[19] See note 14.

[20] Kama is the Indian Cupid.

[21] Bandhujiva. *Pentapetes Phœnicia.*

[22] Sapta-chhada. *Alstonia scolaris.*

[23] Kasa. *Saccharum spontaneum.*

[24] In the original these words of Padmāvatī and the king change places.

[25] The indisposition of Padmavati makes the king fear that he might lose her as he had lost Vasavadattā.

[26] The response 'hum!' from the listener is indicative of continued attention.

[27] Kampilya is the name of a town in the land of the Panchala in the north of India.

[28] The vow of Yaugandharayana was made at the time when plans were laid for the restoration of the dethroned king. A similar vow forms the theme of another play belonging to this group of dramas.

[29] Virachita is the name of a former mistress of Udayana. See Appendix, page 90.

[30] Darsaka was the king of Magadha and brother of Padmavati.

[31] Aruni was the upstart who had ousted Udayana and usurped the throne of Vatsa.

[32] The speaker himself is the chamberlain despatched by Mahasena.

[33] Angaravati is the mother of Vasavadatta.

[34] The name of the palace is uncertain, the reading being doubtful.

[35] Ghosavati is the magic lute of Udayana. See Appendix, page 86.

[36] The queen is Vasavadatta.

[37] 'This news' refers to his recent marriage with Padmavati.

[38] She implies that the death of Vasavadatta makes no difference to their sentiments towards him.

[39] For an explanation of 'the pretext of the lute', see Appendix, page 87f.

[40] It is to be supposed that Vasavadatta enters and stands apart, concealed behind a curtain and unseen by most of the persons present.

[41] These incidents in the life of the minister form the theme of another play belonging to the group. See Appendix, page 88f.

[42] The reading, as it stands, is not fully intelligible; an emendation appears necessary.

[43] Kausambi was the capital of the kingdom of Vatsa.

[44] See verse 14 of the first act.

[45] The umbrella, from the shelter it affords, has been chosen as one of the insignia of Indian royalty. The 'solitary umbrella' denotes universal sovereignty.

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APPENDIX

THE LEGEND OF UDAYANA AND VASAVADATTA

(Abridged, with slight alterations, from C. H. Tawney's translation of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara)*

There is a land famous under the name of Vatsa. In the centre of it is a great city named Kausambi. In it dwelt a king named Satanika, sprung from the Pandava family. He had a son born to him called Sahasranika, who married Mrigavati, daughter of a king of Ayodhya. In course of time Mrigavati promised to bear a child to king Sahasranika. And then she asked the king to gratify her longing by filling a tank full of blood for her to bathe in. Accordingly the king, in order to gratify her desire, had a tank filled with the juice of lac and other red extracts, so that it seemed to be full of blood. And while she was bathing in that lake, a bird of the race of Garuda suddenly pounced upon her and carried her off thinking she was raw flesh; but on discovering that she was alive, it abandoned her and, as fate would have it, left her on the mountain Udayachala. The girl tardy with the weight of her womb, desiring to hurl herself down from a precipice, and thinking upon that lord of hers, wept aloud; and a hermit's son, hearing that, came up and found her looking like the incarnation of sorrow. And he, after questioning the queen about her adventures, led her off to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Some days after, the blameless one gave birth to a charmingly beautiful son. At that moment a voice was heard from heaven: "An august king of great renown has been born, Udayana by name, and his son shall be the monarch of all Vidyadharas!" Gradually that boy grew up to size and strength in that grove of asceticism. Out of love for him Mrigavati drew off from her own wrist, and placed on his, a bracelet marked with the name of Sahasranika. Then that Udayana, roaming about once upon a time in pursuit of deer, beheld in the forest a snake captured by a Sabara. The generous Udayana gave that Sabara the bracelet which his mother had bestowed on him, and persuaded him to set the snake at liberty. The snake, being pleased with Udayana, bowed before him and said: "I am the eldest brother of Vasuki, called Vasunemi. Receive from me, whom thou hast preserved, this lute, sweet in the sounding of its strings, divided according to the division of the quarter-tones; and betel leaf, together with the art of weaving unfading garlands, and adorning the forehead with marks that never become indistinct." Udayana, furnished with all these, and dismissed by the snake, returned to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Meanwhile the Sabara was caught attempting to sell the ornament marked with the king's name and brought up in court before the king. Learning from the Sabara the whereabouts of Mrigavati and Udayana, the king made the Sabara show him the way, and set out with his army for that hermitage on the Udayachala. In a few days he reached that peaceful hermitage of Jamadagni. The hermit handed over to him that queen Mrigavati with her son. Bidding adieu to Jamadagni, the king set out for his own city. Soon after his return the king appointed his son Udayana crown-prince, and assigned to him as advisers the sons of his own ministers, Vasantaka, Rumanvat

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* *The Kathā Sarit Sāgara* or *Ocean of the Streams of Story*, translated from the original Sanskrit by C. H. TAWNEY, Calcutta 1880.

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and Yaugandharayana. In due course that king Sahasranika established in his throne his excellent son Udayana, and accompanied by his ministers and his beloved wife ascended the Himalaya to prepare for the last great journey.

Then Udayana took the kingdom of Vatsa, which his father had bequeathed to him and, establishing himself in Kausambi, ruled his subjects well. But gradually he began to devolve the cares of his empire upon his ministers Yaugandharayana and others, and gave himself up entirely to pleasures. He was continually engaged in the chase, and night and day he played on the melodious lute which Vasuki gave him long ago; and he subdued evermore infuriated wild elephants, overpowered by the fascinating spell of its strings' dulcet sound, and, taming them, brought them home. Only one anxiety he had to bear. He kept thinking: "Nowhere is a wife found equal to me in birth and personal appearance. The maid named Vasavadatta alone has a liking for me, but how is she to be obtained?"

Mahasena also in Ujjayini thought: "There is no suitable husband to be found for my daughter in the world except one Udayana by name, and he has ever been my enemy. Then how can I make him my son-in-law and my submissive ally? There is only one device which can effect it. He wanders about alone in the forest capturing elephants. I will make use of this failing of his to entrap him and bring him here by a stratagem. And as he is acquainted with music, I will make this daughter of mine his pupil, and his eye will without doubt be charmed with her and he will certainly become my son-in-law and my obedient ally." In spite of this decision, he resolved to try negotiation first. Accordingly he gave this order to an ambassador: "Go and give the king of Vatsa this message from me: 'My daughter desires to be thy pupil in music. If thou love us come here and teach her." The resolute king of Vatsa sent in return an ambassador to Mahasena with the following reply: "If thy daughter desires to become my pupil, then send her here." When he had sent that reply, that king of Vatsa said to his ministers: "I will march and bring Mahasena here in chains." When he heard that, the chief minister Yaugandharayana said: "This is not a fitting thing to do, my king; nor is it in thy power to do it. For Mahasena is a mighty monarch, and not to be subdued by thee." And in proof of this he related how king Mahasena had performed a terrible penance and received from goddess Durga a sword by means of whose magic power he was invincible to all his enemies. He further narrated how Mahasena had married a Daitya maiden and two sons were born to him, Gopalaka and Palaka; how Mahasena had held a feast in honour of Indra on their account; and how Indra, being pleased, said to the king in a dream, "By my favour thou shalt obtain a matchless daughter"; then, how in course of time a graceful daughter was born to that king, whom the king had given the name Vasavadatta. The minister concluded by saying that that king could not be conquered by Udayana, firstly because he was so powerful, and then also because his realm was situated in a difficult country.

In the meanwhile the ambassador, sent by the king of Vatsa in answer to Mahasena's embassy, went and told that monarch his master's reply. Mahasena for his part, on hearing it, began to reflect: "It is certain that that proud king of Vatsa will not come here, and I cannot send my daughter to his court. So I must capture him by some stratagem and bring him here as a prisoner." Having thus reflected, the king had made a large artificial elephant like his own and after filling it with concealed warriors, he placed it in the Vindhya forest. There the scouts of the king of Vatsa discerned it from a distance and, returning to their master, informed him in these words: "O king, we have seen a single elephant roaming in the Vindhya forest, such that nowhere in this wide world his equal is

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to be found." The king spent that night in thinking : "If I obtain that mighty elephant, a fit match for Nadagiri the elephant of Mahasena, then will that Mahasena be certainly in my power, and he will of his own accord give me his daughter Vasavadatta." So in the morning he started for the Vindhya forest disregarding the advice of his ministers ; nor did he pay any attention to the fact that the astrologers said that the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of his departure portended the acquisition of a maiden together with imprisonment. When the king reached the Vindhya forest he made his troops halt at a distance, and accompanied by scouts only, holding in his hands his melodious lute, he entered the great forest. The king saw on the southern slope of the Vindhya range that elephant looking like a real one, pointed out to him by his scouts from a distance. He slowly approached it, alone, playing on his lute, thinking how he should bind it, and singing in melodious tones. As his mind was fixed on his music, and the shades of evening were setting in, that king did not perceive that the supposed wild elephant was an artificial one. Then suddenly issuing from that artificial elephant, a body of soldiers in full armour surrounded that king of Vatsa. The king in a rage drew his hunting knife, but while he was fighting with those in front of him, he was seized by others coming up behind. And those warriors with the help of others carried that king of Vatsa into the presence of Mahasena. Mahasena for his part came out to meet him with the utmost respect, and entered with him the city of Ujjayini. Shortly after their return the king of Avanti made over his daughter Vasavadatta to Udayana and said to him : "Prince, teach this lady music ; in this way you will obtain a happy issue to your adventure. Do not despond." When he beheld that fair lady, the mind of the king of Vatsa was so steeped in love that he put out of sight his anger. So the king of Vatsa dwelt in the concert-room of Mahasena's palace, teaching Vasavadatta to sing, with his eyes ever fixed on her.

In the meanwhile the men who had accompanied the king returned to Kausambi. The calm and resolute Yaugandharayana, seeing that the country was loyal, said to Rumanvat and others : "All of you must remain here ever on the alert. You must guard this country. I will go accompanied by Vasantaka only, and will without fail accomplish the deliverance of the king and bring him home." Having said this and entrusted to Rumanvat the care of the subjects, Yaugandharayana set out for Kausambi with Vasantaka. On his way Yaugandharayana by means of a charm suddenly altered his own shape. That charm made him deformed, hunchbacked and old, and besides gave him the appearance of a madman. In the same way, Yaugandharayana, by means of that very charm, gave Vasantaka a body full of outstanding veins, with a large stomach and an ugly mouth with projecting teeth. Having entered Ujjayini, singing and dancing, beheld with curiosity by all, he made his way to the king's palace. There he excited by that behaviour the curiosity of the king's wives, and was at last heard by Vasavadatta. She quickly sent a maid and had him brought to the concert-room. Thereupon he made a sign to the king of Vatsa, who quickly recognized him. Udayana sent Vasavadatta out of the room on some pretext, and then he had a long and undisturbed talk with his minister. Yaugandharayana communicated to the king, according to the prescribed form, spells for breaking chains, and at the same time he furnished him with other charms for winning the heart of Vasavadatta. Having done so Yaugandharayana went out. When Vasavadatta returned, the king induced her to summon Vasantaka, who was waiting at the door of the palace. Vasantaka amused the princess by telling her stories and secured her favour.

As time went on, Vasavadatta began to feel a great affection for the king of

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Vatsa, and to take part with him against her father. Then Yaugandharayana came in again to see the king of Vatsa, making himself invisible to all others who were there. And he gave him the following information in private in the presence of Vasantaka only : "King, you were made captive by Mahasena by means of an artifice. And he now wishes to give you his daughter, and set you at liberty, treating you with all honour. So let us carry off his daughter and escape, for in this way we shall have revenged ourselves upon the haughty monarch. Now the king has given Vasavadatta a female elephant called Bhadravati. And no other elephant but Nadagiri is swift enough to catch her up. The driver of this elephant is a man here called Asadhaka, and him I have won over to our side by giving him much wealth. So you must mount that elephant with Vasavadatta, fully armed, and start from this place secretly by night." The king of Vatsa stored up all the instructions of Yaugandharayana in his heart, and when Vasavadatta came told her what Yaugandharayana had said to him. She consented to the proposal, and made up her mind to start. They made good their escape from Ujjayini, and having successfully overcome the obstacles which befell them on the way arrived safely in Kausambi. Not long after came Gopalaka the brother of Vasavadatta, bringing with him the good wishes of Mahasena and his queen. Then the king of Vatsa, having celebrated the great festival of his marriage, considered all his wishes gratified, now that he was linked to Vasavadatta. But in course of time he became faithless, and secretly loved an attendant of the harem named Virachita, with whom he had previously had an intrigue. One day he made a mistake and addressed the queen by her name ; thereupon he had to conciliate her by clinging to her feet.

Once again the king of Vatsa devolved the cares of his empire upon his ministers, Yaugandharayana and others, and gave himself up entirely to pleasures. Seeing this the minister Yaugandharayana reflected that the ministers themselves must take such steps as that he shall obtain the empire of the whole earth, which was his hereditary right. He called the ministers together and said to them : "Let us do our king a good turn ; let us gain for him the empire of the earth. In this undertaking our only adversary is Pradyota, the king of Magadha ; for he is a foe in the rear that is always attacking us behind. So we must ask for our sovereign that pearl of princesses, his daughter named Padmavati. And by our cleverness we will conceal Vasavadatta somewhere and setting fire to her house, we will give out everywhere that the queen is burnt. In no other case will the king of Magadha give his daughter to our sovereign, for when I requested him to do so on a former occasion, he answered, 'I will not give my daughter, whom I love more than myself, to the king of Vatsa, for he is passionately attached to his wife Vasavadatta.' Moreover, as long as the queen is alive, the king of Vatsa will not marry anyone else ; but if a report is once spread that the queen is burnt, all will succeed." The other ministers were at first sceptical about the success of the scheme, but the resourceful Yaugandharayana, who had reflected on every possibility and had a ready answer to all objections, was in the end successful in removing the doubts of his colleagues, and securing their co-operation. Then the ministers won over to their side Vasavadatta's brother Gopalaka. Then Yaugandharayana, Gopalaka, and Rumanvat deliberated as follows : "Let us adopt the artifice of going to Lavanaka with the king and queen ; for that district is a border district near the kingdom of Magadha. And because it contains admirable hunting grounds, it will tempt the king to absent himself from the palace, so we can set the women's apartments there on fire and carry out the plan on which we have determined. And by an artifice we will take the queen and leave her in the palace of Padmavati, in order

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that Padmavati herself may be a witness to the queen's virtuous behaviour in a state of concealment."

Thus Yaugandharayana and the other ministers managed to conduct the king of Vatsa with his beloved to Lavanaka. One day the king having gone to hunt, the wise Yaugandharayana, accompanied by Gopalaka, having arranged what was to be done and taking with him also Rumanvat and Vasantaka, went secretly to the queen Vasavadatta. There he used various representations to persuade her to assist in furthering the king's interest. And she agreed to the proposal, though it inflicted on her the pain of separation. Thereupon the skilful Yaugandharayana made her assume the appearance of a Brahman woman. And he made Vasantaka like a Brahman boy, and he himself assumed the appearance of an old Brahman. Then he took the queen, and accompanied by Vasantaka, set out leisurely for the town of Magadha. Then Rumanvat burnt her pavilion with fire, and exclaimed aloud: "Alas! alas! The queen and Vasantaka are burnt." Then Yaugandharayana with Vasantaka and Vasavadatta reached the city of the king of Magadha, and seeing the princess Padmavati in the garden, he went up to her with these two, though the guards tried to prevent him. And Padmavati, when she saw the queen Vasavadatta in the dress of a Brahman woman, fell in love with her at first sight. The princess ordered the guards to desist from their opposition, and had Yaugandharayana conducted into her presence. Under the pretext that her husband had deserted her, Yaugandharayana left Vasavadatta, whom he introduced as his daughter, in the care of Padmavati, and returned to Lavanaka. Then Padmavati took with her Vasavadatta, who was passing under the name of Avantika, and Vasantaka, who accompanied her in the form of a one-eyed boy, and entered her splendidly adorned palace. Padmavati soon perceived that Vasavadatta was a person of very high rank, and suspecting that she was some distinguished person remaining there under concealment, entertained her to luxurious comfort to her heart's content.

When the king of Vatsa returned to Lavanaka and saw the women's apartments reduced to ashes by fire, and heard from the ministers that the queen was burnt with Vasantaka, he fell on the ground and was robbed of his senses by unconsciousness. Then the king, judging from the behaviour of Yaugandharayana and Gopalaka and from sundry predictions, suspected that the queen might possibly be alive, and lived in the hope of being some day re-united with her.

The spies of the king of Magadha who were at Lavanaka went off to him and told him all. When he heard this the king was once more anxious to give to the king of Vatsa his daughter Padmavati. By the advice of Yaugandharayana the king of Vatsa accepted that proposal. And not long after, the marriage of the king of Vatsa and Padmavati was celebrated with due pomp and ceremony. And Yaugandharayana, calling the fire to witness on that occasion, made the king of Magadha undertake never to injure his master. In the meanwhile Vasavadatta remained unobserved, hoping for the glory of her husband. But Yaugandharayana, being afraid that the king of Vatsa would see Vasavadatta, and that so the whole secret would be divulged, prevailed upon him to set out from that place soon after the celebration of the marriage, escorting his bride Padmavati. And Vasavadatta went secretly in the rear of the army, making the transformed Vasantaka precede her. At last the king of Vatsa reached Lavanaka and entered his own house, together with his bride, but thought all the time only of the queen Vasavadatta. The queen also arrived and entered the house of Gopalaka at night. There she saw her brother Gopalaka and embraced his neck weeping. And at that moment arrived Yaugandharayana, together with Rumanvat. And while he was engaged in

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dispelling the queen's grief caused by the great effort she had made, the chamberlains that were waiting round the house of Gopalaka repaired to Padmavati and said, "Queen, Avantika has arrived; but she has in a strange way dismissed us and gone to the house of prince Gopalaka." When Padmavati heard that, she was alarmed and in the presence of the king of Vatsa answered them: "Go and say to Avantika, 'The queen says, you are a deposit in my hands. So what business have you where you are? Come where I am.'" When they had departed with the message, the king asked Padmavati in private who made for her the unfading garlands and forehead streaks, which he had observed on her person. Then she said: "It is all the product of the great artistic skill of the lady named Avantika who was deposited in my hands by a certain Brahman." No sooner did the king hear that than he went off to the house of Gopalaka, thinking that surely Vasavadatta would be there. And he entered the house, within which were the queen, Gopalaka, the two ministers and Vasantaka. There he saw Vasavadatta returned from banishment. And that couple afflicted with grief, lamented so that even the face of Yaugandharayana was washed with tears. And Padmavati, who gradually found out the truth with respect to the king and Vasavadatta, was reduced to the same state. And Vasavadatta frequently exclaimed with tears, "What profit is there in my life that causes only sorrow to my husband?" Then the calm Yaugandharayana said to the king of Vatsa: "King, I have done all this in order to make you universal emperor, by marrying you to the daughter of the sovereign of Magadha, and the queen is not in the slightest degree to blame; moreover, this, her rival wife, is witness to her good behaviour during her absence from you." Thereupon Padmavati, whose mind was free from jealousy, said, "I am ready to enter the fire on the spot to prove her innocence." And Vasavadatta, having firmly resolved, said, "I must enter the fire to clear from suspicion the mind of the king." Then the wise Yaugandharayana rinsed his mouth and spoke a blameless speech: "If I have been a benefactor to this king, and if the queen is free from stain, speak, ye guardians of the world; if it is not so, I will part from my body." Thus he spoke and ceased, and this heavenly utterance was heard: "Happy art thou, O king, that hast for minister Yaugandharayana, and for wife Vasavadatta, who in a former birth was a goddess; not the slightest blame attaches to her. Then the king of Vatsa and Gopalaka praised that proceeding of Yaugandharayana's, and the former already considered that the whole earth was subject to him. Then the king possessing these two wives, whose affection was every day increasing by living with him, was in a state of supreme felicity.

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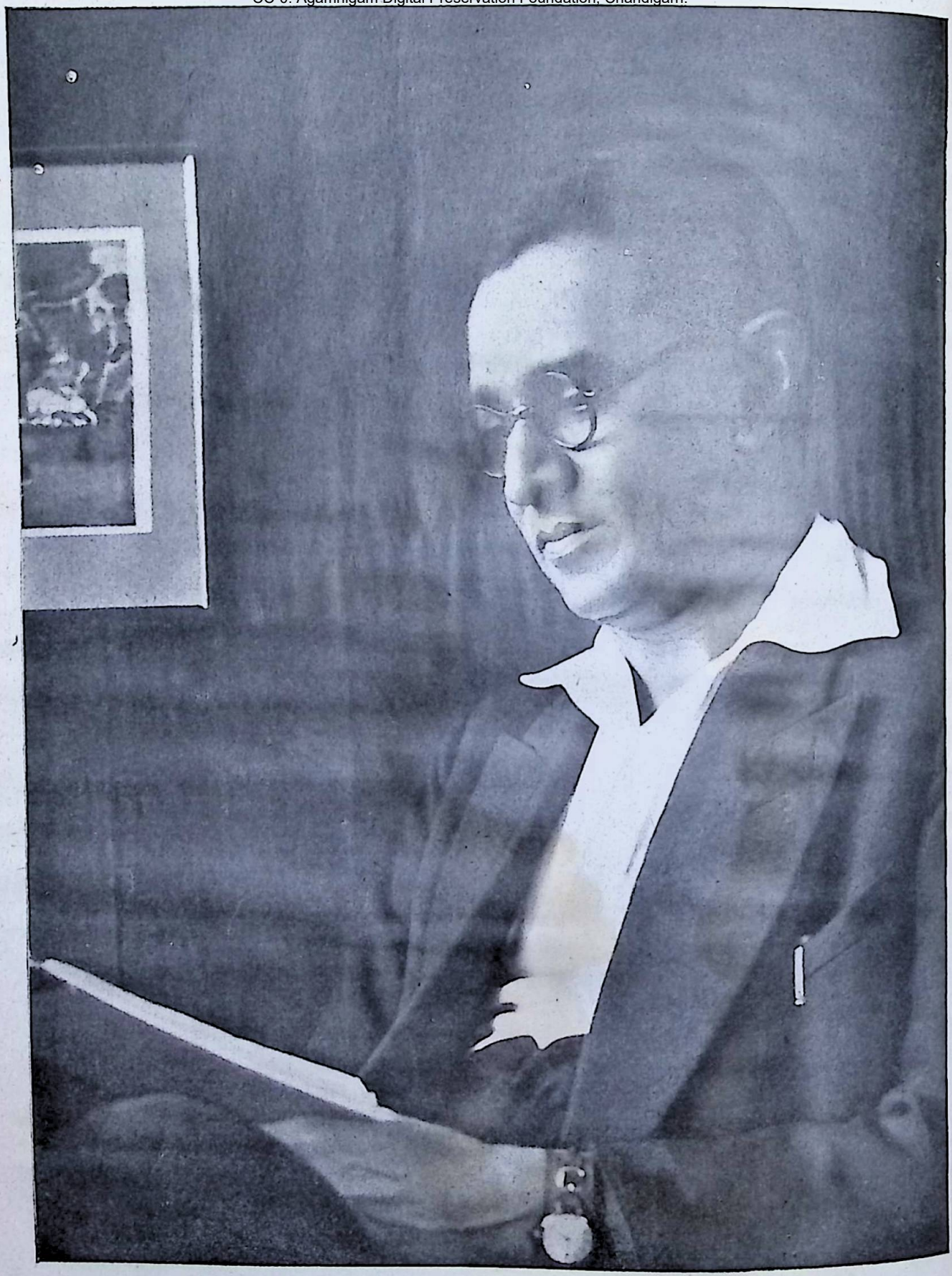

Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D.
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.
4th May 1887] [21st January 1943

(Through the Courtesy of Prof. D. D. Kosambi.)

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VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY*

Very little is on record regarding the life of Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR. The present essay perhaps anticipates a little the detailed and critical literary biography promised to us by the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee along with a complete reissue of all his published writings ;[1] but in this labour of love the writer has to depend almost entirely on the published work of SUKTHANKAR and some of the unpublished material which he had the good fortune of being shown both by SUKTHANKAR and his heirs later.[2]

Any visitor to the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona will be as much impressed by the two handsome bound volumes containing all the published reviews in English, French, German and Italian, and a number of Indian languages as well, of SUKTHANKAR'S great work on the critical edition, as by the silent but efficient work of the department which SUKTHANKAR organised during the very first year when he assumed charge of the General Editorship of this colossal undertaking. But these reviews and notices touch only one side of his deep and extensive scholarship : the final phase, as it were, of a continuous life of scholarship and active research. This final phase of more than seventeen years of single-minded devotion and whole-hearted dedication to the cause of the Great Epic was a fitting conclusion to a full life given over entirely to Indological research.

We must be thankful to an old custom in the German Universities for a brief account of SUKTHANKAR'S early life. This custom requires every candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to append to his thesis his *Lebenslauf*, a short account of himself up to the period of submitting his dissertation. According to his own statement contained in his *Lebenslauf*,[3] SUKTHANKAR was born on 4th May 1887 in Bombay as son of Engineer Sitaram Vishnu SUKTHANKAR and his wife Dhaklibai ; he studied up to

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* [Vide p. xi of Preface for including this essay in the present volume.—Ed.]

1 Cf. the Appeal issued by this Committee.

2 The writer would like to express here his thanks to Mrs. Malinibai SUKTHANKAR and the two sons of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for the facilities given to him to examine SUKTHANKAR'S *Nachlasse*. He is also indebted to Professors P. K. GODE and D. D. KOSAMBI for the help they have given him in supplying their own copies of SUKTHANKAR'S inscribed reprints, for reference.

3 *Die Grammatik Śākaṭayana's*, p. 91.

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high-school standard in Bombay and proceeded to the University of Cambridge where he took up the study of Mathematics, and in 1906 obtained the B.A. degree of this University. In the summer of 1911 he went to Berlin and applied himself principally to the study of Indian Philology. Here he attended the lectures of Professors BECKH, ERDMANN, IMMELMANN, ED. LEHMANN, LOESCHKE, LÜDERS, MARQUART, MITTWOCH, RIEHL, E. SCHMIDT, W. SCHULZE, THOMAS, V. WILAMOWITZ MOELLENDORF and WOLFFLIN. For his main subject, Indian Philology, he was under the guidance of Professor LÜDERS, and under him he prepared a critical edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar (Adhyāya 1, pāda 1) with the commentary of Yakṣavarman entitled *Cintāmaṇi*, accompanied by German translation and notes, and submitted on 18th June 1914. The dissertation was, however, printed in 1921 and published on 21st May 1921.

Some further details are available from a *Synopsis of Career* which SUKTHANKAR himself prepared and printed in August 1924. Under personal details he says that he was the grandson of the late Mr. Shantaram Narayan, Government Pleader, and that he belonged to the Gauḍa Sārasvat Brahmin caste. The family of SUKTHANKAR appears to have settled down in Bombay for several generations, with land interests. He studied at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, during 1902-3 ; at St. John's College, Cambridge, during 1903-7 ; at Edinburgh University in 1909 and finally at Berlin University during 1910-14. He secured the M.A. degree of Cambridge in 1912 with the Mathematical Tripos (in 1906) and the Ph.D. of Berlin in 1914 in Philology and Philosophy. During the next two years he was a Government Research Scholar in the Archæological Survey Department of the Government of India, and was serving as Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle for four years (1915-19). In addition he was the joint-Editor to the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the first two years of its life (1919-20), a Lecturer at the Annual Convention of the American Oriental Society, 1920 ; Travelling Lecturer at different University centres in the United States of America, 1920-21 ; a Member of Gray's Inn, London, and of the American Oriental Society.[4] When the new series of the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was inaugurated, SUKTHANKAR took charge of it as its Chief Editor, and to him is due the beautiful appearance of the journal and the uniformly high standard that it has maintained during all this time. This, in brief, is all that we can know of SUKTHANKAR from his public activities up to 1924.

It was about this time that the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona needed reorganisation and a

[4] SUKTHANKAR was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1938, in recognition of his great work on the Mahābhārata, and became the first Indian scholar after Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR to receive this honour.

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competent General Editor to take charge of the work in all its aspects. The preliminary work which resulted in the publication of the Tentative Edition of the Virāṭaparvan by Mr. N. B. UTGIKAR had been circulated among competent scholars and elicited a number of concrete suggestions which necessitated the reorganisation of the department as a whole. It is at this juncture that SUKTHANKAR first comes into the scheme, although in various other capacities during his earlier stay in Poona he had been actively connected with this Institute and its research activities. He took charge of his office as General Editor on 4th August 1925, and for the next seventeen years devoted himself entirely to the cause of the Great Epic which he made his own. Thereafter his contributions to other aspects of Indic studies are overshadowed by his *magnum opus*, the Critical Edition of the Great Epic and the Prolegomena with Epic Studies.

The first paper which SUKTHANKAR contributed seriously to Indology was during his Berlin days, entitled 'Miscellaneous Notes on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*.[5] This paper, published in 1912, already bears the stamp of scholarship which marked all his characteristic contributions at a later date. The style, the directness of approach and the economy of words in expressing himself, are all there. The first part of this paper discusses in detail the problem of the double authorship of *Kāvyaprakāśa*. By a comparison of the *Kāvyālaṁkāra* with, on the one hand, the part of *KP* attributed to Mammaṭa and on the other, that attributed to Allaṭa, he sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. It is demonstrated that while the author of the latter end of *KP* depends for his whole material practically on *KL* and does not hesitate to borrow phrases and expressions *verbatim* from the latter, Mammaṭa himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into Alaṁkāraśāstra by Rudraṭa and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudraṭa. In the second part[6] SUKTHANKAR points out that a portion of the Vṛtti to the definition of the Alaṁkāra Samuccaya, in *KP*, does not originate from either Mammaṭa or Allaṭa, and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation. A third section[7] deals with the practice of quoting names merely *honoris causa*, as common among the grammarians such as Jainendra and Śākaṭāyana, paralleled by the facts which centre round the verse no. 860 in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. It is pointed out that the mention of the names Udbhaṭa and Bhāmaha by the commentators on this verse is merely *pūjārtham*.

The scientific training which SUKTHANKAR received at Cambridge while preparing himself for the Mathematical Tripos, stood him in good stead during his Berlin days. Although he took up Indian Philology and Philosophy as his main branch of study, this Mathematical training prepared him

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5 *ZDMG* (1912) 66.477-90; 533-43.
6 *Ibid* 533-41.
7 *Ibid* 541-43.

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for a scientific outlook on matters literary or historical, and there was no study or investigation which he considered was low enough for a scholar if it led to proper utilisation of the material available. Thus we find him, in 1914, preparing a very detailed Index to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR'S *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*.[8] The preparation of an index of this type involves considerable labour and a deep understanding on the part of the indexer especially when he is separated from the author of the work indexed by nearly 6000 miles. This is exactly what happened in the case of this particular index, and the training involved in its preparation must have been an education to SUKTHANKAR under the direct supervision of Prof. LÜDERS.

There is now a gap of three years before SUKTHANKAR once again comes in with further contributions. This was evidently the period when he was attached to the Archæological Survey of India as a Government of India scholar, and was gathering varied experience, particularly in Epigraphy. The newly discovered Aśokan Edict of Maski was being entrusted to Rao Sahib H. Krishna SASTRI, officiating Government Epigraphist to the Government of India for editing towards the second half of 1915. At this time SUKTHANKAR was studying South-Indian Epigraphy and Palæography in the office of the Government Epigraphist and it is not unlikely that much of the work in connection with the Maski Edict was actually done by SUKTHANKAR. For he had received his training in this branch under LÜDERS, one of the most resourceful scholars in Europe who was equally at home with such difficult epigraphs or fragmentary Mss. as with printed texts. The help which the Rao Sahib received from SUKTHANKAR in his editorial work is acknowledged by him in the following words: 'The following text, translation and notes have been prepared by me with the co-operation of Dr. V S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D., a Government of India Research Scholar, who is studying South-Indian Epigraphy in my office'.[9]

During this period there are two Progress Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, from the pen of SUKTHANKAR, respectively for 1916-17 and 1917-18. His first tour of exploration took him about two months round the Sirohi State[10] where, in addition to the surveying of historical monuments, he filled up the lacunæ in the collection of the inscriptions of the Paramāras of Ābu, most of which were located within this State. With the material collected during this tour, in addition to what was already on record in the office of the Western Circle, it was thought possible to reconstruct a skeleton of the history of this family of Rajput chiefs from the middle

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[8] Published in the Grundriss der Indoarischen Philologie und Altertumskunde in 1914.

[9] *The New Asokan Edict of Maski* (—Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 1), 1915, p. 3.

[10] *Prog. Report of A. S. I., Western Circle*, 1916-17; part IV, pp. 59-72.

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of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. SUKTHANKAR had projected a separate study of this interesting period on the basis of these records for the Director-General's *Annual of Archæology*, but other and more important work must have prevented the fulfilment of this project. This exploration covered the sites at Oṛ with a Vishnu and Jain temples ; Girvar where a Śiva Liṅga and pedestal had been unearthed : Datānī believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V.S. 1640 between Mahārāo Surtān of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the former was victorious ; Makāval with a pillar inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, dated V.S. 1276, Śrāvaṇa-sudi 3 Monday ; Nitorā with, among other temples, a shrine of Śūrya and a temple of Pārśvanātha ; and a number of other interesting places.

The second Report for 1917-18 mostly deals with Epigraphy and Numismatics. The chief interest lies around the Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions, including the two sets of copper-plates of the Kadamba Kings Ravivarman and Krishnavarman ; two Caulukya Plates referring to the reign of the Caulukya Karṇa, dated respectively Śaka 996 and Vikrama 1131 ; two Valabhi Plates dated Saṁvat 210 and issued by order of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the Maitraka King of Valabhi. One of the most interesting of epigraphs dealt with at this time are the inscriptions at Dhar known as Sarpabandha, engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and other of verbal terminations. This latter is taken from a chapter of the Kātantra. These epigraphs are dated *ca.* 1150 A.D. on the strength of the names, Paramāra Naravarman and Udayāditya of Malva. Another important discovery was the Sanchi inscription of the time of Svāmi Jīvadāman which provides a date and location for Svāmi-Jīvadāman, the father of the founder of the third Dynasty of Satraps in Surāṣṭra who was up till then known only through the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha II.

In the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*[11] appears a short paper by SUKTHANKAR entitled "Palæographic Notes". In this paper SUKTHANKAR'S knowledge of Indian palæography is exhibited with the same careful precision which always characterised similar studies of LÜDERS. The main object of investigation was to find out the exact period at which 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail-headed' alphabet of Northern India was supplanted by the rival Northern Nāgarī. It was clear that up to the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 : the Multāi plates) the acute-angled alphabet was still current in Northern India ; on the other hand the Kaṇheri inscriptions (A.D. 851 and 877) unmistakably show the use of the Nāgarī alphabet for epigraphical purposes. The balance of evidence, as SUKTHANKAR points out, leads

[11] Pp. 309-22.

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strongly to the conclusion that the Sāmāngaḍ grant is spurious, and that the first employment of the Nāgarī is to be found in the Kaṇheri inscriptions, in direct opposition to the earlier view, expressed by BÜHLER[12] who was inclined to suppose that the Northern Nāgarī was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century. The evidence used by BÜHLER consisted of the Sāmāngaḍ grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 754, from Western India; the Dighvā-Dubaulī plate of Mahendrapāla I and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vināyakapāla (of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty) believed by BÜHLER to be dated in the years corresponding to A.D. 761 and 794-5 respectively. A detailed consideration, however, points out that these two records are to be expunged from their place at the end of Plate IV of BÜHLER'S Tables, and with this the entire block of evidence in support of the supposition for the use of Nāgarī forms for epigraphs since the beginning of the eighth century disappears. By proving the other plank of this theory, the Sāmāngaḍ grant, to be spurious, SUKTHANKAR established that the epoch for the use of Nāgarī in epigraphic documents should be taken forward by at least a hundred years. Incidentally he corrected also BÜHLER'S mislection of the date of the Vināyakapāla plate to A.D. 931. In this way the difficulty created by BÜHLER'S assumption for the use of the Nāgarī as epigraphic alphabet since the eighth century A.D., leaving the whole of the ninth century as bereft to any epigraphs in this script, is corrected.

SUKTHANKAR, as a critical reviewer, appears for the first time in two reviews published in the *Indian Antiquary for* 1917. The first review is on Prof. K. B. Pathak's edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (as embodied in the *Pārśvābhyudaya*)[13] with the commentary of Mallinātha, etc. in its revised form, published in 1916. It was characteristic of SUKTHANKAR to be almost punctilious about the typography and general get-up of a book even in these early days, and it is no wonder to one acquainted with his insistence on the proper appearance of a printed book that the second paragraph of this review deals at length with the bad printing of this volume. His criticism of Prof. PATHAK'S arguments regarding the date of Kālidāsa's is couched in a language which is almost a precursor to the style which he adopted in the famous Prolegomena, published 16 years later. One remark is significant: '... for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pārśvābhudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kālidāsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kaśmīr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. PATHAK'S estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee to the entire purity of the

[12] *Indische Palæographie* p. 51. [13] *IA* 46. 79-80.

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respective texts.' Readers of the Prolegomena may recollect the force of these arguments with reference to the classification of the different classes of the Mahābhārata manuscripts.

The second critical review is of Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR'S Mandlik Gold Medal Essay[14] entitled 'An Account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit Grammar,' now known as *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* in brief. This short book of 148 pages was published in 1915, and the review appears in the May 1917 issue of the *Indian Antiquary*. This is a model review : the introductory part deals objectively with what the author has actually to say in the book. The latter part of the review is strictly critical, pointing out the deficiencies of the book. Some of the sentences are characteristic of SUKTHANKAR at his best : 'It (= the book) should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing *in extenso*, the many controversial points which are either only lightly touched upon by Dr. BELVALKAR or not noticed at all.' Similarly in discussing Dr. BELVALKAR'S treatment of the relationship between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana he refers to the obvious overlooking by the author of KIELHORN'S brochure on the same subject published forty years earlier (Bombay 1876). In these and other remarks there is not the least trace of that heavy-weight authority which is characteristic of uninformed critics whose prolonged experience and long possession of a scientific reputation is, however, counteracted by superficial observations regarding the work of others. SUKTHANKAR never posed as an authority in any subject and did not assume that attitude of superiority which is a mark of lesser lights. In all his dealings he was straight-forward, and especially in scholarly matters his attitude was purely impersonal. It is on this account that his pronouncements on any work, even when he pleaded ignorance of the subject, are valuable in themselves.

During 1918 SUKTHANKAR published his translation of JACOBI'S paper on the Authenticity of the Kauṭilīya in the *Indian Antiquary*.[15] This is perhaps one of the two occasions when he attempted to translate into English, for the benefit of Indian scholars, some of the foreign contributions. But any one acquainted with his style can see that the work is not a mere translation and that the translator has taken the trouble to present it in good English which has always given a personal charm to his writings.

The first epigraphs to be edited by SUKTHANKAR (other than the Maski edicts of Aśoka) are published in 1919. The new Inscription of Siri-Pulumāvī,[16] a Prakrit record inscribed on a rock, firmly buried in the soil, lying midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍaburu in the Ādōnī Tālukā of the Bellari District, Madras Presidency, was edited by SUKTHANKAR as No. 9 for 1919 in the Epigraphia Indica. The importance of this epi-

[14] *Ibid.* 46. 106-8.
[15] *Ibid.* 47. 157-61 ; 187-95.
[16] *EI* 14. 153-5.

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graph lies in the site of the inscribed rock, fixing definitely a point south of the Krishna to which the sway of the Śātavāhanas extended. The other published as No. 4 for 1919 in *EI* is the Porumāmiḷḷa Tank Inscription of Bhāskara Bhavadhura[17-18] (Śaka 1291, the exact tithi being on Monday, the 15th October, 1369 A.D.) is a long record of 127 lines inscribed on two slabs, set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple. This inscription is interesting on account of many obscure technical terms which still need elucidation.

The beginning of a new interest is proved by SUKTHANKAR'S notice of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* edited by R. Ganapati ŚASTRI of Trivandrum. This notice published in *QJMS* for 1919, is the precursor of a long series of papers by SUKTHANKAR during the following five years. This short notice illustrates very clearly his special leanings towards textual criticism as an acute philologist with mathematical training. This particular training is clear in the use of the words 'assumption, argument, proof,' etc.; and according to his findings *Cārudatta* is a fragmentary play.

The year 1920 is one of the most fruitful in SUKTHANKAR'S career as an Indologist. There are altogether seven papers published during this year, two of which are contributed to the first volume of the newly founded *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. The first of these two papers,[19] entitled 'On the Home of the so-called Āndhra Kings' is a result of his study of the Myakadoni inscription of Śirī-Pulumāvi referred to above. As a result of unscientific speculation the comparison of epigraphic and numismatic data with those recorded in the Purāṇas (the critical editing of which texts is still a desideratum) the Śātavāhanas were connected with the Andhra dynasty and placed before the public as an authentic account of the fortunes of the family. SUKTHANKAR penetrates skilfully through this morass of facts and points out that at the bottom of this fiction there is only constructive historical imagination which has been misled by the Purāṇic account, and that this account itself is of such a mixed character with its *variæ lectiones* that it would be futile to arrive at a reliable and in every way a satisfactory text. Considering the find-places of the inscriptions of this dynasty it is found that the following distribution is noticed: Nanaghat, Nasik, Bhelsa, Kanheri, Karle, Myakadoni, Amaravati, Cina (Krishna Dist.) and Kodavolu. The earliest inscriptions are all from Western India and it is not until the time of Vāsiṣṭhiputra-Siri-Pulumāvi that we meet with an inscription of any king of this dynasty from the Āndhradeśa. Moreover the expression *Satvahanihara*—which reminds one of the expression *Satahani-raṭṭha* of the Hīra-Haḍagalli copper-plate grant—appears to indicate that the tribe to which this line of kings belonged must be regarded as autochtons of the inland province so named, which has not yet been identified with certainty but which lay, probably, considerably, to the west of the Āndhra country. A consideration

[17-18] *Ibid*, 14. 97-109.

[19] *Annals BORI* 1.21.142.

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of the dates of the inscriptions and their sites indicates that the Sātavāhanas had first made themselves masters of the northern portion of the western Ghats, and even subdued some part of Mālava, before turning their attention to the conquest of the *Āndhradeśa*. This epigraphic evidence is remarkably borne out by numismatic evidence and the earliest coins are found in Western India. SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the views of RAPSON and Vincent SMITH is masterly and trenchant. All the evidence marshalled points to the south-western parts of the Deccan plateau as the possible home of this interesting dynasty.

The second paper contributed to the *Annals* is on the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus.[20] Discovered providentially by Sir John MARSHALL, this little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars in Indian history, and a scholarly edition of the inscription by J. PH. VOGEL was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archæological Survey of India for 1908-09. But in all these studies the historical interest centring round the name of the Graeco-Indian king Antialkidas and the conversion of a Greek Ambassador in India to the cult of Vāsudeva preponderates over every other interest so that the language and textual criticism of the inscription has become the chief theme of investigation by SUKTHANKAR in this paper. One important point is clearly established by SUKTHANKAR : that the writer of the inscription must have been a Greek who rendered word for word the original Greek model into the corresponding Prakrit, and that this Greek might conceivably be Heliodoros. The anomalies of Prakrit construction become clear when Greek syntax is invoked to our aid. This is particularly important both for Old and Middle Indo-Aryan syntax, for an analysis on this line of doubtful constructions might ultimately lead us to the unravelling of the substrata which have affected the growth of Indo-Aryan in its long history.

The short note on an Assyrian tablet[21] found in Bombay is in reality an announcement of a unique discovery in Bombay, with the readings and English rendering by Dr. C. E. KEISER. Similarly the short review of LÜDERS' *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*[22] is a timely notice bringing out the importance of this work for several branches of Indian philology, and in particular to Indian palæography and Middle-Indian dialectology, as also to the theory of Indian dramaturgy.

Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy is the title of one of the least known of SUKTHANKAR'S papers. It appeared in the *Asian Review* for October-December 1920,[23] the only English monthly journal published in Japan. It is a popular paper which brings out the characteristics peculiar to Indian epigraphs ; in his wide survey he includes the famous Piprāwā Relic Inscription,

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20 *Ibid* 1. 59-66.
21 *JAOS* 40-142-4.
22 *Modern Review*, July 1920, p. 37.
23 Pp. 725-7 ; 857-60.

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the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, the Armenian Memorial Stone epitaph near the city of Madras (ca. 1663 A.D. corresponding to the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses) in the Armenian language and script; a Syrian inscription in a small church at Travancore besides Pahlavi records. Similarly he refers to discoveries including the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the debris of a house of the 1st century B.C. No reference to epigraphic curiosities could be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas were engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts. In the brief compass of a short general article SUKTHANKAR has touched upon the many-sided nature of Indian epigraphs, and includes reference to the rare inscription, perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, written in characters of the seventh century, engraved on a massive block, consisting of the text of notes of seven typical modes of Hindu Music arranged for the Indian lute.

The interest which SUKTHANKAR had evinced a little earlier in noticing the edition of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, bears fruit now, in the year 1920 and initiates his series of STUDIES IN BHASA of which altogether seven were published. The Introduction to this series[24] is remarkable for the breadth of vision and the catholicity of approach which SUKTHANKAR exhibits and which becomes hereafter the hall-mark of everything that he writes. The first series deals with certain archaisms in the Prakrit of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. These archaisms are tabulated as under: 1. *amhāaṁ* (<Sk. *asmākam*) in opposition to later *amhānam*, the form *amhā(k)aṁ* being reminiscent of Pāli *amhākam* and Aśvaghoṣa's *tum(h) āk(aṁ)*; 2. The root *arh-* in the forms *arhā* and *arhādi* are reminiscent of Aśvaghoṣa's *arhessi*; 3. *ahaka* (< Sk. *aham*), 4. *āṁa*; 5. *karia* (< Sk. *kṛtvā*) as compared with Saurasenī *kadua*; 6. *kissa, kiśśa* (< Sk. *kasya*); 7. *khu* (< Sk. *khalu*); 8. *tava* (Sk. *tava*); 9. *tuvaṁ* (< Sk. *tvam*); 10. *dissa, diśśa-* (Sk. *dṛṣya-*) and 11. *vaaṁ* (< Sk. *vayam*). A consideration of these eleven archaisms which are found side by side, in some cases, with later or more modern forms, shows its affinities to Aśvaghoṣa's Prakrit and goes to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections for which successive generations of scribes and diaskeuasts should be held responsible, there lies in these dramas a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

In the following year the second series of Studies in Bhāsa was published dealing with the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas.[25] In this study he has intensively pursued certain characteristics of the versifica-

[24] *JAOS* 40, 248.

[25] *Ibid* 41. 107-30.

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tion of the metrical portions which seemingly distinguish them from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. It also embraces a study of metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages, with the intention of ascertaining their exact number and of discussing their nature. The analysis of the metres shows the employment of the Śloka, Vasantatilaka, Upajāti, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mālinī, Puṣpitāgrā, Vaṁśastha, Śālinī, Śikhariṇī, Praharṣinī, Āryā, Sragdharā, Hariṇī, Vaiśvadevī, Suvadanā, Upagīti, Daṇḍaka and abbreviated Daṇḍaka, Dṛutavilambita, Pṛthvī, Bhujangaprayāta, Vaitālīya, the last seven of which occur but once; the order given is according to the descending order of their frequency totals in the entire group of plays. A comparison of these with STENZLER's tables[26] shows that with the exception of the so-called abbreviated Daṇḍaka of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poesy. The frequency table for the first four metres enumerated above gives 436 for the Śloka, 179 for the Vasantatilaka, 121 for the Upajāti and 92 for the Śārdūlavikrīḍita in a grand total of 1092 verses. This fact shows the general preponderance of the Śloka to all the rest, to the extent of more than thirty-nine or very nearly forty per cent. of the total. It is found that Bhavabhūti is the only classical dramatist who employs the Śloka frequently with the percentage represented by 129:385 for *Mahāvīracarita* and 89:253 for the *Uttararāmacarita* and 14:224 in the *Mālatīmādhava*. A comparison of these results with those determined for other classical dramatists makes abundantly clear that the preference for Ślokas is a feature of the metrical technique of these plays, in which they differ from the dramas of the classical age. The list of solecisms so far as the Sanskrit metre is concerned includes two cases of irregular sandhi, twelve of change of voice, two of change of conjugation, one each of irregular feminine participle and of irregular absolutive, two of simplex for the causative, three of irregular compounds, one of an irregular syntactical combination and several anomalous formations. All these investigations tend to prove that the Sanskrit of the verses included in the Bhāsa dramas differ in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, and reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. This conclusion is parallel to the one already arrived at by consideration of the Prakrit archaisms contained in the plays.

During 1921 SUKTHANKAR also published Three Kṣatrapa Inscriptions in collaboration with R. D. BANERJI as No. 17 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. XVI)[27]. These inscriptions are exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rājkot, and though they had been published before, the joint editors re-edited them in order to have them properly illustrated and to

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[26] *ZDMG* 44.1—edited by KISHNAN.

[27] *EI* 16. 233-41.

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render them more easily accessible. The first is the Gundā Inscription of the time of Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṃha (: the year 103) , ca. 181 A.D. ; the object of the inscription is to record the digging and constructing, at the village of Rasopadra of a well by the senāpati Rudrabhūti, son of the Senāpati Bāpaka, the Ābhīra. The second is the Gadhā (Jasdan) Inscription of the time of the Mahā-Kṣatrapa Rudrasena (: the year 127-126), *ca.* 204-05 A.D. The third is the Junāgadh Inscription of the time of the grandson of the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman. One word is extremely interesting in the second of these three inscriptions : *Śatra* on which some comment has been offered by the editors in a footnote, but no satisfactory explanation could be arrived at, although the meaning assigned by BANERJI is, to our mind, the nearest approach to the true state of affairs.

No. 19 in the same volume of *Epigraphia Indica* is an edition of two Kadamba Grants[28] from Sirsi by SUKTHANKAR. The first copper-plate grant is that of Ravivarman (the [3] 5th year) and the second of Kṛṣṇavarman II (the 19th year). The chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated.

Before we turn to SUKTHANKAR'S dissertation published in this year there is a short review of E. R. HAVELL'S *Handbook of Indian Art* which must draw our attention.[29] While he is in general agreement with the main thesis of Mr. HAVELL there are many matters of detail and of interpretation where he would differ from him. The following lines are suggestive :

> To Mr. HAVELL and the critics of his school, all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr. HAVELL says, for instance, that 'the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art,' he overshoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art, he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact, Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that the Hindu art is the product of a yogic hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that. *** The truth of the matter is that when due allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West.

The above view is typical of SUKTHANKAR'S scientific approach to problems : wading through the *minutae* or *differentiae* in their space-time context and arriving at the central theme which shows an essential identity or uniformity throughout. This is clearly borne out later in his great Mahābhārata work.

The most important publication of this year is naturally SUKTHANKAR'S dissertation which had been completed just prior to the beginning of the first World War, in 1914. The title of the dissertation is : "Die Grammatik Śākaṭāyana's (Ādhyaya 1, Pāda 1) nebst Yakṣavarman's Kommentar,

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[28] *Ibid.* 16.264-72.

[29] *The Freeman*, 7 December 1921, pp. 308-10.

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mit Uebersetzung der Sūtras und Erläuterungeun Versehen.' It gives a specimen of the grammatical sūtras of Śāk. based upon three Manuscripts, B. P. and H. Although these three Mss. do not differ from each other in major questions, they appear to be independent of each other in their minor variations. The constitution of the text is principally based on B; the text occupies the first 33 pages (13-45); the *variae lectiones* cover pages 46-51; the second part, consisting of the translation into German with explanations of the text covers the rest of the 90 pages. As remarked in the *Bombay Chronicle* for February 1915, this dissertation is at the same time a contribution to the history of Sanskrit Grammar. Evidence for its being so is to be found in the critical review of BELVALKAR'S Systems of Sanskrit Grammar,[30] and the rejoinder of Prof. PATHAK on the authorship of the Amoghavṛtti subsequently.[31] SUKTHANKAR himself considered that this dissertation was to him only a means of training in the modern scientific investigation so successfully applied by Western Orientalists and Indologists of the greatness of LÜDERS, and that the work by itself was not of any great merit. But this was at a time when all his energies were absorbed in the great work of editing the Mahābhārata ; it was, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to him that there are a number of important references to this early work of his in RENOU'S *Grammaire Sanscrite.*

Two inscriptions were edited by SUKTHANKAR during 1922. The first one is the Vākāṭaka Inscription from Ganj,[32] and like the Kuṭhārā inscription discovered by CUNNINGHAM (commonly known as the Nāchanē-ḳi-tālāi inscription), is one of the oldest records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and is practically identical with it. SUKTHANKAR'S freedom from bias is witnessed in this editorial work :

> BÜHLER assigns the copper-plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II., the grandson of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I., to the fifth or sixth century A.D., it is not known to me on what grounds. I have examined the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the Guptas, of the kings of Śarabhapura, of Tīvara, of Kōsala and of the early Kadamba kings, without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. BÜHLER'S date, however, appears to me to be far too early.'

When he is not certain of his results, SUKTHANKAR never makes any overstatement or shoots over the mark. The caution of the scholar trained in mathematical thinking is in evidence in every statement that he makes.

The second group consists of two new grants of Dhruvasena (I). from Palitānā.[33] The first grant is edited from the plates of Dhruvasena I : (Valabhī)-Saṁ(vat) 207, and SUKTHANKAR'S discussion of the controversial expression *-prāpīya* or *-prāveśya* is very interesting. The date of the inscrip-

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30 See f.n. 14 *supra.*
31 *Annals BORI* I. 7-12.
32 *EI* 17. 12-14.
33 *Ibid* 17. 105-110.

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tion corresponds to A.D. 527. The second grant contains only the opening portion of a land-grant of the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna I. This is concluded with a Postscript wherein another plate issued by the same king in the year 206 (corresponding to A.D. 525) is edited.

The year's work is concluded with the third paper in the series Studies in Bhāsa, dealing with the relationship between the *Cārudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛcchakaṭika.*[34] According to SUKTHANKAR, 'the close correspondence between the anonymous fragment *Cārudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛchhakatika,* attributed to King Śūdraka, inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship, and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin.' The problem is attacked by noting the textual differences between the two versions, and these variations are classified here under four headings : 1. Technique ; 2. Prakrit ; 3. Versification ; and 4. Dramatic incident. By a dispassionate consideration of technical variations it is found that this evidence is inconclusive regarding priority of the one or the other. The Prakrit archaisms of *Cārudatta* are by themselves no criterion for the general priority of *Cārudatta* to *Mṛcchakaṭika* ; on the other hand the versification of *Mṛcch.* is better than that of *Cāru.*, and the change of readings between the parallel versions appears to be consistently worse for the *Cāru.* We could not reasonably hold the copyists guilty of introducing systematically such strange blunders and inexcusable distortions. If the Prakrit and Versification facts are combined, and if the posterity of *Cāru.* is assumed, we are asked to believe that while the compiler of the *Cāru.* had carefully copied from older manuscripts all the Prakrit archaisms, he had systematically mutilated the Sanskrit verses, which is a *reductio ad absurdum.* The fourth point adds considerably to the opposite assumption of the priority of *Cāru.* to *Mṛcch.* Adding all this evidence SUKTHANKAR comes to the conclusion that it is not unreasonable to assume the priority of the *Cārudatta* fragment to the *Mṛcchakaṭika.*

While engaged on such wider research SUKTHANKAR did not neglect his aesthetic taste as a critical Sanskrit scholar. We find him publishing during 1922, in the Calcutta journal *Shama'a,*[35] his first English rendering of the *Svapnavāsavadatta,* between April and October. It is an excellent English version of this immortal love-play, republished with great improvement, by the Oxford University Press in 1923 as : "Vāsavadattā, Being a translation of an anonymous Sanskrit drama, Svapnāvāsavadatta attributed to Bhāsa."[36] Within its 94 pages of beautiful print it is packed with interest and excitement. According to a searching critic in the *Voice of India,*[37] SUKTHANKAR'S rendering mirrors the truth, lucidity and vigour of the original. A very

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[34] *JAOS* 42. 59-74.
[35] April and July 1922, pp. 137-69 ; October 1922, pp. 25-45.
[36] Pp. V + 94.
[37] For 31st Oct. 1923.

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pellucid preface which hides extensive reading, shows that the burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast, undying love, for which no sacrifice is too costly. Another critic in the *Modern Review*[38] agrees that Dr. SUKTHANKAR is one of that rare group of Indologists who have combined with a passion for occidental method a mastery of the indigenous technique of Sanskrit grammar. Hence his translation of Bhāsa's masterpiece is at once transparent and suggestive, useful for the general reader and illuminating from the point of view of textual elucidation.

Studies in Bhāsa : IV deals with a very detailed concordance of the dramas.[39] The introductory paragraph of this paper, with the words italicised by us, indicates the scope and method of approach, which has been SUKTHANKAR'S special characteristic.

> Gaṇapati SĀSTRĪ and other scholars after him, who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhāsa, have sought to justify their ascription to the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings. The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must, however, be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common, do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that *the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately.* Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas, taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

The scope of the paper has been restricted to the presentation of material which falls within the following six categories : (*a*) Entire stanzas ; (*b*) Entire pādas of verses ; (*c*) Longer prose passages ; (*d*) Short passages ; (*e*) Set phrases and rare words, and (*f*) Echoes of thought. Altogether these six categories cover 127 cases.

The fifth of this series entitled 'A bibliographical note'[40] is an attempt to present, in as complete a form as possible all the material available up to 1923 on the vexed problem of Bhāsa, arranged systematically under different heads. The total number of entries comes to 111 and is distributed over three main heads : Individual Plays (Nos. 1-54), General Criticism of the Plays (Nos. 55-95) and Incidental References (Nos. 96-111). A study of this scattered material, mostly at first hand, was the basis for the observations contained in SUKTHANKAR'S papers on the subject of Bhāsa. This little study is really an index to the genius of SUKTHANKAR ; for it shows that he was not satisfied with a mere surface acquaintance with the critical literature on the particular subject of his own investigation, and dived deep not only into the original material but also into the critical studies of others.

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38 For Jan. 1924.

39 *Annals BORI* 4. 167-187.

40 *JBBRAS* 26. 230-49.

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'An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research' is the text of a discourse delivered by SUKTHANKAR on 20th August 1923, at a gathering of the Cama Institute, on the 14th Anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. CAMA, and published in the third volume of that Institute's journal during 1924.[41] In his peripheral excursion the lecturer takes us round Greater India, Iran (and discovery of Hittite and Mitani tablets) the countries of Buddhistic expansion in Central Asia wherein Sir Aurel STEIN, Dr. VON LE COQ and others had discovered a large amount of literary remains. This lecture summarises the important research as well as the results of the exploration carried out by European scholars and exhorts Indian scholars to do likewise. These problems which lie at the fringe of Indological research and should not be neglected require as much attention by Indian scholars as the centrical problems with which the previous generation of Indian scholars concerned themselves. It is an appeal to us to widen our scholarly outlook and understand the problems which our forbears have created in conquering intellectually or spiritually dominions lying on the periphery of India.

The year 1925 is the most important in the career of SUKTHANKAR. It was on the 4th August of this year that he assumed charge of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and thereafter devoted himself almost exclusively to this great work. But the accumulated studies which he had completed during the preceding period were still pending with several journals. Thus we find the second translation from German which SUKTHANKAR made for publication : Zarathustra : His Life and Doctrine, being the Akademische Rede delivered by Prof. Chr. BATHOLOMAE at Heidelberg on 22nd November 1918.[42]

A short note on the Sātavāhanas appears simultaneously in the *JBBRAS*[43] and the *QJMS*,[44] replying to the criticism of Mr. T. N. SUBRAMANIAN of Kumbakonam regarding SUKTHANKAR'S paper on the Home of the so-called Andhras. The following sentences mirror SUKTHANKAR'S critical as well as introspective attitude quite well :

> I must frankly admit, however, that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold : (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the early Sātavāhana kings with the Āndhradeśa, their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south-western portion of the Deccan plateau ; only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards, so that subsequently even the Āndhradeśa was included in the Sātavāhana dominions ; the Sātavāhana migration was from the west to the east ; (2) that the Sātavāhanas are different from, and should not be confused with, the Āndhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chroni-

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41 Pp. 93-104.

42 Reprinted from the *Sanjana Memorial Volume*, pp. 1-15.

43 New Series, 1. 160-61.

44 July 1923, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 776-7,

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cles; (3) that the home (or early habitat) of the Sātavāhanas is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is perhaps to be located in the province then known as *Sātavahani-hāra*—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

The whole object of research is to arrive at the truth, so far as that is possible; and if one has committed an error of judgment or has not expressed oneself clearly, the confessing to that fact and the re-attempt to correct oneself in that light is the true character of a great scholar. SUKTHANKAR comes out triumphant each time this test is applied to his writings; for to him, knowledge without character was a barren thing, incapable of touching the finest emotions of a cultured being.

The sixth of the series, Studies in Bhāsa, is one of SUKTHANKAR'S great contributions to critical reviewing.[45] In this paper he gives a belated review of the thesis *Bhāsa's Prākrit* by Dr. Wilhelm PRINTZ, accepted by the University of Frankfurt as 'Habilitationsschrift' in 1919, and published two years later. The work itself is one of the most important contributions to the study of the Prakrits in Sanskrit plays, and in particular to the study of the Prakrit of the thirteen plays attributed to Bhāsa. The text-critical training which SUKTHANKAR had received at the hands of LÜDERS is clearly visible when he remarks:

'His methodology seems to imply that the Trivandrum texts have been handed down in an almost unalloyed condition since the time of the supposed author Bhāsa. PRINTZ deals with the Prakrit of these plays in the same confident way in which Prof. LÜDERS has dealt with the Prakrit of the Turfan fragments of Buddhist dramas. In doing so, PRINTZ has failed to take into account the essential difference of character between the two sets of manuscripts, not to speak of the manner in which they have been edited; he appears not to appreciate the elementary fact that Prakrit texts are liable to serious mutilation and corruption in the course of transmission through centuries, and that they need most careful editing. PRINTZ'S method of arguing is most unscientific.'

It may be mentioned here that the whole of this detailed review article is a corrective to PRINTZ'S thesis and that his work will be practically useless for critical studies without SUKTHANKAR'S notes on it. The chief fault of PRINTZ is the classification of the Prakrit dialects, and his citations for Māgadhī and Ardha-māgadhī are all but useless: secondly his overlooking the southern graphy and obvious Dravidianisms of the Prakrit passages has led him to wrong conclusions. An important result of examining PRINTZ'S thesis by SUKTHANKAR is to prove that the Prakrit argument is inconclusive and cannot by itself be safely made the basis of chronology.

We now come to the last of the studies on Bhāsa which SUKTHANKAR published.[46] It is entitled: "The Bhāsa Riddle: A Proposed Solution."

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45 *JBBRAS* (NS) 1.103-17.

46 *Ibid.* 1.126-43. See now A. D. PUSALKER, *Bhāsa a Study* 1940, and *Bhāsa* (Bharatiya Vidya Studies, No. 1), 1943.

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Although it is not numbered as the seventh in the series called STUDIES IN BHĀSA of which six had already been published, it is a fitting conclusion to these previous studies. The conclusions arrived at may be given in the author's own words :

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows : Our *Svapnavāsavadattā* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name ; the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* may be by the same author ; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The five one-act Mahābhārata pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group ; they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthy dramatized version of the complete MBh saga,—a version which may yet come to light, if a search be made for it. The *Ūrubhaṅga* is no tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

The year closes with reviews of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* for December 1923, vol. III, Part 1, MACDONELL'S *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (corrected reissue, 1924) and Sir Flinder PETRIE'S *Religious Life in Ancient India*.[47] All these reviews attest to that independence of judgment and that sureness of approach which one learns to associate with SUKTHANKAR.

During 1926 SUKTHANKAR revised GHATE'S *Lectures on the Rig Veda* and contributed a Preface. He also contributed an illuminating Foreword to the Marathi rendering of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof. URDHWARESHE.

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR became the Chief Editor of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series) and gave a new impetus to the declining condition of the research work published by the Society. There is a reference to this in the *Bombay Chronicle* for May 10, 1925, which may be reproduced here :

The reproach that the local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been the rose garden of senility seems to be in a fair way to be wiped out. The first number of the new series of its journal may now well stand in line with similar periodicals in other parts of the world and certainly in India. The Joint Editors are Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin) and Professor SHAIKH Abdul Kadar, M.A., I.E.S. The former especially seems to have thrown himself with energy into his new task. Learned Bombay expects that he will sustain the ardour evinced in the first issue of the journal and fulfil the promise of his first performance.

Prof. WINTERNITZ, while reviewing the same journal in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, remarks :[48]

"We heartily congratulate the Bombay Society on this first number of the New Series of its *Journal*, which not only contains much valuable matter, but is

[47] *Ibid.* 1.167-73.

[48] *WZKM*, 32.286-71.

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also got up in excellent style and well printed on good paper. It is to be hoped that a large increase of subscribers to the journal both in India and Europe will make it possible for the Society to keep up this high standard."

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR was delivering postgraduate Lectures on Comparative Philology at the University of Bombay. Among his papers are still to be found manuscript and type-written notes of these lectures, particularly in connection with the comparative grammars of Indo-European and Indo-Aryan. A cursory glance has convinced the writer of the extreme care with which SUKTHANKAR compiled his notes and with what details he worked out his general lectures. Like R. L. STEVENSON he polished his work over and over again until all the dross was removed, leaving pure shining gold behind. If one works through all the *Nachlasse* of SUKTHANKAR one is struck by the patience, the meticulous accuracy, the eye to detail and withal a power to see the whole through a few details only, with which he took up any problem.

SUKTHANKAR commenced his new but last phase of scholarship as the General Editor of the Great Epic on the 4th of August 1925. He had naturally before him the experience of his predecessor UTGIKAR with a batch of assistants and an editorial committee; but that experience showed him the necessity of re-organizing the entire department, from the manner of collating the manuscripts up to the final selection of readings for the constituted text and the laborious critical apparatus. The classification of the Mahābhārata manuscripts broadly into two recensions, Northern and Southern, had already been achieved before the turn of the century. In the tentative edition of UTGIKAR also this was accepted as an axiom, but he did not attempt a full classification of the Mss. and arrive at their pedigree. His main object was to test the authenticity of a certain group of Mss. utilized for the tentative edition and clear the ground for future editorial work on the critical Edition. Now that the final responsibility of critically editing the Epic rested entirely with SUKTHANKAR he had not only to select his Mss. for the critical apparatus by means of tests devised so far and assure himself of the authenticity of the manuscript tradition represented by various exemplars obtainable for collation, but also to arrange for their proper collation and subsequent classification. It took four years to produce the tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan based on 16 Mss. : 11 Devanāgarī, 1 each of Bengali, Telugu and Grantha and two Malayālam Mss. The best commentary on this edition is to be found in the Introduction to the Critical Edition of the Virāṭaparvan. :[49]

Last of all, there is the Tentative Edition of the Virāṭaparvan prepared by the late Mr. N. B. UTGIKAR, M.A., and published by this Institute in 1923. It was based on eleven Devanāgarī Mss. (our $D_{1\text{-}3,\ 7\text{-}8\text{-}10}$ Dn_1. n_2 ; the others having been rejected by me as of little critical value), one Bengali (our B_4), one Telugu, one Grantha and two Malayālam Mss. (our $M_{1\text{-}2}$). Out of these 16 Mss. Mr. UTGIKAR

[49] p. xi.

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had chosen three (F A M = our D_{1-3}) as the basis of his text. The chief reason for his preference for these seems to have been their division of the Virāṭaparvan into 67 adhyāyas, exactly the number given in the Parvasaṁgraha. Further by effecting certain omissions favoured by the Southern recension, Mr. UTGIKAR was able to arrive at a text of just 2050 stanzas, not a stanza less or more. 2050 is, again, the Parvasaṁgraha figure. Relying on the Kumbhakonam edition as the Southern recension, which is in reality a hopeless blend of the Northern and the Southern and which at this particular point (Parvasaṁgraha) has the Northern text, Mr. UTGIKAR came to believe that the Parvasaṁgraha data in both the recensions are the same, that the Parvasaṁgraha has not been tampered with, and that having been known to Kumārila in about the 7th century A.D. it must reflect the Mahābhārata of a still more ancient age, and hence his own text which tallies with this data so perfectly must be as old as 'fourth century A.D. at least'. Mr. UTGIKAR thought that he could go even further back, beyond the Parvasaṁgraha age, by purging the text of 34 lines which had already crept into the Mahābhārata when the Parvasaṁgraha was composed. Every one of these 34 lines is the third line of a six-pāda stanza, and as such could not have been original, for the norm of the stanza was four pādas forming two lines. So though found in all Mss. Mr. UTGIKAR did not admit them into the text, which was thus curtailed by him to 2033 stanzas. Since the time of Mr. UTGIKAR more Ms. material has been discovered, notably $Ś_1$ $K_{1\cdot2}$ which represents a tradition superior to the three basic Mss. of Mr. UTGIKAR, *and a prolonged and intensive study of the Mahābhārata Mss. has established definitively that too much reliance on any group of Mss. is unwarranted and misleading, and that the Parvasaṁgraha figures, even when uniform, can be no sure guide in our effort at going beyond the versions.*

The last part of the above paragraph has been purposely italicised by us. It indicates briefly but with force the basic fault of earlier editors like Mr. UTGIKAR, and of later editors like Prof. P. P. S. SASTRI who have relied too much on the Parvasaṁgraha argument[50] to base their critical editions, at the cost of the evidence which the manuscripts themselves bring forward. If, in a critical edition, the manuscript evidence of different classes of exemplars is not assessed properly and turned into account, and the constitution of the text is vitiated by an argument which is not supported by the evidence of the Mss. then it ceases to be a critical edition, at least in the sense of 'lower textual criticism' whose main object is to arrive at the most ancient form of the text as reconstructed entirely on the basis of the exemplars of the text available for critical purposes.

So the first and most difficult task before SUKTHANKAR was the classification of the Mss. material and the building up of a pedigree of the different classes of Mss. which could be critically utilized for the purposes of the edition. During the interval of two years which elapsed between SUKTHANKAR's *taking charge* (August, 1925) and the publication of the first fasciculus of the Ādiparvan (May, 1927) covering the first two adhyāyas, SUKTHANKAR utilized altogether 50 Mss. for collation and use in the critical apparatus, distributed as under : 7 for the Kāśmīrī Version in Deva-

[50] On this see the Prolegomena, pp. xcviii ff [*SME* 1.122 ff.].

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nāgarī transcript, 1 for the Maithilī Version, 4 for the Bengali Version, 2 for the Devanāgarī Version of Arjunamiśra, 3 for the Devanāgarī Version of Nīlakaṇṭha, 4 for the Dev. Version of Ratnagarbha and 14 for the Dev. Mixed Versions, constituting the Northern Recension ; 2 for the Telugu Version, 7 for the Grantha Version and 4 for the Malayālam Version, constituting the Southern Recension. In addition 2 Mss. containing the text of Devabodha's commentary without the epic text were also collated.

With the aid of this critical apparatus SUKTHANKAR constituted his critical text of the first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan within less than two years, establishing an unprecedented record for critical editing. For he had to classify the Mss. material, and an important advance made in this was the separation of the archetype K (which represents the Devanāgarī transcripts of the Kāśmīrī or North-western version) from other so-called Devanāgarī versions.[51] The archetype K represents a comparatively pure form of the MBh textual tradition and together with the Śāradā forms the *textus simplicior*. The Maithili version stands nearest to the Bengali version, as SUKTHANKAR found, and this latter itself is slightly superior to the Vulgate. Closely connected with the Bengali is the version of Arjunamiśra. Nīlakaṇṭha presents a 'smooth' version generally accepted as the 'Vulgate', and next to this comes the mixed Devanāgarī group. In this manner SUKTHANKAR began to discover the genetic pattern existing between the different classes of Mss. irrespective of their individual idiosyncracies. This is a very important distinction when dealing with such texts of a complicated tradition as the Great Epic. For if we get enmeshed within the individual idiosyncracies first it is impossible to arrive at a fundamental principle in the reconstruction of the oldest text. For evaluating the particular codex it is essential for the editor to make an intensive study of it and note down its peculiarities ; but when we have hundreds of Mss. to choose from, we have to give importance to types of Mss. rather than to number. SUKTHANKAR had therefore 50 Mss. of the Ādi for collation from out of approximately 235 known through catalogues, etc. and of which 107 were in Devanāgarī script, 32 in Bengali, 31 in Grantha, 28 in Telugu, 26 in Malayālam, 5 in Nepālī, 3 in Śāradā, 1 each in Maithilī, Kannada and Nandināgarī. Of these about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for this edition : of these again 60 were actually utilized in preparing the text, and the critical apparatus of the first two adhyāyas gives the collations of 50 Manuscripts.

The very classification of manuscripts which SUKTHANKAR gives on p. iii of his Foreword to the first fasciculus of the Ādiparvan, under the date January 1927, shows that the pedigree of Mss. had been fully worked out ; the separation of the K version from the so-called D version establishes the archetype γ comprising Ś and K ; similarly the archetype ε is presumed by

[51] Foreword to Fascicule 1, p. iv [=*SME* 1.5].

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the intimate relationship existing between Maithilī and Bengali Mss. in opposition to the so-called D group of Mss. with which they form a minor group leading to the sub-recension γ which may be termed the Central Sub-Recension. In a similar manner the archetype σ comprising T and G Mss. is established. By what tedious process of classification and re-classification of the Mss. this pedigree of Ādiparvan versions was arrived at can only be imagined by those who have actually worked with such complex material or have gone through in detail the *apparatus criticus* given by SUKTHANKAR with his constituted text. We have some means of following the thought-process of SUKTHANKAR in the scribbled notes and jottings which he used to make at this time. We reproduce below the short text of some notes made on 14th October 1925, regarding the Principles of Mbh. Text Criticism and Text Reconstruction :

(1) The chief principle of text criticism is to take as a basis the oldest Ms. of the family of Mss. which is recognised as the best, and with all possible consistency to make this authoritative in the edition. But it should be clearly recognised that Mss. of even the best family are not entirely free from errors, corruptions, emendations and innovations. Nevertheless before one rejects a reading of the basic Mss. it ought to be shown that the supposed superior reading must inevitably have stood in the Ur-Northern Recension.

(2) Give preference to a reading found in both the Grantha and Malayālam Mss. when confirmed by the Bengali Mss., even though they stand in conflict with the Basic Mss. In other words, a reading found in Grantha, Malayālam and Bengali is *prima facie* superior to a variant found only in the basic Mss.

(3) As a general rule, no complete verse should be adopted as genuine unless it is found in both the Northern and the Southern Recensions. Exceptions may be considered. When a one-recension verse, for cogent reasons is adopted, it should be printed in small type.

(4) There being two distinct recensions, only one can be printed at a time. When the N and S readings are of equal value, choose, for the sake of convenience, uniformly the N, so as to avoid as far as possible a *saṁkara* of the recensions. (We give preference to the Northern as the more reliable recension, it being nearer the source of the original. But this is external criticism and *a priori* conclusion).

(5) In the absence of other criteria, the consistency of any one class of Mss. should be the guiding factor in the choice of a reading.

(6) Compare commentaries and note down their *pāṭhāntaras* in the footnotes, in among the v. l.

(7) When there is a change of speaker, the name of the interlocutor should be invariably and consistently printed in the text. When it is not found in the old Mss. or in any of the Mss. at all, then it should be enclosed in square brackets.

(8) No emendation should be made which is not self-evident or inevitable, and which is open to the slightest doubt.

The rough draft of a *Stemma Codicum* reproduced here, on the opposite page, is dated 24th September 1925. It shows the process by which SUKTHANKAR struggled through to that simple but great discovery of the genetic relationship between the recensions and versions and sub-versions of the

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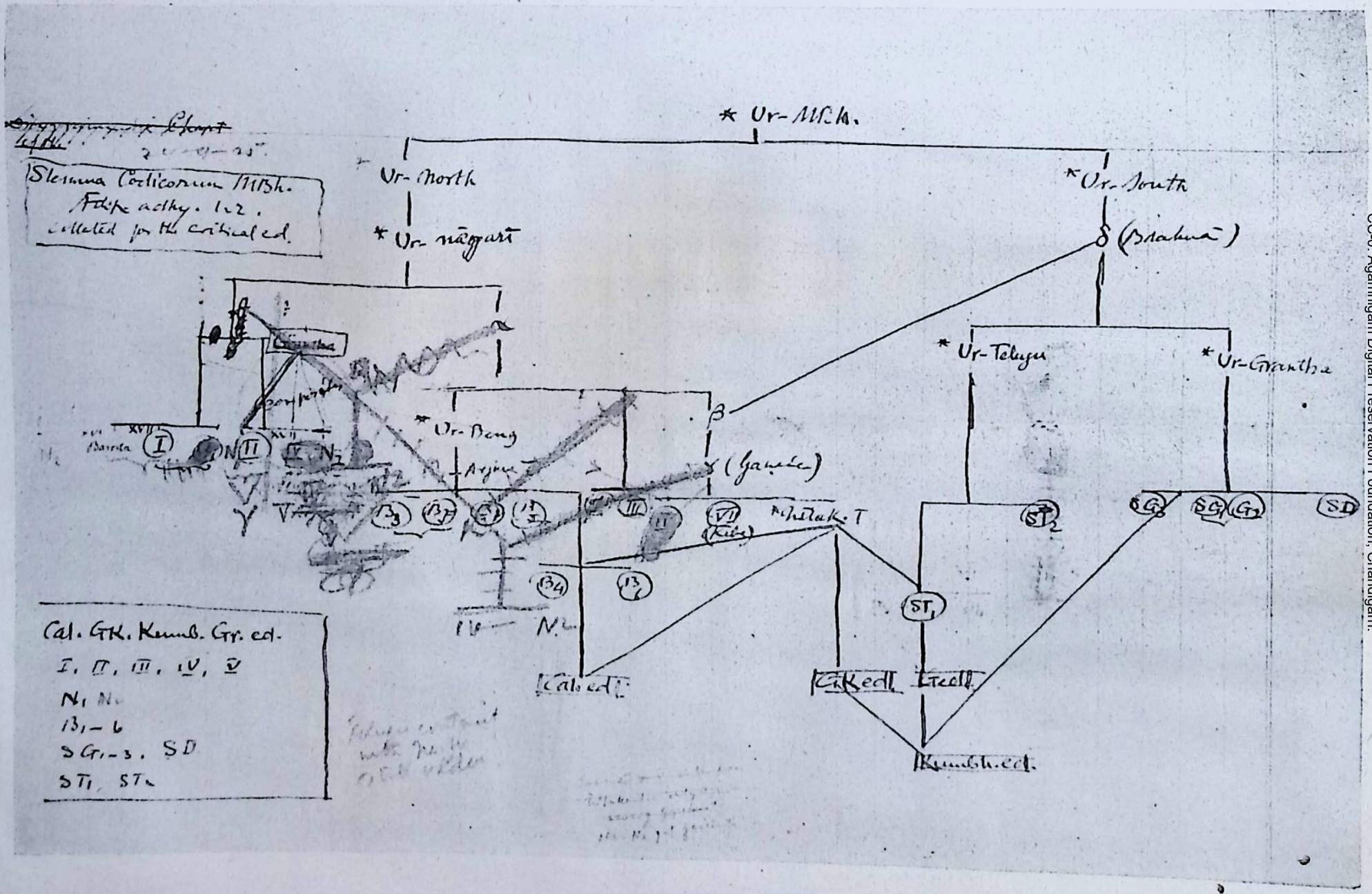

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Mahābhārata critical apparatus.[52] The above principles may be compared with those derived by SUKTHANKAR in critically editing the first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan :[53]

> The Southern recension agrees with the archetype K more closely than with any other Northern version. .... Since I have not been able to discover traces of 'secondary inter-relationship' between archetypes and K and S, I consider the agreement between these two archetypes as 'primitive'. *This concord is a factor of supreme importance for the reconstruction of the text....* In preparing the constituted text of the first two adhyāyas I have endeavoured to balance the eclecticism advocated in certain matters with rigid conservatism insisted on in others. I have been most averse to reject or correct the readings of good manuscripts. Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation ; ....As a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. When such a reading was not available the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *prima facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability. ....if we leave out of account documentary evidence, no convincing proof can in general be brought forward to establish either the originality or the spuriousness of the .... lines.

It will be clear from the above that a great deal of advance had been made over the early scribbled notes. In the first place the principles of textual criticism to be applied to the peculiar conditions of manuscripts connected with the Great Epic had been definitely worked out by the time the constitution of these first two adhyāyas became possible ; in the second place we observe that even in this Foreword the same cautious use of language is made as in the Prolegomena published seven years later ; the confidence, the meticulous accuracy, the mastery of the whole epic material, is evidenced by the very ring of the sentences which SUKTHANKAR composes in expressing his views. Although the material included in the first fascicule is small compared to the extent of the whole of the Ādiparvan, the amount of work needed to educidate the principles, to select the Mss. for the critical apparatus, and to constitute the text after classifying them, is something of which India can be reasonably proud. For in the annals of critical editing in the Oriental world nothing similar had been done before ; no text-critic in Europe had experience enough to deal with the problems which the wilderness of text-tradition witnessed in the Great Epic presented ; only a prolonged and patient study by a master-mind could penetrate into this wilderness and clear the paths of textual reconstruction. That SUKTHANKAR, standing as he did at the apex of previous attempts, could achieve this distinction within such a short time as less than two years, is a factor which many have not thought about. Only those like WINTERNITZ and LÜDERS who could measure a genius of this type, because they themselves possessed the gift for

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[52] An intermediate stage is seen in Epic Studies III, *Annals BORI* 11. 270 [= *SME* 1.240].

[53] *Foreword*, pp. vi-vii [= *SME* 1.7-8].

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this work in a similar degree, realized the greatness of the achievement.[54]

It is interesting to note from the Postscript to this Foreword that after the manuscript of the first fascicule had been sent to the press, the Editor was able to secure collations of Śāradā and Nepālī manuscripts, and the collations received by him wholly supported the constituted text, especially regarding the interpolated stanzas, thereby proving the correctness of the method adopted in settling the text.

The first fascicule ends with 1.23.233. During 1928 the second fascicule bringing the constituted text up to 1.21.17 *ab* was published. In this fascicule five additional Mss. have been used, and particularly the Newārī Mss. $\tilde{N}_{1-3}$. A perusal of the editorial note shows that SUKTHANKAR had finally decided about the position of this Ñ-version ; for while $\tilde{N}_2$ agrees, as a rule with V_1 B group, $\tilde{N}_{1-3}$ strangely enough show frequently features which they share with K and S, throwing doubts about the true Newārī characteristics of these two.

The third fascicule containing the constituted text up to 1.53.36 was published in 1929. In the history of Mahābhārata studies, for the first time, this fascicule presents the collations of a Śāradā Ms. of the Great Epic. Similarly the new Ms. K_1 added to the apparatus is another unique manuscript, being a Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā original very closely allied to $Ś_1$. A very important result of the collation and utilization of these two codices belonging to the Kāśmīrī version of the Mahābhārata is to show independently the correctness of the constituted text of the Parvasaṁgraha (missing in $Ś_1$) figure for the extent of the Ādi as constituted by SUKTHANKAR on the basis of the other Mss. The truth of this constituted text is unexpectedly proved by the stanza repeated at the end of the Ādiparvan in $Ś_1$, though this codex has a lacuna for the first 25 adhyāyas, and its collation begins only with 26.10. This corresponds almost *verbatim* with the constituted text of 1.2.96. The death-knell of the Parvasaṁgraha argument is tolled when SUKTHANKAR remarks.[55]

In passing I may point out that even the variations mentioned above show, if indeed the critical apparatus has not done so in sufficiency, that it would be a grave mistake to regard the Parvasaṁgraha as the one immutable factor in the chequered history of the Mahābhārata text. There can, I think, be no doubt that the text of this adhyāya also has been tampered with and designedly altered, from time to time, in various ways, in order to make it harmonize with the inflated versions of a later epoch.

A passing reference should be made here to a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of Archæology*, published by the Government Central Press, Bombay in 1928. Evidently the text of this must have been prepared

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[54] This appreciation will be clear from their reviews and letters which are still on the Institute's files.

[55] Editorial Note.

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by SUKTHANKAR during his short connection with the Archæological Department between 1916 and 1920.

But far more important than this, and almost as important as fascicule 2 of the Ādi published during the same year, is the first of the rightly-famous series EPIC STUDIES. It is published under the title 'Some Aspects of the Mahābhārata Canon',[56] and is the result of two reviews of the first fascicule published respectively by Hermann WELLER and Franklin EDGERTON. As SUKTHANKAR remarks at the very outset, both reviews are evidently products of a very close study of the text and the critical apparatus. Moreover the problem of the Mbh. textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, and the principles are to be evolved from an intensive study of the Mss. material and the Mss. tradition. Both reviewers had considerable experience with allied problems, and if they disagree among themselves as to the choice of the reading for the constituted text, then (*a*) either the principles evolved for textual reconstruction are not quite sound, or (*b*) there are significant variants which have equal probability (documental or intrinsic) in favour of being accepted for the constituted text. The readings on which these differences of opinion are based are 1.1.19.42,49,62 and 201 and the identification of the hundred sub-parvans of the Mbh. enumerated in the second adhyāya of the Ādiparvan. The very first case of disagreement is the famous verse-foot *vedaiś caturbhiḥ samitām* at 1.1.19 (with v. l. *saṁmitam*) which WELLER proposes to read as *caturbhiḥ saṁmitām vedaiḥ*. After a brilliant argument SUKTHANKAR points out the reading accepted as a *lectio difficilor* giving rise to all the other variants noticed in the *apparatus criticus*. In passing he remarks: "It is methodologically wrong to expect to find the original reading by picking out a stray variant which appears to give a better meaning, and shuffling the words of the pāda until the pathyā form turns up' (as WELLER seems to have done). In the second case discussed SUKTHANKAR has marshalled the argument of documental probability to a nicety, showing that the reading *ātmavān* documented, among others, by the whole of B and the whole of S, there being no possibility of a secondary relationship existing between these two versions as a whole. In the third case the rejected reading *saṁkṣipya cābravīt*, though documented by B and S (except G_{1-2} M_3) and far superior to WELLER'S *saṁkṣepato* (which is weakly documented), is still not documentally strong enough; it is not supported by the whole of S; moreover, the weak point of the variant is that it does not explain how the other readings may have arisen. All these arguments which must have been utilized by SUKTHANKAR in constituting his critical text exhibit his complete mastery of the methods and principles which had to be evolved by himself by patient study in less than two years. And he is not afraid to face the truth: he clearly indicates in this last argument that his

[56] *JBBRAS* (NS) 4, 157-78.

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own choice of *saṁkṣepam* may be purely a subjective one ; but it is clear that the other two readings are not compellingly superior to replace it, even if the critical text were to be revised.

The fourth fascicule of the Ādiparvan, bringing the constituted text up to 1.90.24 was published in 1930, and it is interesting from the viewpoint of a textual critic, firstly because of the far-reaching divergence, met with for the first time, between N and S as regards the sequence of adhyāyas or adhyāya groups, and secondly because of the stupendous addition found in S in the well-known Śakuntalā episode. Now when there is discrepancy between N and S, it is difficult, as a rule, to give strict proof of the originality of either recension. In such cases the more generally reliable recension must be considered as the original, on the basis of general trustworthiness. This is precisely what SUKTHANKAR does in accepting the credence in the Ś K group as a stop-gap arrangement. Although N is relatively speaking less liable to interpolations than S, it likewise contains some flagrant additions and alterations. It thus follows that only that portion of the text which is documented by both recensions may be considered as wholly certain and authentic ; the rest is doubtful in varying degrees.[57]

Epic Studies III is one of the most virile papers from the pen of SUKTHANKAR,[58] for it is a slashing answer to the criticism levelled against the first three fascicules and to the problems raised by Dr. RUBEN on the Critical Edition of the Mahabhārata itself. It is a challenge to the methods which he had developed and his deep feeling is expressed in the very opening sentence : 'I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata published in the current issue of the *Acta Orientalia* (vo. 8, pp. 240-256), in which the author, Dr. Walter REUBEN has reviewed Fascicules 1-3 of my edition of the Ādiparvan, criticizing at considerable length and in great detail the principles underlying the preparation of the edition and the constitution of the text.' This paper is interesting because it gives him the opportunity of re-examining searchingly these principles and coming out triumphant, and once for all establishing the unquestionable soundness of his methods of reconstruction and classification. A few selected sentences from this vigorous defence of his method will make the subject very clear :[59]

Tested on the touchstone (of the canon of the *caturvarga* of the classical philologist) the critical edition of the Mbh. is found wanting in no less than three items, namely Heuristics, Emendatio and Higher Textual Criticism, the last two of which have been wholly left untouched, according to RUBEN. Even the first has by a long way not been done justice to by the hapless editor. ... As for Emendatio I must plead guilty to having perpetrated so far, perhaps somewhat unnecessarily,

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[57] See Editorial Note to this fascicule.

[58] Dr. REUBEN and the critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, *Annals BORI*. 11259-83.

[59] *Ibid*. pp. 259-66.

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minor emendations in 13 instances in about 3800 stanzas.... Most scholars will, I fancy, sincerely be grateful that I have been so moderate and that I have declared it as my policy to give preference to interpretation over emendation. In speaking at all of 'Higher Criticism' in this connection RUBEN seems to show a lamentable lack of understanding of this objective edition, having mistaken entirely the beginning for the end of the critical work on the Mahābhārata. Higher criticism can begin only after Lower Criticism has done its work, not till then. .. But I imagine, REUBEN does not want to say anything special at all, when he mentions his 'Höhere Kritik' .. The item is probably introduced here merely *pro forma*, as the fourth and last stage of the *ariya-magga*.

And how would it be possible to apply to the Mahābhārata the canons of the Classical Philology *in toto*? Where has the Classical Philology, I should like to know, the necessary experience in dealing with a text with about a dozen recensions whose extreme types differ in extent by something like 13,000 stanzas (or 26,000 lines); a work which for centuries has been growing not only upwards and downwards but also laterally, like the Nyagrodha tree, growing on all sides; a codex which has been written in seven or eight different scripts, assiduously and lovingly copied through a long vista of centuries by a legion of devout — and perhaps mostly ignorant and indifferent — copyists speaking different tongues; a traditional book of inspiration which in various shapes and sizes, has been the cherished heritage of one people continuously for several millennia and which to the present day is interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering over two hundred million? No, the Classical Philology has no experience in dealing with a text of this description, a work of such colossal dimensions and complex character, with such a long and intricate history behind. That is why I have said that the problem of the Mahābhārata textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*.

If this were all that SUKTHANKAR had said it would have made him only an impassioned defence counsel with reference to the charges brought against the first three fascicules of the Ādiparvan and the methods of textual criticism advocated therein; but like a true scholar whose main strength lies both in his character and his complete mastery of details, he pursues the arguments by a fundamental grasp of the essentials which are necessary for a firm hold on the recalcitrant material to bring them into shape. In the second section of the paper he lays bare REUBEN'S exaggerations and generalisations, unwarranted by the facts which he uses as his basis for them. The next major item of discussion, the four types of constellations (complete agreement between N and S, non-agreement, cross agreement and partial agreement) are discussed with great force and brilliance. This is followed by a provisional *stemma codicum* representing the types of versions utilized for the critical edition. The concluding part is as interesting as the beginning, and one sees SUKTHANKAR at his best as a warrior, unapproachable but withal not destroying, only showing up the weaknesses of the opponent's best moves by a thrust here or a thrust there, or at times parrying. His is not a capricious nature which hides behind heavy-weight authority when such criticism is levelled against him, and finds shelter in saying that the arguments of the opponent are not significant or are totally inadequate; his true character

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comes out in every statement he makes ; it is a desire to be understood properly and he does not brook incompetence or ignorance ; wherever he meets with them it is his duty to dispel them, and he does so without hurting, but with such a complete control and mastery that all opposition must either give way or look utterly foolish.

The small paper on Arjunamiśra,[60] however, does not require a detailed notice, as most of the facts here gathered are utilized later in his Notes on the Mahābhārata Commentators.

In 1931 appeared the fifth fascicule of the Ādiparvan, bringing down the constituted text to 1.149.20. The notable omissions from the critical text are the story of the birth of Duhśalā, the unsuccessful attempts made by Duryodhana to kill Bhīma, an inflated account of the defeat and capture of Drupada, and the notorious Kaṇikanīti, etc. These omissions give rise to a difficult text-critical problem, since they have been rejected *mainly* on the evidence of the Kāśmīri version : are they to be considered to be omissions in the lacking versions or additions in the others which contain them ? The intrinsic evidence is, in SUKTHANKAR'S opinion, strongly, against their originality. He says :[61]

"Here therefore we are confronted by a very difficult case where the evidence *pro et contra* of documentary and intrinsic probability is equally or almost equally balanced. Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is. And they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata Mss. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive synthesis of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities ; and that with the possible exception of the Kāśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated."

The present statement sums up the importance of SUKTHANKAR'S approach to Mbh. textual criticism. In the face of these conflated Mss. the genetic method cannot be applied strictly and it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationships. The results arrived at from a consideration of documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability. No part of the text can be considered really exempt from intrinsic probability when we are dealing with a carelessly guarded fluid text like the one presented by the Mbh. These are some of the findings which emerge from this fascicule.

In the following year the sixth fascicule appeared, covering the constituted text to the end (1. 225.19). There is no preface or editorial note with this issue, but SUKTHANKAR must have breathed a sigh of relief in releasing

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[60] *Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume*, 565-8,
[61] See Editorial Note p. iii,

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it to the public. For it was now seven years since his assuming the charge of its editorship, and in his own opinion he was behind his time-table. But those who knew the pioneer work he was doing in the Mbh. wilderness, realized with amazement the rapid progress he was making and the new history in Indian scholarly achievement that he was building up. Notwithstanding the principles that he established for the first time for critically editing the Mbh., it took other Parvan Editors even more time to complete their own assignments. Even taking advantage of his ripe experience the Parvan Editors could scarcely make the progress that SUKTHANKAR achieved single-handed, and with all the pioneer's new ground to break.

The year 1933 must rank in the annals of Oriental Scholarship as the zenith and peak of achievement so far as Mahābhārata studies are concerned. For during this year the final fascicule of the Ādiparvan containing the Appendices, Notes, Addenda, etc. and that immortal contribution of SUKTHANKAR entitled the *Prolegomena*, was published. No words of praise can describe the magnitude of SUKTHANKAR'S achievement in this essay. For its classic style it stands supreme in the whole field of Indic Research ; not only that ; no other Introduction or Prolegomena can stand comparison with it, in its fundamental grasp, in its objective scientific approach and in the majesty of its survey. Once for all the question of editing texts of the type of the Great Epic was settled in all its fundamental aspects and fresh experience gained in dealing with complicated texts of this nature for which the experience of the western Classical Philology was totally inadequate. By a synthesis of the processes adopted by Classical Philology with the luxuriant overgrowth of the oriental *épopée*, SUKTHANKAR arrived at a number of principles and an objective method of approach where the fundamental grasp of foundational doctrines was necessary and sufficient.

All the great discoveries had already been made and assured by the time the Prolegomena came to be written. The three Epic Studies and the various Editorial Notes to the previous fascicules had seen to that. The greatness of the Prolegomena lies, however, in the fact, that here, at one place, all the great problems were taken up and systematically reduced to order, by a kind of mathematical logic which is the *sine qua non* of the objective scientific approach. All criticisms which had appeared in the various reviews were answered with an unswerving logic which has silenced the criticism once for all. However great the critic, he could not be the equal of SUKTHANKAR in the critical handling of the Epic material. The suggestions which some of the continental scholars of eminence had thrown out with regard to the presentation of the text perhaps not from a sense of authority, but certainly through lack of experience in editing such texts—were squarely faced and exposed with a master's touch.

What is it that the Prolegomena does for the Mbh. ? In the first place

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it explains in great detail the fundamental principles of textual criticism which should be applied to texts in India ; for the textual tradition in India is vastly different from that of Europe as SUKTHANKAR has so convincingly shown in Epic Studies III. In the second place he has shown, despite the continuous syntheses, interpolations and conflations the mutual relationship existing between the different versions of the Mbh. as versions. In the third place he has shown the ideal method for critically editing Indian texts, and the Prolegomena is nothing if it does not teach a scholar how to edit texts scientifically.

In this work lasting for seven to eight years (the Prolegomena dated August 1933) SUKTHANKAR'S scientific achievement reached the height of its glory. Witness, for example, the scientific use of the *sigla* attached to the critical apparatus of Mss. used ; to the writer's knowledge, this is the only instance when the *sigla* were really made significant, representing in this case the script characterising the Mss. and the subscript numbers showing the order of their importance in that particular series. Similarly while presenting the variant readings in the *apparatus criticus*, it will be noticed by observant scholars that an invariable rule was followed ; and this rule, or rather set of rules has a direct bearing on the pedigree of Mss. utilized for the apparatus. Everything SUKTHANKAR did had a method and an object, and even those who do not know anything of his earlier mathematical training can discover in such matters of small detail his fundamental training as a scientist. He is a scientist first and last and secondarily only an Orientalist or Indologist.

One of the earliest opinions expressed by Prof. LÜDERS on SUKTHANKAR'S work has been printed on the cover pages of several fascicules of the Adiparvan and is worth quoting ; for LÜDERS, like SUKTHANKAR, was sparing of words, and any praise that he would bestow on a particular work was not a formal affair, but something absolutely personal and deserving. 'I have been greatly impressed by the arrangements that have been made at the Institute for the collation of the Mahābhārata Mss. The arrangements are such as will ensure great accuracy and perfect clearness in the registration of various readings.... Your work seems to me to merit the highest possible praise both as regards the constituting of the text, and the clarity and succinctness with which the Mss. evidence has been recorded.... *In my reading of the text I came across no passage of any importance, where I had occasion to differ from you as to the choice of the right reading.*' This is the highest praise that can possibly be bestowed on the work of SUKTHANKAR for there was no scholar in Europe or America better fitted than LÜDERS to edit the Great Epic on the lines on which SUKTHANKAR worked ; his training, keen critical acumen, his wonderful all-round acquaintance with almost every branch of Indic philology, and his own contributions which have

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been considered on all hands as the last word on the particular subjects, give that authority to his words.

There is now a gap of two years before SUKTHANKAR publishes any paper. But it does not signify that he has been resting. The work of the critical edition was progressing on the Virāṭa by RAGHU VIRA and on the Udyoga by Sushil Kumar DE, under the personal supervision of the General Editor who had probably to work as much as the individual Parvan Editors on those sections assigned to them. Moreover he was also preparing for his editorial work of the Āraṇyakaparvan. In 1934 WINTERNITZ published a very detailed review of the Ādiparvan, and in the opening paragraph remarked :[62]

> I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max MÜLLER'S edition of the Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary.'

This review gives in brief the main principles which SUKTHANKAR established with great detail in the Prolegomena. WINTERNITZ further remarks that our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings.' Accordingly he cites 24 instances which he came across in reading parts of the critical edition with his pupils in his Indological Seminar from time to time, where he differs from SUKTHANKAR. These do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor, but WINTERNITZ takes exception to carrying too far the principle of choosing a reading 'which best explains how the other readings may have arisen.' In his Epic Studies IV : 'More Text-Critical Notes'[63] SUKTHANKAR attempts to meet the main objections raised by WINTERNITZ in the above review. Altogether nineteen out of the above 24 instances are taken up for discussion. SUKTHANKAR'S absence of conceit and readiness to understand the other man's point of view are exemplified in this paper. Before actually presenting to us his view of these cases, setting forth the reasons which have guided him in the choice of the readings adopted by him in the critical text, he makes the following generous statement : 'When there are hundreds or thousands of readings to be considered and weighed it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers ; and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better.' This is just what WINTERNITZ has done and as it is incumbent upon himself to explain his reasons for the choice of the particular readings objected to, SUKTHANKAR has once again

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62 *Annals BORI* 18.317.

63 *Ibid.* 16. 90-133.

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shown that mastery of detail as well as of principles which we expect from him, as a result of his previous studies and publications.

As in Mathematics, here too SUKTHANKAR recognizes two types of conditions : the necessary condition and the sufficient condition. He has assumed that the agreement between K and S is a sufficient condition though not a necessary condition for the originality of the concordant reading. In the reading adopted by him at 1.3.60 : *girā vā śaṁsāmi*, WINTERNITZ prefers the omission of *vā*, according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text, for K_0 $Ñ_1$ S omit it, and besides, it disturbs the metre and the sense. To this SUKTHANKAR replies : there is no agreement here between K and S ; K_0, it is true, represents the version K in a comparatively pure form but K_0 is not K. K_1 is, on the whole, a decidedly better representative of the Kāśmīrī version than K_0. In the case under discussion we have K_0 agreeing with S and K_1 with Ñ, a case of cross-agreement, which has been overlooked by WINTERNITZ. As for the agreement of Ñ, with S, it had already been pointed out by SUKTHANKAR that even the Mss. of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources. It is thus proved that the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by WINTERNITZ is not at all strong, and it is then proved to be further weakened by intrinsic probability. To the criticism of WINTERNITZ that too much reliance on the principle : adopt the reading which best explains how the other readings have or may have arisen, SUKTHANKAR replies by showing documentally how the reading *nivasatām* adopted by him at 1.3.145 could never be proved to have arisen from an original *nyavasatām* preferred by WINTERNITZ. There are many priceless teachings in this paper ; one of the classical instances is in connection with 1,922.2 : *Gaṅgā Śrīr iva rūpiṇī*. WINTERNITZ had remarked : " Here SUKTHANKAR adopts the readings of $Ś_1$ K_1, against the reading of all other N Mss. The same Mss. $Ś_1$ K_1 have in c *Śayanāt* for *salilāt* of all other Mss. which is rejected. Why should $Ś_1$ K_1 in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line ? " This is a very pertinent question for a novice in textual criticism, but it is surprising that so acknowledged an authority on the subject like WINTERNITZ should have raised it. Nevertheless SUKTHANKAR considered it his duty to reply to this question, and he remarks : ' The configuration of the Mss. as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how $Ś_1$ K_1 appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilāt* of the text is found in all Mss. except $Ś_1$ K_1 (S only transposing the word), and is, therefore, for one thing, obviously far better documented than *Śayanāt* of $Ś_1$ K_1 only. In the second line, therefore, we have practically, only two readings : *Śayanāt* of S_1 K_1, against *salilāt* of the rest ; therefore the reading of $Ś_1$ K_1 has been rightly rejected. Such is not the case in the first line. Here we have three nearly independent readings (S_1 K_1 *Gaṇgā Śrīr iva rūpiṇī* : Vulgate *G. strīrūpadhāriṇī* : S *lobhanī-*

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yatamākṛtiḥ which latter is our fourth pāda). Here, while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other, and intrinsically they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case, the Northern tradition was, as usual, followed.' Leaving aside other issues, this reply and the query raised by WINTERNITZ show the difference of approach between the two. While SUKTHANKAR considers each case from fundamental principles, independently of other considerations such as a general theory of genetic relationship, etc., WINTERNITZ and other critics, in spite of their deep study of the Epic material are misled by general principles. If the Mbh. textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, then the general principles are only guiding steps or corner stones ; each case has to be seen from the configuration of Mss. used as evidence, and the general reliability of any set of Mss. is no guarantee that it contains the original or the more ancient reading. The above arguments have been reproduced here only to illustrate the mastery with which SUKTHANKAR worked with his material and his superiority in this line to every other scholar, which WINTERNITZ himself conceded to him.

While he was firm on matters the truth of which he had demonstrated himself entirely to his own satisfaction, SUKTHANKAR was always the first to admit any slip in his work. Thus at 1.218.27 the reading *vyātiṣṭhania* though supported by S_1 K_1, was not admitted into the text for that reason ; it is a misprint, and SUKTHANKAR thanks WINTERNITZ for pointing it out.

During the following eight years SUKTHANKAR'S whole life was practically devoted to contributions concerning the Epic. So far as the critical edition is concerned, the Virāṭaparvan by RAGHU VIRA was published in 1936, the Udyoga by S. K. DE in 1940 and the Vana—or the Āraṇyakaparvan in 1942. SUKTHANKAR'S contribution to the first two as the General Editor is gratefully acknowledged by the Parvan Editors in their Introduction.[64] Every line of the text and the critical apparatus must have been passed by him, both in the press-copy and the printing stage.

Epic Studies V deals with the Mahābhārata Commentators.[65] It is divided into two sections. The first deals with chronological notes on the Mahābhārata scholiasts of whom nearly 22 are known by name. Very little is, however, known of all these commentators, and only a few of these *scholia* are available in print. By a gradual progression from the known to the unknown, SUKTHANKAR establishes the relative chronology of some of these commentators, and the final order as given by him is as follows : Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Sarvajña-Arjuna-Nīlakaṇṭha, with Sarvajña's date limited to not later than 1300 A.D. whence it follows that Devabodha and Vimalabodha must have lived long prior to this date. The second part of this paper

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64 Virāṭa Introd. and Udyoga Introd. 65 *Annals BORI* 17, 185-202.

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deals with the version of Devabodha. SUKTHANKAR was struck by disparity between the text of the Mbh. (C B or Ḳ) and the commentary; not only does this commentary contain words or expressions which do not occur at all in the Vulgate, but it also cites, at times, verses or stanzas which read differently in the Vulgate. Similarly one finds passages and adhyāyas of the Vulgate which are wholly uncommented by Devabodha. By a close inspection of Devabodha's text it is found that it agrees remarkably closely with Ś K sub-recension, particularly on the compelling evidence of the supplementary and entirely superfluous adhyāya at the end of the Ādi, being a repetition of the episode of Śvetaki's sacrifice occurring earlier, with the curious variant Śvetaketu for Śvetaki. That the version of Devabodha also contained this adhyāya is proved by his remark; *Śvetakir eva Śvetaketur iti nāma.* This conclusion is also borne out by many other minor and major agreements which are enumerated in the paper.

The same year another paper, and this time a very important one, was published as the sixth in the series of Epic Studies under the special title: The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata: A text-historical Study.[66] The modest aim of this paper, as SUKTHANKAR expresses himself, is to collect and collate the Bhārgava references in the Mahābhārata, and to give a succinct account of all that the Great Epic has to say about these Bhṛgus. For the sake of convenience SUKTHANKAR studies these legends as they appear in their natural sequence in the Mbh. The results of this important text-critical study may be summarised in the author's own words:

> From the legends preserved in our epic, the Bhārgavas appear to be a Brahmin clan more intimately associated with the ancient Kṣatriyas than most of the other Brahmin clans, connected with mostly by ties of marriage. In their conflicts with Kṣatriyas they appear to the epic bards as irascible sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful, but at the same time omnipotent supermen. The epic contains a number of episodes or *upākhyānas* and two independent sub-parvans of the epic the entire Pauloma and a large section of the Pauṣya, besides a number of discussions and discourses. There is frequent repetition of these legends on different occasions in the course of the epic. It is also to be noted that the Bhārgavas spring into prominence all of a sudden in the Mbh. and there is no basis for this eminence in the earlier literature. Taking a collective view of all these legends and references, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvas, filling up much of the available space in the background. Their figures are painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic, and throughout represented as *the* people.
>
> The place occupied by these Bhārgava legends unmistakably shows the gradual 'bhṛguisation' of older legends, which occur in the epic itself in two forms, one with and the other without some important Bhārgava element. In the process of converting the popular epic of the Bhāratas into the *Encyclopædia Brahmanica,* the special predilection to the Bhārgava element is highly significant. Intrinsically there can be no question that this element is entirely foreign to the plan of the

[66] *Ibid.* 18.1-76.

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original saga of the Bhāratas, as it occurs entirely in the episodic material. According to tradition contained within the epic itself Vyāsa could not have been the author of these surreptitious additions and embellishments, nor could his disciple Vaiśampāyana be credited with this particular work. But the next recorded recitation of the Mbh. is by Ugraśravas in the presence of Bhārgava Śaunaka during the latter's twelve-year sacrifice. This lends colour to the hypothesis that the momentous alterations which have occurred in the Great Epic from Vyāsa's 24,000 to the later *śatasāhasrī saṁhitā*, is due to the gradual 'bhṛguising' of the epic material. .... The influence of the Bhārgavas in the narrative portion of Mbh. is very evident and can hardly be disputed. Their special connection with Dharma and Nīti is also established by Śukra and Bhṛgu.

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Nīti elements, which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the Mbh., thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation of an important unitary diaskeuasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence. The process of expansion thus begun must have continued subsequently, first by the Bhārgavas themselves and later under their supervision, and it is likely that the remodelled Bhārata, like the Vedas, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. This fact would explain the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass. It all came from different hands, from out of the same mould. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bhāratas—a success which in one sense was richly deserved—was the cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem which must have still existed at the time of composition of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.

It will thus be noticed that this text-critical study has lifted a corner of the veil which covers the hoary history of the text of the Great Epic. SUKTHANKAR thereby established a possible ground for explaining all the contradictory facts connected with the growth and development of the Mbh. The response to this theory was immediate and has led to further investigations which have added to the expectations raised by SUKTHANKAR when he closed this paper with the words: 'The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgava influence the clearer, it seems to me, will become the history of our Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of Bhāratavarṣa.'

The only recorded paper by SUKTHANKAR for 1937 is the In Memoriam Professor Moritz Winternitz (1863-1937).[67] It is really a brief *résumé* of the Mahābhārata work that WINTERNITZ did for nearly half a century, and is altogether one of the best obituary notices on the lamented Professor.

It is, therefore, a matter of great regret that WINTERNITZ passed away before a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies was accidentally made by Manyavara Guruji HEMARAJ Panditjiu, the distinguished Director of Public Instruction of Nepal, of a new Nepālī Ms. of the Ādiparvan. The manner of its discovery and its importance is described in Epic

[67] *Ibid.*

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Studies VII : The Oldest Extant Ms. of the Ādiparvan.[68] The Rajaguru sent complete collations and specimen photos for the use of the Institute. The Ms. is on palm-leaf, written in a uniform hand in old faded ink, and contains only the first parvan of the Mbh. The average length of the folio is 21″ × 2¼″ and each folio contains uniformly 7 lines of writing. Although the Ms. is not dated, its old appearance and the script which comes closest to the script of Tafel VI, No. XI (Cambridge Ms. No. 1891, 2 of A.D. 1179) authenticate the high antiquity claimed for it. This is also supported by internal evidence ; the best proof is that it is almost entirely free from those modern accretions which are given in Appendix I of the Ādiparvan Volume, as also in great part from those other smaller insertions which are listed in the foot-notes. More astonishing still is the fact that out of the textual emendations hazarded by SUKTHANKAR, fifty per cent. are actually documented by this Ms. As SUKTHANKAR remarks :[69]

> It is therefore no exaggeration to say that this remarkable Ms. opportunely affords welcome support to the Critical Edition in most crucial matters. Moreover many of the variant readings of the new Ms. are difficult and obscure, marking out its text as distinctly archaic. Finally, in many of its readings it agrees fairly closely with a certain other Ms. from Nepal which is symbolized as $\tilde{N}_3$ in the critical apparatus of the Ādi. and which is again the oldest dated Ms. of the Ādiparvan. The tradition is therefore fairly complete and well attested.
>
> The greatest value of this Ms. lies in its corroborations of the constituted text of the Critical Edition. Indirectly it attests and justifies, as an independent witness, the principles according to which reconstruction of the epic text is achieved, thus placing the constituted text on still surer foundations.

One phase of SUKTHANKAR'S triumph consisted in converting his erstwhile critics into staunch supporters and followers of the methods and principles evolved by him. The discovery of this important Ms. is the second phase and the culminating point for the full vindication of the Critical Edition of SUKTHANKAR. This fortunate discovery has set the final seal of approval on his editorial work.

Although this Ms. is practically free from the long and short insertions of the Vulgate, it is not entirely devoid of small infiltrations as SUKTHANKAR demonstrates, such as App. I, Nos. 12, 33 and 58 and over 87 single-line insertions. All these are uniformly found in the majority of N Mss. It also throws an interesting side light on the indirect way in which the text gets gradually inflated. Its superiority over $\tilde{N}_3$ is proved by its lacking about ninety per cent. of the insertions of $\tilde{N}_3$. The unique readings of this Ms. bear out nearly half the emendations made by SUKTHANKAR in his constituted text. Out of the total 36 emendations made 18 are corroborated by this Ms. Of these 13 are cases of hiatus. It was precisely on this point that A. B. KEITH differed from SUKTHANKAR when he said : 'We need not,

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[68] Ibid. 19. 201-62.

[69] *Ibid.* 19.

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therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses, whenever we find variants in the Mss., which might be explained by assuming that they are the efforts made by scribes, who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity.' SUKTHANKAR'S reply is characteristic : 'Whether the said view represents a correct theory of Mbh. text-reconstruction or not may be best judged from the circumstance that out of eighteen emendations which are actually documented and attested by this new Ms., not less than thirteen were made just on the ground of hiatus.'

The whole of the subsequent discussion is taken up with replying to KEITH'S criticism. This paper marks the close of a period and shows the vast difference that exists between the mastery of SUKTHANKAR and the general acquaintance of others with epic material. One need only remember the force of the following words recorded in the Prolegomena, to understand the gulf that existed between the attainment of the General Editor and the critical reader, including the learned reviewers :[70]

> Another high authority, while full of apparent admiration for the way in which the work is being done at present at the Institute, has with much pathos and eloquence deprecated this hastily prepared, eclectic text. All that we need do at present, according to this scholar, is to reprint the Vulgate, giving merely the *variae lectiones* of the manuscripts collated and leaving each individual reader to constitute his own text unhampered and uninfluenced by the obtrusive personality of some editor who stands like a monitor between the reader and his author. The learned critic is evidently of opinion that any average reader, who picks up an edition of the Great Epic for casual study is better qualified to reconstruct the text than the editor who has made a special study of the problem. But we need not take it too seriously.

The rest of this passage is unapproachable for the dignified manner in which this learned authority and others like him are admonished, and is worth reading by all those who have any doubts about the scientific background of the critical edition. For even the best of critics like WINTERNITZ who had devoted almost 50 years of his life to the problems connected with the Great Epic has been proved by the evidence of this unique Nepali Ms. to have been wrong in his differences with SUKTHANKAR. In 12 places where he objected to the text of the critical edition, the text is supported by the documentary evidence of this Ms.[71] No one doubts now that the discovery of this valuable Ms., so consequential for the text-criticism of the Ādiparvan, would certainly have delighted the heart of this veteran scholar, who took a passionate and life-long interest in epic studies. All the criticism of so acute a scholar as KEITH is slashingly but with scholarly dignity answered point by point, with the incontrovertible evidence of this unique Ms.

It is no wonder, therefore, when recently Franklin EDGERTON wrote :[72]

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70 *Prolegomena*, p. lxxxiii.
71 *Annals BORI* 19. 214-15.
72 *Ibid*. 24. 136.

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March 1, 1943.

I have just received the news of the death of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR. It is not only a very grave personal loss to me ; I counted him one of my best friends, and had come to feel a very deep respect and even affection for him as a man.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable, and, naturally, far more important. *I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others.* Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature ; things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience—*jñānam savijñānam*—he is cut off in the midst of it.

No higher tribute can be paid to a genius who was unique in his field and unrivalled for his courtesy to those who differed from him.

The paper referred to above was published during 1938. In 1939 he contributed a paper on the Nala episode and the Rāmāyaṇa[73] in which he conclusively shows that the Sudeva soliloquy in the Nalopākhyāna of the Mbh. must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the Rāmāyaṇa, since the passage in question is a misfit in the Mbh. context. It is shown that this Nala passage is not the only passage for which a parallel exists in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the parvan-survey SUKTHANKAR refers to the Rāmopākhyāna occurring in the Vana—or Āraṇyaka-parvan. This topic is, however, taken up for a separate study as the last of the Epic studies, published during 1940.[74] Here SUKTHANKAR'S researches confirm JACOBI'S assumption that the Rāmopākhyāna is indeed an epitome of the work commonly known as Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.

Just as SUKTHANKAR'S studies in Bhāsa were based both on first-hand acquaintance with original as well as critical material, the latter of which he included in a special bibliography, so also in the case of his epic studies, he had started compiling a card index of all articles, notes, pamphlets, monographs and books dealing critically with epic questions. The index so prepared by SUKTHANKAR is still lying at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and has incidentally paved the way for PUSALKER'S survey of Epic and Puranic Studies published in the *Progress of Indic Studies.* This bibliography, though probably not quite complete, is yet indispensable to critical scholars dealing with the Great Epic.

In spite of his preoccupation with all this great work SUKTHANKAR never limited his interests ; during 1933-34 he delivered a series of lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay as the Wilson Philological

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[73] *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. THOMAS.
[74] *P. V. Kane Fastschrift.*

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Lecturer under the title 'Life and Growth of Languages'. Under the new arrangements for postgraduate instruction in Poona he continued to guide M.A. students in Ancient Indian Culture, delivering weekly lectures in the Institute. He was several times Sectional President at the All-India Oriental Conference. During the last of these occasions, in 1940, he allowed his address to be published in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*,[75] and any one reading it is struck at once by his lively spirit and freshness of approach which always kept him alive to new ideas and impressions.

Two short papers were contributed by SUKTHANKAR under the general title EPIC QUESTIONS. The first of these is the opening article in the first volume of the *Bulletin* of this Institute and is connected with the reading *Hāsyarūpeṇa Śaṁkaraḥ* as opposed to *haṁsarūpeṇa ceśvaraḥ* of the Vulgate.[76] The paper itself has the sub-title : Does Indra assume the form of a swan ? The paper conclusively proves that the *haṁsa* incarnation of Indra is nothing but a canard. The second of the series is, unfortunately, the last paper to be published by SUKTHANKAR, and deals once again with the Parvasaṁgraha figures.[77] It is an interesting contribution and deserves careful reading by a critical scholar who would like to deal with Mbh. textual criticism.

The short introduction to the Āraṇyakaparvan is very interesting and instructive. Dated in August 1942, it contains however his experience of the past seventeen years of work on the Critical Edition. As a result the language clearly expresses the fundamental principles, which may be quoted here just to show the way in which he was making himself approachable to a larger group of scholars who are not specialists :[78]

> When the Śāradā-K version (which is the best Northern version) and the Southern recension are placed *vis-à-vis*, we can in general reconstruct the original with confidence, barring a certain number of minor verbal fluctuations in the shape of synonymous phrasings, which remain indeterminate without affecting the construction or obscuring the sense. The concord between Śāradā-K version and the Southern recension in point of general content is striking and forms a sure basis for constituting a single text. Contamination between the K version and the S recension cannot be proved, but contamination between the B-D version and the S recension is not impossible. The agreements between the B-D and S recension have nevertheless been as a rule utilized to arrive at a tentative stop-gap, based on the indications of documental evidence. But it should be noted that the K S agreements have far greater documental authority and probative value than the B-D-S agreements.
>
> Let me put the matter in a slightly different way. The highest documental probability we can demand and expect is when all Mss. of our critical apparatus—which is the same as saying, all our different versions—agree on a reading or a

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[75] *BV* 3. It is reprinted again in the *Proc. and Trans. of the All-Indi. Or. Conf.* Tirupati, pp. 593-609.

[76] *Bull. DCRI* 1. 1-7.

[77] *Silver Jubilee Volume of Annals BORI* 23.

[78] Introduction, p. xviii.

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feature. We must accept this as the original ; *at least we do not wish to question it, at present.* In the absence of such complete concord, the next best combination is the agreement between the Śāradā version and the Southern recension (against B-D). Third in importance is, in my opinion, the concord between the Southern recension and the Bengali-cum-Devanāgarī version (against the Śāradā). Fourth in order stands the agreement between only Northern versions or only Southern versions *inter se*, which I consider, in general, as of equal value. With the proviso that a passage, or a stanza or even a little line which is not necessary to the context, may be rejected, if it is actually omitted entirely in even one of the important versions, since as experience has shown, the chances of conflation are always very much greater than those of accidental or intentional omission.

The italicised words will indicate a new phase that was gradually coming over SUKTHANKAR. While still interested in the Critical Edition of the Great Epic to which he had devoted the best part of his life, he was slowly being drawn towards the content of the Mbh., not as it was in the constituted text only, but in the entire Mss. tradition. There was a double approach to this problem, or to be more precise, a threefold approach ; in the first place the mass of accretion, interpolation, conflation, etc. was symptomatic of a certain phase in the life of the nation where the original text grew into these gigantic proportions. Then again there was a central theme which was pervading the whole of the epic and around which it moved. And finally there was the question of higher criticism, which could come in only after lower criticism had done its work properly.

When SUKTHANKAR says : 'at least we do not wish to question it, at present', he indicates thereby the possibility of going behind this constituted text—although a distant possibility—and of arriving at the original. But then whether an objective method could be devised for such a restoration depended entirely on certain other studies which were being attempted at this time. What is the genesis of the significant variant readings in the Mbh. textual tradition? Could they be fixed in their space-time context, and thereby explain the local divergences in their temporal evolution? And if this were possible, could we get behind the constituted text, especially when it was less than certain, and arrive at a more certain text? By mere objective criteria could we devise methods which would enable us to analyse the elements which were welded into that great synthesis which is the Mahābhārata?

Great things were in the offing when SUKTHANKAR penned these paragraphs. His lectures on the three-dimensional view of the Great Epic[79] were assuming their final shape at this time ; a good deal of work was being done

[79] Two of these lectures were actually delivered before the University of Bombay on 8th and 15th January 1943. The third was due on 22nd January, and the audience was actually waiting for him when the news of his death reached Bombay on that day.

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Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
P. O. Deccan Gymkhana
Poona 4 (India)

Jan 20
1943

My dear Kathy
I find I have to attend a meeting of the Committee of the Wadia Coll. so I shall be leaving early today. Please come tomorrow instead of today, as arranged.

Yours sincerely
[illegible]

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in the statistical analysis of the significant Mbh. variants.[80] What the results of all these combined studies would have been, it is too premature to say. But that tragic death which cut short his life when he was at the very height of his powers and on the verge of discovering new domains in the critical study of the Epic has dealt an irreparable blow to further research in these directions.

On the 21st of January 1943, just two weeks after the Silver Jubilee function of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had been celebrated, he laid down his mortal coil in the service of the Great Epic of the Bhāratas.

In writing this epilogue to a full life of research where the highest reaches of knowledge possible for a human being were attained by SUKTHANKAR, one is poignantly reminded of the concluding part of the Introduction which reads like a farewell.[81] But SUKTHANKAR'S voice will continue to draw the best scholars to a study of the Great Epic which has now become the great epic of SUKTHANKAR'S own life. This paper can only be concluded fittingly in his last public utterance, at Poona the inspiring words of which still continue to ring in the ears of those who listened to him on that unforgettable 5th January 1943 :[82]

> 'There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be capital blunder : That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Herman OLDENBERG said that "in the Mahābhārata breathe the united soul of India, and the individual souls of her people." And why is that? Because the Mahābhārata is the national *saga* of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious. And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it* ! I mean the real WE ! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER.'

S. M. KATRE.

December 1943.

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80 A discussion of these problems was to take place on 21st January 1943 between the writer and Dr. SUKTHANKAR, and the last note which he wrote on 20th January 1943 was to fix the appointment from the 20th to the 21st January, as the facsimile of this note reproduced here indicates.

81 Many scholars have expressed this view in their letters to the Honorary Secretary of the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition Committee.

82 *Annals BORI*, 24.

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TABULA GRATULATORIA

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Bhawanrao Pant Pratinidhi, Rajasaheb of Aundh.

N. K. Bhagwat.

Rajasaheb of Bobbili.

Hon'ble Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar.

Rev. G. Dandoy.

Sir C. D. Deshmukh.

D. R. Gadgil.

D. K. Gondhalekar.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer.

M. R. Jayakar.

K. M. Jhaveri.

S. A. Joglekar.

Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal.

Rajasaheb of Munagal.

Hon'ble Maharaja of Parlakimidi.

R. P. Patwardhan.

Hari Narayan Purohit.

Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Sinh.

Sir C. R. Reddy.

B. K. Thakore.

K. C. Varadachari.

M. P. Wali.

University of Mysore.

University of Allahabad.

Public Library, Allahabad.

Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.

Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Benares Hindu University.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

Meherchand Lachmandas, Lahore.

University of Ceylon.

University of Bombay.

University Library, Bombay.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Fergusson College (Wadia Library), Poona.

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Government of Bombay.

Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

Kannad Research Institute, Dharwar.

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